

HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L.

*Author of the 'History of Europe from the Commencement of the French
Revolution in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo,' &c. &c.*

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VIII.

CHAPTER LXVI.

FRANCE, FROM THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN FEBRUARY 1848 TO THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN MAY FOLLOWING.

	Page		
Analogy of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848,	1	His answer to the Irish deputation,	21
First acts of the Provisional Government,		His secret views at this period,	22
Extreme disorders in Paris,	4	Disorders in Lyons and on the Upper Rhine,	<i>ib.</i>
Conduct of Lamartine in regard to the Drapeau Rouge,	<i>ib.</i>	Reception of the Revolution in Algeria,	<i>ib.</i>
Institution of the Garde Mobile and Volunteers,	5	Attempt to revolutionise Belgium,	23
Decrees against the ex-Ministers, and other measures,	<i>ib.</i>	Declarations of Lamartine to the Poles,	<i>ib.</i>
Prostration of credit, and formation of the Ateliers Nationaux,	6	Military preparations of the Provisional Government,	24
Real principles of the Socialists,	8	Suspension of cash payments by the savings banks,	<i>ib.</i>
Absence of religious jealousy in this Revolution,	10	Recognition of the French Republic by America and Great Britain,	<i>ib.</i>
Socialist demands of the working classes,	11	Circular of the Minister of the Interior,	25
Acts against free trade,	<i>ib.</i>	Efforts made to control the elections,	26
Monetary and commercial crisis,	12	Decree dissolving the flank companies of the National Guard,	27
M. Garnier Pagès minister,	<i>ib.</i>	Demonstration on March 16,	<i>ib.</i>
Suspension of cash payments,	13	Interview of the Clubs and the Government,	29
State of the public finances,	14	Repulse of the requisitionists,	<i>ib.</i>
Increase of the direct taxes,	16	Elections in Paris and the Departments,	30
Assembly postponed to May 4, and Elections to March 26,	17	Preparations for revolt,	<i>ib.</i>
Circular of Ledru-Rollin to the electors,	<i>ib.</i>	Conspiracy against Ledru-Rollin,	<i>ib.</i>
Circular of M. Carnot,	18	Measures of Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin,	31
Measures of intimidation of the Central Government,	19	Defeat of the insurrection,	32
Abolition of the punishment of death in political cases,	<i>ib.</i>	Disorders at Rouen and other provincial towns,	<i>ib.</i>
Lamartine's circular to foreign states,	20	Grand review in Paris,	33
		The elections,	<i>ib.</i>

CHAPTER LXVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE SUPPRESSION
OF THE GREAT REVOLT IN JUNE 1848.

Page	Page
First meeting of the new Assembly, 34	Measures against the Socialists, 42
Lamartine's speech on foreign affairs, 35	Fresh insurrection, 43
Appointment of the Executive Com- mission, <i>ib.</i>	Appointment of Cavaignac as Dic- tator, 45
Discontent of the Socialists, 36	Murder of General Brea, 46
Insurrection of May 15, 37	Attack on the Faubourg St An- toine, 47
Suppression of the insurrection, . . 39	Death of the Archbishop of Paris, . 48
Subsequent proceedings of the As- sembly, 40	Termination of the insurrection, . <i>ib.</i>
Agitation in favour of Louis Napo- leon, <i>ib.</i>	Cruelty of the insurgents, 49
State of the finances, 41	First measures of the Dictator's government, 51

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FRANCE, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAVAIGNAC TO
THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY—
JUNE 24 TO DECEMBER 10, 1848.

Page	Page
Embarrassment of the French fi- nances, 53	Return of Louis Napoleon, and his entry into the Assembly, 61
Inquiry on the revolts of May and June, <i>ib.</i>	Contest of Cavaignac and Louis Na- poleon for the Presidency, 62
Repressive legislative measures, . . 55	Embarrassment from the events at Rome, 65
M. Goudchoux's plan for assessing income as well as land, <i>ib.</i>	Result of the election, 66
Discussion on the Constitution, . . 56	Appointment of a Ministry, 67
Adoption and proclamation of the Constitution, 60	State of the finances, <i>ib.</i>
Abortive club agitation, 61	Failure of the indirect taxes and of imports, <i>ib.</i>

CHAPTER LXIX.

ITALY, FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN JANUARY 1848 TO
THE TAKING OF VICENZA BY RADETSKY IN AUGUST 1848.

Page	Page
State of Italy in the spring of 1848, 69	Character of Charles Albert, 75
Effect of the Revolution of Paris at Rome and Venice, 70	Revolution and civil war in Sicily, . 76
Forces of the Austrians in Italy, . . 71	The King of Naples agrees to give a constitution, 77
Biography of Marshal Radetsky, . . <i>ib.</i>	Defeat of the insurgents in Naples by the Swiss, 78
General Hess, his chief of the staff, 72	Deposition of the King of Naples, <i>ib.</i>
Insurrection at Milan, and retreat of the Austrians from thence, . . 73	Contest at Messina, 79
Retreat of Radetsky to the Mincio, 74	Change of ministry in Rome, . . . <i>ib.</i>
Forces and movements of Charles Albert, 75	The Pope declares war against Aus- tria, 80

CONTENTS.

	Page		Page
Forces of the Italian League, . . .	81	Fall of Udine, and advance of Nugent to Sacile, . . .	89
Radetsky's forces and position, . .	<i>ib.</i>	Junction of the army of reserve with the army of Radetsky, . .	90
Measures to recover and secure the Tyrol, . . .	82	Effect of the counter-revolution at Naples, . . .	91
Measures of the Provisional Government at Milan, . . .	83	Refusal of the Crown of Lombardy by Charles Albert, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
First operations on the Mincio, . .	84	Siege of Peschiera, . . .	92
Difficulties of Charles Albert's position, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Radetsky's movement to raise the siege, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Invasion of the Tyrol by the free corps, . . .	85	Repulse of the Austrians at Goito, .	93
Charles Albert's plan of operations, .	86	Fall of Peschiera, . . .	94
Attack on Pastrengo, and retreat of the Austrians, . . .	87	Movements of the Austrians, . .	95
Blockade of Peschiera and Mantua, .	<i>ib.</i>	Storming of the Monte Berici, . .	<i>ib.</i>
Battle of Santa Lucia, . . .	88	Return of Radetsky to Verona, and capture of Rivoli, . . .	96
Count Nugent and the army of reserve on the Isonzo, . . .	89	Results of the capture of Vicenza, .	97

CHAPTER LXX.

ITALY, FROM THE CAPTURE OF VICENZA BY THE AUSTRIANS TO THE TERMINATION OF THE ITALIAN WAR.

	Page		Page
Preparations of both parties, . . .	98	Proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin, . . .	119
State of the Austrian army, . . .	99	Conclusion of an armistice, . . .	120
Movement of Charles Albert against Mantua, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Revolt at Brescia, . . .	121
Repulse of the Austrians before Rivoli, . . .	100	Insurrection in Genoa, and defeat of General Azarha, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Battle of Custoza, . . .	101	Conduct of the Piedmontese, who reduce the city, . . .	122
Success of Charles Albert on the Somma Campagna, . . .	102	Intrepid conduct of Lord Hardwick, .	<i>ib.</i>
Battle of Valeggio, . . .	103	Counter-revolution at Florence, . .	123
Capitulation of Milan, . . .	105	Capture of Bologna by the Austrians, . . .	124
Armistice, and desperate measures of the Radicals, . . .	106	Affairs of Naples, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Excitement in Italy after the fall of Milan, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Fall of Catania, . . .	125
Events at Florence and Leghorn, . .	107	Submission of Palermo, and end of the war in Sicily, . . .	126
New Ministry at Rome under Count Rossi, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Recoil of the insurgents from all quarters to Rome, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Murder of Rossi, . . .	108	The French approach Rome, and are repulsed, . . .	127
Revolution at Rome, and flight of the Pope, . . .	109	Siege and capture of Rome, . . .	129
Proclamation of a Republic in Rome, and defection of the Swiss Guards, . . .	110	Flight and dispersion of Garibaldi's band, . . .	130
Renewal of the war between Piedmont and Austria, . . .	111	Surrender of Venice, . . .	131
Advance of the two armies, . . .	114	Restoration of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and peace between Austria and Piedmont, . . .	132
Combat of Mostara, . . .	115	Conduct of the military commanders on both sides, . . .	133
Battle of Novara, . . .	117	Want of military organisation in Southern Italy, . . .	135
Abdication and escape of Charles Albert, . . .	119		

CHAPTER LXXI.

GERMANY, BELGIUM, AND DENMARK, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 TO THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTIONS IN FRANKFORT AND BERLIN.

	Page		Page
State of Central Europe at this period, . . .	137	Divisions in Prussia on the recent changes, . . .	152
Different races in Austria, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	New Prussian Constitution, . . .	153
State of Prussia, . . .	138	Dispute of the Prussian with the General Diet, . . .	154
Prosperity of Germany during the peace, . . .	139	Elections for the General Diet, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Education in Germany, . . .	141	Encroachments on Schleswig-Holstein, . . .	156
Military organisation of Austria, . . .	142	The Schleswig-Holstein question, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Division of parties on the principle of representation in Germany, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Invasion of the Duchies by the Prussian troops, . . .	158
Constitution of Hungary, . . .	143	Victory of the Danes, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Demand for unity in the Empire, . . .	144	Victories of the Prussians, . . .	159
The Prussian Zollverein, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Sweden intervenes, and Russia is in observation, . . .	160
Yielding of the established Governments to the French opinions, . . .	146	Battle of Duppeln, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Belgium survives the shock, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	An armistice is concluded, . . .	161
Monetary and commercial crisis in Belgium, . . .	147	Suppression of a revolt in the south, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Changes in the Constitution of Holland, . . .	148	The new Constitution, and Archduke John elected Regent, . . .	162
Progress of the Revolution in Germany, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Installation of the Grand-Duke John as Regent of Germany, . . .	163
Disturbances in Prussia, . . .	150	Polish Revolt, . . .	164
Proclamation by the King of Prussia, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	New Constitution of Prussia, . . .	165
Tumult in Berlin, . . .	151	Riots in Berlin, and change of Ministry, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Revolution in Bavaria, and resignation of the King, . . .	152	Ministry again changed. Measures of the King, . . .	166

CHAPTER LXXII.

NORTHERN GERMANY, FROM THE ROYALIST REACTION IN SEPTEMBER 1848 TO THE TREATY OF OLMUTZ IN 1850.

	Page		Page
Address of General Von Wrangel to his troops, . . .	166	Prince of Leiningen's speech on a united German Empire, . . .	176*
Pusillanimity of the Burgher Guard, . . .	167	Capture and execution of Blum, . . .	177
Riot at the Assembly Hall, and change of Ministry, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Incompetence of the Frankfort Assembly, and breach with Austria, . . .	178
The Assembly is dissolved by force, . . .	170	Influence of the Clubs over the Assembly, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Victory of the Crown, . . .	171	The Imperial Crown offered to the King of Prussia, . . .	179
King's Constitution, . . .	172	New German Constitution, . . .	181
Address of the King to the troops, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Breach between the Frankfort Assembly and Prussia, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Proceedings of the Diet at Frankfort and the Regent, . . .	173	Proceedings of the Assembly at Stuttgart, and its dissolution, . . .	182
Combat in Frankfort, . . .	174		
Revolt of Struve in Baden, . . .	175		
Jealousy of Austria at the Central Government, . . .	176		

CONTENTS.

	Page		Page
Insurrection in Saxony and Hanover,	183	The Olmutz Convention,	190
Insurrection in Baden and the Palatinate,	<i>ib.</i>	Final decision of the affairs of Germany,	<i>ib.</i>
Constitution agreed to by Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony,	185	Affairs of the Danish Duchies,	191
Proceedings of the new Chamber in Prussia,	186	Treaty of July 2, between Prussia and Denmark,	192
Final arrangement of the German Diet and Constitution,	187	Renewal of the war by the bad faith of the Prussians,	193
Affairs of Würtemberg and Prussia in 1850,	<i>ib.</i>	Battle of Idstedt,	194
Dissonson regarding Hesso-Cassel,	188	Final settlement of the Danish question,	195
		Failure of the movement for German liberty,	197

CHAPTER LXXIII.

AUSTRIA, FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN MARCH 1848 TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN WAR.

	Page		Page
Reception of the news from Paris in Vienna,	190	Conference between Jellachich and Count Rathiany,	215
Tumult of March 13,	200	State of parties in Hungary at this time,	216
Resignation of Metternich,	201	Character of Georgy,	217
Formation of a new Ministry,	202	Character of Kossuth,	218
Progress of the Revolution at Vienna, <i>ib.</i>		Of Jellachich,	219
Demands of Kossuth and the Hungarians,	203	Of Windischgratz,	<i>ib.</i>
Liberal Constitution for Bohemia,	204	Of Prince Schwartzenberg,	220
Outbreak at Prague, and murder of the Princess Windischgratz,	205	Revolt of the Razen,	<i>ib.</i>
Bloody fight in Prague,	<i>ib.</i>	Immanse efforts of the Hungarians,	223
Gradual suppression of the Sclavonic revolt,	<i>ib.</i>	Appointment of Count Lamberg,	
Commencement of the revolt in Hungary,	206	and counter-proclamation of the Hungarian Diet,	<i>ib.</i>
Arrangement of a constitution,	<i>ib.</i>	Murder of Count Lamberg,	<i>ib.</i>
Constitution of the whole Austrian Empire,	207	Execution of Count Zichy,	224
Hostility of the Hungarians to the Austrians,	208	Hungary is declared in a state of siege,	225
Measures adopted by the Cabinet of Vienna,	209	Insurrection in Vienna,	<i>ib.</i>
Fidelity of the Croatsians,	<i>ib.</i>	Successes of the insurgents,	227
Increased disturbances in Vienna, <i>ib.</i>		Storming of the arsenal,	228
Flight of the Emperor,	210	Conduct of the Constituent Assembly,	229
Emperor's proclamation from Innspruck, and measures there,	211	Retirement of the Emperor to Olmutz,	<i>ib.</i>
Rupture between the Magyars and the Croats,	212	March of Jellachich on Vienna,	230
The Ban is disavowed by the Emperor,	<i>ib.</i>	Approach of Windischgratz from Prague,	231
First acts of the Hungarian Parliament,	213	Character of Bem,	232
Meeting of the Austrian Constituent Assembly,	214	Vienna refuses to surrender: the bombardment,	<i>ib.</i>
Return of the Emperor to Vienna, <i>ib.</i>		Conference for a surrender,	234
Differences between Austria and Hungary,	215	Approach of the Hungarians,	<i>ib.</i>
		Battle of Schwechat,	235
		Surrender of Vienna,	236
		Execution of Blum,	<i>ib.</i>
		Formation of a new Ministry,	237
		Resignation of the Emperor, and accession of Francis Joseph,	238

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE WAR IN HUNGARY, TO THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN AUGUST 1849.

	Page		Page
Proclamation by the new Emperor, . . .	238	Advance of the Magyars towards Pesth, . . .	251
New constitution of Austria, . . .	239	Battle of Tapio-Biske, . . .	252
Reception of the Constitution in Hungary and Austria, . . .	240	Battle of Isaszeg, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Description of Hungary, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Movement of Georgey round the Austrian left, . . .	254
Forces of the Austrians, . . .	241	Storming of Waitzen, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Retreat and movements of Georgey, . . .	243	Appointment of Baron Welden to the command of the army, . . .	255
War of Bem in Transylvania, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Speech of Kossuth against Georgey, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Movements of Georgey in the north of Hungary, . . .	244	Declaration of Hungarian Independence, . . .	256
Efforts of the Government to reorganise the army, . . .	245	Preparations of the Hungarians, . . .	257
Arrest and execution of Count Batthiany, . . .	246	Austria invokes the aid of Russia, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Advance of Windischgratz, . . .	247	Raising of the siege of Komorn, and disasters of the Austrians, . . .	258
Battle of Kapolna, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Evacuation of Pesth by the Austrians, . . .	259
Discord in the Magyar ranks, and Dembinski displaced, . . .	249	Siege and storm of Buda, . . .	260
Successes of Bem in Transylvania, and first intervention of the Russians, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Successes of the Hungarians, . . .	261
Successes and disasters of Pückner, 250		Plan of operations of the combined Russians and Austrians, . . .	262

CHAPTER LXXV.

RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY, AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

	Page		Page
Forces and chances of the Magyars, . . .	262	Defeats of Bem, . . .	273
Biography of Haynau, . . .	263	Battle of Szegedin, . . .	274
Biography of Paskewitch, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Battle of Temesvar, . . .	275
Forces of the Austrians and Russians, . . .	264	Defeat of the Austrians before Komorn, . . .	276
Battle of Pered, . . .	265	Retreat of Dembinski and Bem to the south, . . .	277
Paskewitch invades Hungary, and taking of Debreczin, . . .	266	Georgey declared Dictator, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Operations on the Waag, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Interview of Georgey and Bem, . . .	278
Advance of the Austrians towards Waitzen, and battle of Acz, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Georgey's letter to Rudiger, offering surrender, . . .	279
Battle of Komorn, . . .	267	The Hungarians lay down their arms, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Battle of Waitzen, . . .	268	Termination of the war, . . .	280
Cavalry action at Zombor, . . .	269	Paskewitch intervenes in behalf of the Hungarian leaders, . . .	281
Proposals of capitulation, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Executions of Hungarian leaders, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Georgey is dismissed and restored, . . .	270	Jealousy of Austrians and Russians after the war, . . .	282
Georgey's mountain march, and combat at Poroszló, . . .	271		
Combat in front of Debreczin, . . .	<i>ib.</i>		

CHAPTER LXXVI.

GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IRISH REVOLT IN 1848 TO THE FALL OF LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY IN 1852.

	Page		Page
Free Trade must be extended to everything,	284	Renewed predial outrages in Ireland,	314
Political importance of the period from 1848 to 1852,	<i>ib.</i>	Sir Robert Peel's Encumbered Estates Bill,	<i>ib.</i>
Loyal and docile temper of the people,	285	Competitive examinations, their future effect,	317
Real suffering of the country,	286	Difference with Russia in regard to the Hungarian refugees,	<i>ib.</i>
Repeal of the Navigation Laws,	288	Quarrel with the Greek Government,	318
Motion for relief to the agriculturists,	293	Military and naval armaments of the empire at this period,	319
Circumstances which weakened the Protectionists' cause,	<i>ib.</i>	Death of Sir R. Peel,	320
Great improvements in agriculture, . .	294	Bill lowering the franchise in Ireland,	<i>ib.</i>
Effect on agriculture of the railway system,	295	Defeat of the Ministry on the Militia Bill,	321
And on the balance of political parties in the State,	<i>ib.</i>	Lord Derby as an orator,	322
Outcry among the agricultural classes,	296	His Cabinet,	323
Finances from 1849 to 1852,	300	Embodying of the militia, and increase of the military force of the country,	<i>ib.</i>
Population census of 1851,	301	Measures to increase the artillery, . .	324
Increase in crimes of violence during the last forty years,	303	Dissolution of the House of Commons,	<i>ib.</i>
Relinquishment of the transportation system,	304	Lord Derby resigns, and the Whigs return to office,	325
Concession of right of self-government to the colonies,	308	Loss of the Amazon and Birkenhead steamers,	<i>ib.</i>
Difficulties of direct representation of the colonies,	309	The gold discoveries in California and Australia in 1850 and 1851, . .	326
New and true colonial system,	310	Wellington's funeral,	328
Affairs of the Cape,	311		
Caffre war,	<i>il.</i>		

CHAPTER LXXVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT, IN DECEMBER 1848, TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE, IN 1852.

	Page		Page
State of Government after the election of the President,	331	Reaction against the Revolution and the Assembly,	335
Formation of the Army of the Alps under Bugeaud,	<i>ib.</i>	Proposition of M. Râteau,	336
Early divisions and changes in the Cabinet,	332	Conspiracy of January 29,	337
Appointment of a Vice-President, . .	<i>ib.</i>	The general election of May 1849, . .	338
State of the finances,	333	Meeting of the Legislative Assembly, .	<i>ib.</i>
Laws regarding prison labour,	334	Insurrection of June 13,	<i>ib.</i>
Measures on primary education and the Council of State,	335	Flight of Ledru-Rollin and the Mountain; measures of repression,	340
		Revolt in Lyons,	<i>ib.</i>

	Page		Page
Change of Ministers,	341	Military meeting at General Mag-	
• First measures of Louis Napoleon,	342	nan's,	354
Election in Paris,	<i>ib.</i>	Conspiracy in the Assembly,	<i>ib.</i>
Meeting of Louis Napoleon with the		Preparations for the <i>coup d'état</i> ,	<i>ib.</i>
electors,	343	The President's proclamation,	355
Law of the 31st May, on the elec-		Dispersion of the National Assem-	
toral rights,	344	bly,	356
President's tour in the provinces,	345	Combat in Paris,	<i>ib.</i>
Parliamentary coalition against the		Majority over France for Louis	
President,	346	Napoleon,	357
Rupture between the President and		Results of the strife, so far as the	
General Changarnier,	<i>ib.</i>	cause of freedom is concerned,	358
Oponing of the new session of the		Effects of the European revolutions	
Assembly,	347	on the civilisation of the world,	359
Rupture with the Assembly,	<i>ib.</i>	Effect of the growth of wealth in	
New Ministry,	350	raising prices,	361
Revision of the Constitution,	<i>ib.</i>	Influence of monetary measures in	
Prorogation of the Assembly,	351	arresting population,	362
Preparations of the President, and		Difference in mortality of town and	
change of Ministry,	<i>ib.</i>	country,	<i>ib.</i>
Motion of the Quæstors,	352	Democracy is a means, not an end,	364

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER LXVI.

FRANCE, FROM THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN FEBRUARY 1848 TO THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN THE MAY FOLLOWING.

1. THE rule of the *bourgeoisie* in France was destroyed by the Revolution of 1848, as that of the mixed Constitutional Ministry had been by that of 1830. In both cases the destruction of the ruling power and overthrow of the Government were brought about by the discontents of the class *immediately below* that in which legislative power was vested, and their passionate desire to seize it for their own behoof, without any regard to the effects of such a change upon the public liberties or the general fortunes of the State. The points upon which the quarrel in both cases ultimately turned—the ordinances of Polignac in the first, the Reform Banquet in the last—were but the pretexts for the commencement of a contest already prepared, and rendered inevitable by other and more general causes. The expansive force and ascending ambition of the class next to power were in both cases the cause of the subsequent convulsion; and accordingly, by a very natural change, the middle class, which made the Revolution of 1830, and gained possession of the Government by its success, was the class against which the execrations of the people were directed in the next movement which convulsed the State. The men who had been lauded to the skies as

the saviours of the country, the apostles of freedom, the pure and tried patriots whom nothing could seduce, when combating the Royal Guards in 1830, had become, according to the new revolutionists, the greatest tyrants, the most vile and corrupt of the human race, when defending the Government of their creation under the banners of the Citizen King.

2. Those who adhere to the opinion, that it is in the middle ranks of society that the class is to be found, alike removed from the pride of that above and the violence of that below it, on which Government can most securely be rested, would do well to study the condition of France during the reign of the Citizen-King. Then, if ever, since the creation of the world, the middle and urban class was really installed in power; and then the *experimentum crucis* to ascertain its real worth was made. The old feudal aristocracy had for the most part been swept away during the first Revolution. The Church was stripped of all its property, and reduced to the rank of indigent teachers. The working classes were effectually shut out from any share in the legislature by the high qualification of electors. The army was commanded by officers drawn from their ranks; the National Guard was

filled with them or their adherents. Here, then, was a complete, pure, and unmixed *middle-class government*, and what was the result? Was it that administration was more pure, selfishness more eradicated, patriotism more general, education more extended, morals on a higher tone, liberty better secured, than in any former period of French annals? Quite the reverse. There is no time in which, by the consent of all parties, corruption was so general both in the legislature and its constituents, public virtue in so little esteem, selfish advantage so much the object of general pursuit, and in which so unrelenting a war was carried on both against private liberty and the independence of the press. These evils at length became so general that they caused the overthrow of the middle-class legislature, and the Citizen King whom they had put on the throne. And as experience had now taught the population that they had only made matters worse by descending from the ancient *régime* to the modern *bourgeoisie*, so they were resolved to try whether they would be improved by going down yet farther, and transferring power to the entire working classes. The results of this great experiment form the interesting and important subjects of this and a succeeding chapter. It will be the duty of a future historian to show how completely it has again been exemplified in the Government of Washington during the great American civil war.

3. The first care which devolved upon the Provisional Government was to make head against the violence of its own supporters. During the three days that Paris had been in a state of insurrection, no work had been anywhere done; and as the great bulk of the labouring classes were alike destitute of capital or credit, they already felt the pangs of hunger on the morning of the 25th, when the Provisional Government, having surmounted the storms of the night, was beginning to discharge its functions. An enormous crowd, amounting to above 100,000 persons, filled the Place de Grève, and surrounded the Hôtel de Ville on every

side, as well as every passage, stair, and apartment in that spacious edifice itself. So dense was the throng, so severe the pressure, that the members of the Government itself could scarcely breathe where they sat; and if they attempted to go out to address the people outside, or for any other cause, it was only by the most violent exertion of personal strength that their purpose could be effected. Decrees to satisfy the mob were drawn up every quarter of an hour, and, when signed, were passed over the heads of the throng into an adjoining apartment, where they were instantly thrown off by the printers of the *Moniteur*, and thence placarded in Paris, and sent by the telegraph over all France. Under these influences were brought forth the first acts of the Provisional Government, some of which were singularly trilling, but very descriptive of the pressure under which they had been drawn up. One issued on the 25th February changed the *placing* of the colours on the tricolor flag, putting the blue where the red had been; a second abolished the expressions "Monsieur" and "Madame," substituting for them the words "Citoyen" and "Citoyenne;" a third liberated all functionaries from their oaths of allegiance; a fourth directed the words "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité," to be inscribed on all devices, and on all the walls of Paris, and changed the names of the streets and squares into others of a revolutionary sound and meaning. This was followed on the 27th by others of a more alarming import or deeper signification. One ordered every one to wear a *red* rosette in his button-hole; another directed trees of liberty to be planted in all the public squares, and reopened the clubs; a third changed the names of the colleges of Paris, and of the titles of general officers; and a fourth abolished all titles of nobility, forbidding any one to assume them.

4. But the Provisional Government soon found that it was not by such decrees that the passions of the people were to be satiated, or their hunger appeased. Already, on the morning of the 25th, before they had had time

to do anything, the well-known features of popular insurrection had displayed themselves. The Tuileries and the Palais Royal had been abandoned to the populace the evening before, as in truth, after the King had abdicated, there was no longer any Government to withstand their excesses. These august palaces were sacked from top to bottom, their splendid furniture burnt or thrown out of the windows, their cellars emptied of all the wines which they contained.* The presence of the National Guard and troops of the line, who were still under arms, prevented these excesses going farther in the metropolis; but that only caused the storm to burst with the more fury on the comparatively unprotected buildings in the country around it. Over a circle formed by a radius of thirty leagues round Paris, the whole railway stations were sacked and burnt; the bridges in great part broken down, or set on fire; even the rails in many places torn up and scattered about. The beautiful chateau of Neuilly near Paris, the favourite abode of the late King, was plundered and half consumed by fire. Versailles was threatened with a similar fate, which was only averted by the firm attitude of the National Guard, which turned out for the protection of that palace, no longer of kings, but of the fine arts. But the magnificent chateau of M. de Rothschild, near Suresne, was sacked and burnt by a mob from Melun, at the very time when that banker was putting at the disposal of the Provisional Government 50,000 francs (£2000), to assuage the sufferings of the wounded in the late engagements.

5. Imagination may figure, but no words can convey, an adequate idea of the tremendous pressure exercised on the Provisional Government during the first days succeeding their installation. They have been thus described by two of the most ardent partisans of

the new regime, and who had profited most hitherto by its establishment. "We arrived," says M. Caussidière, the new Minister of Police, "at the gates of the Hôtel de Ville across a line of posts, at which the 'Qui vives' and the demands for the countersign incessantly multiplied as you approached the seat of government. The entrance of the building could only be compared to the mouth of a beehive. A mob, armed and turbulent, beset the doorway. Those under the arch resolutely made good their ground, and forcibly pushed back the crowd, which was incessantly forcing its way up the great stair. To get into the inside, it was necessary to mount as to an assault—to strive with your shoulders and elbows, so as during the strife to get one of your legs thrust in. I was soon separated from my escort; I attempted the escalade with my lieutenant alone. Twice I was repulsed with loss. At length, after vigorous efforts, and with the assistance of some of the citizens who recognised me, I penetrated to the bottom of the great stair. If I did not lose in that rude contest one of my limbs, I lost one of my pistols, which during the *mêlée* was torn from my girdle, and never after recovered. It was only at the end of half an hour's fighting that I got to the Salle du Conseil."

6. So far the new Minister of Police as to the surroundings of the Provisional Government; now hear one, and not the least gifted of its members, on the cares which oppressed them. "No sooner was one messenger despatched charged with an order or a decree," says M. de Lamartine, "signed on the corner of a bit of paper with pencil, than another arrived with a similar note, announcing that the Tuileries was menaced by devastation and flames; that Versailles was surrounded by a furious mob, which thirsted to destroy that last relic of royalty; another, that Neuilly was already half consumed by fire; a fourth, that all the railway stations were in flames, the bridges cut or destroyed. It was indispensable to re-establish the traffic on the roads by which a capital with 1,100,000 mouths

* The Author is in possession of several beautiful pieces of furniture and articles of *vertu*, tossed out of the windows of the Tuileries on this occasion, and purchased on the spot by some careful Jews, who hastened there to make profit of the dissensions and madness of Christians.

was to be fed; and huge mountains of barricades must be cut through to let the convoys pass when they did reach the streets. Crowds who had been famishing for three days were to be fed, the dead to be collected, the wounded tended, the soldiers protected against the people, the barracks evacuated, the arms and horses collected, the palaces, the museum, to be saved from pillage. An insurgent populace, 300,000 in number, was to be calmed, pacified, and if possible sent back to their workshops in the suburbs; posts were to be everywhere established, formed of the Volunteers and National Guards, to prevent pillage. In a word, the things to be done were innumerable; it was hard to say which was most urgent, or where neglect would entail most serious evils on the Republic."

7. But of all these pressing cases, by far the most urgent was to pacify and feed the enormous multitude of destitute workmen whom the Revolution had thrown out of employment, and who crowded into the Place de Grève, threatening the Government with destruction if they did not instantly give them bread and work. The band which had sacked the Tuileries kept possession of that palace, feasting on the provisions and wines which it contained, for nine days: they were only prevailed on to leave it on the 6th March, by the approach of an armed force of two hundred men, and the promise of a decree declaring that they had deserved well of their country, and should receive two francs a-day for the period of their occupation. But the famishing crowds which night and day thronged the Place de Grève were not so easily appeased. So early as the 25th February, vague rumours, calculated to excite their apprehensions and rouse their passions, began to circulate among them: the King was returning with an armed force; the detached forts were preparing red-hot shot to rain down vengeance on the devoted city. Under the influence of these terrors, one body set out for Vincennes to search that fortress, while another took their way to the Invalides, which they were only

hindered from ransacking by a force detached for its protection by the Minister of Police. Balked in the object of their pursuit in these places, the mob streamed back into the Place de Grève, where there was no longer an armed force to oppose them,—the Government, to appease the people, having been obliged to send all the military out of the capital, and the National Guard being in too great consternation either to show themselves or act against the ruling multitude. They insisted upon searching every part of the building for concealed arms, or magazines of combustibles or powder, and, rushing in, soon overpowered the *portiers* and sentinels, and spread themselves through every corner and crevice of the edifice. Finding nothing, they inundated the Salle du Gouvernement, and extorted from the overwhelmed members a decree "*guaranteeing employment to all*, and bestowing on the combatants on the barricades the million of francs saved by the termination of the civil list."

8. Though this decree was a vast concession to the working classes, and indicated not obscurely the commencement of that Socialist pressure on the Government which was ere long felt so severely, yet it was far from meeting the wishes of the angry and famishing crowd who filled the Place de Grève and all the adjoining streets. A hoarse murmur was heard from the dense mass; the vast surface, paved with human heads, began to swell in undulating waves, indicating the force of generally-felt passions; the countenances of such as could be discerned bore the expression of mingled ferocity and determination; and already cries of "*LE DRAPEAU ROUGE!*" were heard from the agitated multitude. At this call for the symbol of popular violence and the reign of blood, the other members of the Government hung back; no one dared to face the infuriated multitude. But M. de Lamartine stood forth alone and bareheaded, and having with great difficulty obtained a hearing, said—"Yesterday you asked me to usurp, in the name of the people of Paris, the rights of thirty-five mil-

lions of men, and to vote a republic absolutely, instead of a republic founded on their consent. To-day you demand the *drapeau rouge* in room of the *drapeau tricolor*. Citizens, neither I nor any of the Government will adopt the *drapeau rouge*. We would rather adopt the black flag which is hoisted in a bombarded city to mark to the enemy the hospital of the wounded, the refuge of suffering humanity. I will tell you in one word why I will oppose it with the whole force of patriotic determination: It is, citizens, that the *drapeau tricolor* has made the tour of the world, with the Republic and the Empire, with your liberties and your glory; but the *drapeau rouge* has only made the tour of the Champ de Mars, dragged in the blood of the citizens." * A universal tumult arose at these intrepid words,—some loudly applauding, others as vehemently condemning; and in the tumult several muskets were levelled at Lamartine and the persons by whom he was surrounded. But the barrels were knocked up by others less inclined to blood; and in the confusion he was dragged in by his friends within the building, and escaped without injury. The decree promising the people work was immediately after read aloud from the balcony; and the crowd, wearied with the fatigues of the day, began to drop off. But Lamartine's stand on this occasion was a most noble act, which well entitles him to the thanks of every friend of humanity; for had the people not been met by his happy and courageous inspiration, the Government would have been overturned on the spot, and a new reign of blood would have commenced.

9. But although the danger of a bloody republic was got over at the moment, yet it was evident to all that some lasting measures were indispensable in order to procure security for the Government, and employment for the idle and violent persons who were

assembled in the streets. The Municipal Guard had been disbanded, and the whole military had been sent out of the city by the Provisional Government, in order to appease the people and avoid the risk of collisions, which might be highly dangerous. Thus the Government was entirely at the mercy of the mob, and the only protection they could invoke consisted in two battalions formed of volunteers, who had placed their bayonets at the disposal of the authorities. But, though faithful, they were too few in number to be of any real service in the event of danger such as that which had just been escaped. In these circumstances it occurred to the Provisional Government to form a new body of defenders out of the most active of those who had been engaged in the assault on the monarchy. They decreed the formation, accordingly, of a new urban corps called the "*GARDE MOBILE*," to be composed of those who had been most determined on the barricades; and the plan would, it was hoped, at once appease the people, and enrol on the side of the authorities the most formidable of those who had recently been leagued together for their overthrow. It perfectly succeeded. High pay—double that of the troops of the line—soon attracted into the ranks the most ardent of those who had been engaged in the late disturbances. There, the instinct of military discipline soon came to prevail; the bold youths attached themselves to their colours and the Government which paid them; and the *Garde Mobile*, which ere long consisted of twenty-four battalions, and mustered fourteen thousand bayonets, rendered essential service to the cause of order in the subsequent convulsions.

10. Several other measures less creditable to the authorities, but not less descriptive of the pressure under which they laboured, emanated at the same time from the busy legislative mill in the Hôtel de Ville. Acts of accusation were launched forth against M. Duchatel, M. Salvandy, M. de Montebello, and all the members of the late ministry; but this was a mere feigned

* Alluding to the occasion in 1790, when the *drapeau rouge* was hoisted by the orders of Bailly at the Hôtel de Ville, and Lafayette ordered the troops to fire on the mob in the Champs de Mars. — See *History of Europe*, c. vii. § 97, 98.

concession to the passions of the people; the Provisional Government, to its honour be it spoken, had no intention of proceeding seriously against them. Gratuitous tickets to the opera were largely distributed among the people; but, as was well observed at the time, it was a poor consolation for a man who had got no dinner to be presented with an opera ticket. The licentious mob, who had plundered and kept possession of the Tuileries, were at length, as already mentioned, got out, but only by a great display of military force, and on the express condition that they were to be taken to the Hôtel de Ville, thanked for their patriotic conduct, and presented with certificates of good behaviour. At the same time, the volunteers who had tendered their services to the Provisional Government refused to surrender their places at the Hôtel de Ville to the urban militia, and used such menacing language that it was deemed expedient to veil the weakness of Government under a pretended respect for their patriotism, and allow them to remain.

11. A fresh element of discord soon arose from the liberation of Blanqui, Barbès, Bernart, Huber, and all the political prisoners in Paris, whom long confinement had roused to perfect frenzy against authority of every kind. Their first measure was to revive all the clubs, which soon resounded with declamations as violent as any which had ushered in the horrors of the Reign of Terror. A hundred of them were opened in a few days, chiefly in the worst parts of Paris, and every night crowded by furious multitudes. The Government, in compliance with their demands, authorised the planting of trees of liberty, in imitation of the orgies of the first Revolution; and in a few days numerous bands issued forth from Paris into the gardens and woods in its vicinity, pulled up the prettiest young trees they could find, and brought them into the public places of the capital, where they were planted, withered, and died. These proceedings excited so much enthusiasm, and gave rise to such noisy and tumultu-

ous assemblages, that the Minister of Police was obliged to issue a circular against them. To reconcile the people to the want of this favourite pastime, the Government arranged (March 5) a magnificent procession for the interment of the few who had fallen in the cause of the insurrection during the revolt. It went off with great éclat, and amply gratified the taste of the Parisians for theatrical display. One incident only threatened to disturb the harmony of the proceedings. Two ladies, not, it may be supposed, of the most rigid virtue, uninvited, joined the procession, splendidly attired in flowing white robes, mounted on milk-white steeds. They were intended to personify the Goddesses of Reason and Love, which had made so much noise in the fête in Notre Dame during the first Revolution. The police were at a loss what to do, for they dreaded the ridicule which such an exhibition would occasion, and yet scarcely ventured to interfere, as the people loudly applauded the fair equestrians. At length one of the police officers had the presence of mind to say, "The Republic admits only into its service women who are beautiful, but you are *devilishly ugly*—get out of the ranks." This turned the laugh against the unwelcome intruders, the more especially as the libel was in some degree true, and they were obliged to retire.

12. But the Provisional Government had soon more serious cares to occupy them. Distrust and distress, the inevitable attendants on successful revolution, ere long appeared in their most appalling form. Having guaranteed employment and sufficient wages to every citizen, they soon found themselves embarrassed to the very last degree by the multitudes each day thrown upon them. Credit was at a stand; the manufactories and workshops were closed, and the thousands who earned their bread in them were cast destitute upon the streets. So violent was the panic, so strong the desire to realise, that the Five per Cents fell in the beginning of March to 45! "Nothing," says Lord Normanby, "surprised me more, in the

wonderful changes of the last two days, than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, become as useless lumber. Ladies, anxious to realise a small sum in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavoured to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified that they were 'rich and rare,' when no one could or would buy them? The scarcity of money became so great that a sovereign passed for three or four and thirty francs. Many persons sent their plate to be coined into five-franc pieces. All the most expensive *nouveautés* which had been accumulated for the display of the coming season, were in vain offered at a fraction of their value. It seemed a mockery to suppose that under the red flag should be nurtured anything but a 'ragged regiment of shreds and patches.' It was melancholy to see the most civilised capital in the world suddenly reduced to the primitive condition of barter."

13. In these circumstances it was in vain to think of the ordinary channels of employment being reopened, and nothing remained but for Government to take upon themselves, in the mean time at least, the employment of the people. For this purpose, on the 27th and 28th of February, decrees were passed appointing great workshops called *Ateliers Nationaux*, where the whole unemployed might be set to work. As the idle were the very men who had made the Revolution, it was indispensable to keep them in good-humour, and for this purpose the wages given were two francs a-day. This was more than the average rate even in prosperous periods, and it had the effect of bringing a host of needy and clamorous claimants, not only from Paris, but all the towns in the neighbourhood, and even the country to a great distance around. The numbers in the first week were only 5000, but they soon increased in a fearful progression; from the 1st to the 15th April they swelled to 36,250, and by

the middle of June reached the enormous number of 117,000! The daily cost of their maintenance then came to exceed 200,000 francs. This enormous expenditure was necessary, for the universal prostration of credit, hoarding of specie, and disappearance of capital, rendered it impossible to get quit of workmen once enrolled in the brigades of unemployed; the Government were obliged to add much from the secret-service money to support them, in addition to the vast sums publicly applied to their relief; and, in truth, they were kept up as well from the desire always to have a large army of dependants ready to support the Revolutionary Government as from the necessities of their situation.*

14. In these huge workshops were collected together a crowd of workmen, all of different trades; and they were all set to the same employment, which was generally that of removing nuisances, levelling barricades, or taking away dunghills. Even these humble employments were soon exhausted; nothing remained for the enormous multitude to do; for as to making articles of luxury, or even convenience, for the public, that was out of the

* "Après la séance du Gouvernement je me rendis à l'Hôtel de Ville, et reçus la nouvelle qu'un crédit de 5,000,000 francs (£200,000) était ouvert aux ateliers nationaux, et que le service des finances s'accomplirait des lors avec plus de facilité. M. Marie me prit ensuite à part et me demanda fort bas, si je pourrais compter sur les ouvriers? 'Je le pense,' répondis-je, 'cependant le nombre s'accroît tellement qu'il me devient difficile de posséder sur eux une action aussi directe que je le souhaiterais.'—'Ne vous inquiétez pas du nombre,' me dit le Ministre; 'si vous les tenez il ne sera jamais trop grand, mais vous avez un moyen de vous les attacher sincèrement. Ne ménagez pas l'argent; au besoin même on vous accorderait des fonds secrets. Je ne pense pas en avoir besoin; ce serait peut-être ensuite une source de difficultés assez graves, mais dans quel autre but que celui de la tranquillité publique me faites-vous ces recommandations?' Dans le but du salut public. Croyez-vous parvenir à commander entièrement à vos hommes? Le jour n'est peut-être pas loin où il faudra les faire descendre dans la rue."—*Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, par M. EMILE THOMAS, p. 260; LOUIS BLANC, *Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février*, p. 64. See also CASSAGNAC, i. 296.

question at a time when no one was purchasing more than the absolute necessities of life. Thus the Ateliers Nationaux soon turned into *vast pay-shops*, where idle crowds hung about from morning till night, receiving two francs a-day for doing nothing. In the latter period of their existence, there were not 2000 actually at work out of 117,000 on the public rolls. There was no one concerned in the Administration who was to blame for this state of things. It was unavoidable in the circumstances, just as the employing 200,000 starving labourers on the public roads in Ireland at the same time was. The real authors of it were those who, for the selfish purposes of their own aggrandisement, promoted the Revolution, and thus brought so vast a body of their fellow-citizens into such disastrous circumstances.

15. When the increasing necessities of the numerous classes whom the Revolution had deprived of bread, forced the subject of their maintenance on an unwilling Government, the cry was for the appointment of a minister *pour l'organisation de travail*; and the public voice, expressed on a hundred banners reared aloft in the Place de Grève, designated M. Louis Blanc, whose Socialist principles had long been known, for that high office. Despite their revolutionary propensities, however, the other members of the Provisional Government were aware of the hazard of appointing such a minister, and the endless multiplicity of claims which would come upon them if such an office received their sanction. To avoid the danger, and yet escape the obloquy of openly resisting a demand so supported, they fell upon the device of appointing M. Louis Blanc president of a commission appointed to sit at the Luxembourg and inquire into the condition of the working classes, and the means of relieving their distresses. This, it was hoped, would act as a safety-valve to let off the ill-humours of the Republic, and turn any explosion they might generate aside from the Provisional Government upon the heads of the commis-

sioners. The better to favour this design there were associated with M. Louis Blanc in this commission the acknowledged chiefs of all the sects of Socialists and Communists. The Ateliers Nationaux, however, were not put under their direction. They remained under the orders of M. Marie, the Minister of Commerce; and in consequence of this not being generally adverted to, and the Luxembourg being regarded as the centre of the Communist action and the source of Communist measures, much unjust obloquy has been brought upon Louis Blanc and his Socialist supporters.

16. Their principles were, that capital is the real enemy of labour, the capitalist the middleman who has interposed between the producer and consumer, diminishing the profits of the former, enhancing the price paid by the latter. To obviate this, as it seemed to them, great injustice, their plan was to organise all trades and manufactories in great companies, in which the operatives were to share *in the profits*, which were to be equally divided, not paid by wages. In this way they thought that the condition of the working classes would be at once ameliorated and equalised by the fruits of their labour being exclusively divided among themselves. Following out these principles, what Louis Blanc wished to see established in March 1848, to meet the public distress, was not "Ateliers Nationaux," but "Ateliers Sociaux,"—great establishments where persons of the *same trade* should be employed together, and divide among them, without the intervention of any capitalist, the whole fruits of their industry.* He

* "Les Ateliers Nationaux étaient organisés non seulement sans ma participation, mais contraire à mes principes. Rien de plus opposé au régime industriel développé dans l'organisation du travail que le régime si justement flétri des ateliers nationaux dirigés par M. Emile Thomas, sous la responsabilité de M. Marie. Les ateliers sociaux, tels que je les avais proposés, devaient réunir chacun des ouvriers appartenant tous à la même profession. Les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie montrèrent entassés pêle-mêle des ouvriers de toute profession, lesquels, chose insensée,

condemned as an "insensate project" the Government establishments, where persons of all trades were huddled together, and set to kinds of work for which nine-tenths of them were of course utterly disqualified, and he loudly complains, not without reason, that he should be stigmatised as the author of a system which he not only never supported, but strongly opposed.

17. But although Louis Blanc may justly claim exemption from the immediate responsibility of the Ateliers Nationaux, he cannot so easily shake himself loose from the charge of having largely contributed to spread among the working classes those delusive and impracticable doctrines relative to co operation which brought about the Revolution. He admits that, when named as member of the Provisional Government, he declared that "he proclaimed not only the Republic, but the democratic and social Republic : " * and that, in answer to the deputations which addressed him at the Luxembourg, he guaranteed to the workmen of Paris, in the name of the Republic, "the same wages in *periods of adversity which they had previously attained in periods of prosperity*, and full employment to all

furent soumis au même genre de travail. Dans les ateliers sociaux tels que je les avais proposés, les ouvriers devaient travailler à l'aide de la commandite de l'Etat; mais pour leur propre compte en vue d'un bénéfice commun, c'est-à-dire, avec l'ardeur de l'intérêt personnel, uni à la puissance de l'Association et au point d'honneur de l'esprit de corps. Dans les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie, l'Etat n'intervint que comme entreprenant et les ouvriers ne figurent que comme salariés. Or comme il s'agit ici d'un labeur stérile infructueux, auquel la plupart se trouvaient nécessairement inhabiles, l'action de l'Etat, c'était le gaspillage des finances, la rétribution, c'était une prime à la paresse, le salaire, c'était une aumône déguisée."—LOUIS BLANC, *Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février*, p. 63.

* "Annoncé comme membre du Gouvernement Provisoire, je montai en uniforme de Garde National sur la table qui servait de bureau, et là, dans un discours qui dut être singulièrement animé, s'il répondait aux battements de mon cœur, je proclamai non seulement la République, mais la République démocratique et sociale. Flocon s'ex-

citizens." * When doctrines so monstrous and utterly inconsistent with the existence of industrial employment were not only openly avowed by the Government, but made the condition of their appointment, it is of no consequence who was charged with the duty of organising the Ateliers Nationaux. The persons really responsible for their establishment were those who, by closing private enterprise by rendering it ruinous, forced the people to have recourse to the public establishments. If M. Marie organised the Ateliers Nationaux, it was Louis Blanc and his disciples who drove the people into them.

18. The Socialist principles, proclaimed by authority from the Luxembourg, have produced such calamitous results, that the French writers have been led carefully to examine the foundations on which they rest, and elaborate refutations of them have proceeded from many able pens. But the real answer to them will at once occur to every person engaged in the actual business of life. Socialist principles are impracticable, then, when attempted to be put in force; and if practicable, they would be pernicious; because, if the profits of stock were swallowed up in the wages of labour, credit would be destroyed, and no fund could exist to purchase the materials on which labour is to be exerted, and maintain the persons engaged in their manufacture in the interval between the commencement of industry and the receipt of the price of its produce. If any one believes the

primait dans le même sens. Alors un ouvrier nous félicita, au nom de ses camarades, d'avoir posé de la sorte la véritable question — la question suprême de la Révolution qui venait de s'accomplir, et le titre de Membre du Gouvernement Provisoire nous fut confirmé par des acclamations ardentes."—LOUIS BLANC, p. 21.

* "M. Louis Blanc promettait aux ouvriers au nom de l'Etat, dans le présent, la conservation pendant les périodes de crise des salaires appartenant aux périodes de prospérité, avec une participation aux bénéfices; dans l'avenir, le libre exercice de leurs facultés, la libre satisfaction de leurs desirs, enfin, le maximum de bonheur."—*Paroles de M. Louis Blanc (Conférence du 29 Avril, 1848.)—Moniteur.*

contrary, he is recommended to try whether he will get the same advance of money on the credit of ten thousand workmen worth a sovereign each, as of one man worth ten thousand sovereigns. In the second place, the proportion which the wages of labour bear to the profits of stock in all industrial establishments, whether connected with land or manufactures, is so large, that even if the whole of the latter were divided among the former, it would not make an addition to them of more than thirty or forty per cent— a difference not greater than a good harvest or a prosperous commercial season always makes, without causing any sensible addition to the amount of their savings. In the third place, supposing that, by the force of numbers and the prevalence of frugal habits, little capitals could be formed in the hands of the operatives, it would be impossible to find in their ranks men who could be intrusted, for any length of time, with its administration. To withstand the temptation arising from the power of intronitting with any common fund requires habits of the most difficult acquirement, which are seldom seen except in cases where a second nature, as it were, has been induced by many generations employed in their acquisition.* In the fourth place, even the rise of wages, arising from the workmen dividing the profits of stock, could only be temporary. By stopping the accumulation of capital in the hands of employers it would check the growth of wealth, and with it that of all the branches of manufacture which minister to the comforts or elegancies of life. All the persons

* So strongly has this difficulty been experienced in Great Britain, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has recently (1864) introduced a bill for establishing Government insurance offices for the working classes, experience having proved that more than half of those set up by the working classes themselves have terminated in insolvency and ruin. The Author's experience at the Sheriff Court of Lanarkshire has furnished him with too many proofs of the extreme frequency of such catastrophes in benefit societies, and similar establishments set up and directed by the working classes themselves.

engaged in them would at once be thrown back upon the occupations which minister to bare necessities, and competition would soon bring down the wages in them to the lowest point, as it was so long the case in Ireland. Louis Blanc told the deputations of workmen at the Luxembourg that by embracing Socialist principles they would "*all become Kings!*" He would have been nearer the truth if he had said they would all in the end become beggars.

19. Three circumstances distinguished this Revolution from both of those which had preceded it, and form so many characteristics well worthy of consideration. The first is, the entire absence of all religious jealousy or rancour by which it was marked. No one need be told that the very reverse was the case in the first Revolution. The same was the case, though in a lesser degree, in the Revolution of 1830. Hatred of the Jesuits, and jealousy of the influence they were supposed to be acquiring in the Government and the educational establishments of the country, were the chief causes of the overthrow of Charles X. But on this occasion, this, the most deadly poison that can be mixed up with the revolutionary passions, was entirely wanting. The old animosity of the revolutionists against the clergy seemed to have disappeared. The Revolution was ardently supported by the curés, in the first instance at least, especially in the rural districts. The priests blessed the trees of liberty which were planted in the villages and squares; fervent prayers were offered up for the Republic from the altars; the clergy, surrounded by their flocks, marched to the polling-places for the elections for the Assembly when they came on. This change is very remarkable, and suggests much matter for reflection; but it is easily explained when we recollect that the Church had lost all its property during the first Revolution, and ceased to be either an object of envy from its wealth, or of jealousy from its power. Thrown upon their flocks for support, since the miserable pittance of forty

pounds a-year allowed by Government barely sufficed for existence, the clergy identified themselves with their interests, shared their desires, and were drawn from their ranks. The Government of Louis Philippe had been so hostile to religion that they in secret rejoiced at its overthrow. This very remarkable change bespeaks the profound knowledge of the human heart which selected the Apostles intended to propagate a faith destined to overspread the world from the fishermen of Galilee, not the priests of Zoroaster or the pontiffs of Rome, and illustrates the prophetic wisdom of the words of Cazales, in the first National Assembly, "Take from the priests their cross of gold, and they will get one of wood, and it was by a cross of wood that the world was saved."

20. The second circumstance which distinguished this Revolution, was the sedulous attention now paid to the demands and interests of LABOUR. It was the interests of capital and the *bourgeoisie* which were chiefly, if not exclusively, considered in the Revolution of 1830. Robespierre and St. Just had professed, and probably felt, a warm interest in the concerns of the working classes; but they could see no other way of serving them but cutting off the heads of all above them. The lapse of thirty-three years' peace since 1815, and the vast increase of industry which had in consequence taken place, had now, however, given a more practical direction to men's thoughts. They no longer thought that they were to be benefited by placing the heads of the rich under the guillotine; they adopted a plan, in appearance at least, more likely to be attended with the desired effect, and that was to put their own hands into their pockets. Encouraged by the conferences at the Luxembourg, and the Socialist declamations of Louis Blanc, as well as the decrees of the Government, which guaranteed employment and full wages to all the working classes, they all united now in demanding from their employers at once an increase of wages and a

diminution in the hours of labour! This petition was soon supported by such formidable multitudes that it could not be disregarded. By a decree of the Government, the hours of labour of all sorts in Paris were fixed at *ten hours* a-day, though in the provinces *they were left at twelve hours*. These demands, too, were made at a time when, in consequence of the panic consequent on the Revolution, and the universal hoarding of the precious metals which had ensued, the price of every species of industrial produce, so far from rising, was rapidly falling, and sales of everything, except the mere necessities of life, had become impossible! The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was, that mostly all the master-manufacturers closed their workshops; and in the first two weeks of March, above a hundred thousand of their workmen were out of employment in Paris alone, and thirty or forty thousand in Rouen, Lyons, and Bordeaux!

21. A third effect which ensued from the peculiar character of this Revolution, as the revolt of *Labour against Capital*, was the strongest aversion on the part of all its promoters to the principles of free trade, and a decided adherence to those of protection. Lord Normanby, who, though not yet regularly accredited to the Provisional Government, was in daily communication with M. de Lamartine, repeatedly, by desire of the British Government, sounded the French minister on this subject, representing how advantageous it would prove to both nations if their commercial intercourse could be conducted without fiscal restraints; but in vain. M. de Lamartine listened coldly to all these proposals, saying that, in the existing temper of men's minds, it was in vain to bring any such doctrines forward. He was doubtless right; they ran directly counter to the strongest desires of those who had made the Revolution. These desires soon broke out in savage and inhuman attacks on foreign workmen, especially their great rivals the English, in many parts of the country, especially on the lines of

railways then in course of construction. The effect of these attacks, and of the general obloquy to which they were exposed from the jealousy of their French competitors, was that nearly the whole English workmen then in France, amounting to above thirty thousand, were obliged to leave the country and return home. They arrived on the shores of Britain in the most deplorable state of destitution, and loudly complaining of the treatment they had received; for, not content with driving them out of the country, the French Revolutionists laid an embargo on their funds in the savings banks there, which Lord Normanby for long laboured in vain to get removed. The gross injustice of this proceeding had a very salutary effect on the corresponding classes in the south of England, and the publication of these complaints in the papers went far to cool that general enthusiasm in favour of the Revolution which, on its first occurrence, was felt among the working classes of Great Britain.

22. But all other consequences of the Revolution fade into insignificance compared with the commercial and monetary crisis which resulted from its success, and, in its ultimate results, was attended with the most important effects upon the fortunes of the Republic. The panic soon spread from the towns to the country; the peasants, fearful of being plundered, either by robbery or the emission of assignats, hastened to hide their little stores of money; specie disappeared from the circulation; and, as a necessary consequence, purchasers were few, even for articles of primary necessity, and the price of every article of commerce underwent a serious diminution. M. Godechoux, the first Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government, could devise no better mode of meeting the difficulty but by a decree which postponed the payment of all bills falling due on 22d February and subsequent days to the 15th March. As this raised a violent clamour among the holders of these securities, he followed it up by a decree on the other

side, which anticipated the payment of the *rentes* falling due on the 22d March, by declaring them payable on the 15th. As arrangements had been made to meet these payments on the 22d, this only made matters worse, and increased the general confusion. Such was the outcry, and so widespread the panic, that M. Godechoux felt himself unable to make head against it, and he resigned his situation as Finance Minister, and was succeeded by M. Garnier Pages.

23. Fortunately for France and Europe, his successor was a man of abilities and resolution, and exempt from those money influences which so generally tie up the hands or blind the eyes of statesmen intrusted with the financial concerns of nations. The commercial state of France at this period, and the circumstances which rendered the important change in its monetary system which soon after took place necessary, are thus explained in the official report of the Comte Argout, the bank's chairman, for the year 1848: "When the Revolution of February broke out, the treasure in the Bank of France and its branch establishments amounted to 225,000,000 francs. The demand for specie, however, rapidly increased on that event, but the bank made the most courageous efforts to meet the drain. From the 26th February to the 15th March—that is, during fifteen working-days—the bank discounted in Paris alone bills to the amount of 112,000,000 francs. In the branch banks, during the same period, it discounted 45,000,000 francs. By this means it saved from bankruptcy the banks of Rouen, Orléans, Havre, and Lille. But the drain of specie on itself was only thereby rendered more alarming. From the 26th February to the 15th March, the metallic reserve at Paris fell from 131,000,000 to 82,000,000 francs. On the 15th March the payments in coin amounted to 10,000,000 francs, and on the evening of that day there remained only in the bank coffers 59,000,000 francs. On the succeeding day (16th) it was known the run would be still more considerable, and in a few days more

the bank would be entirely drained of specie."

24. In these alarming circumstances, the council-general of the bank met, and prepared the draft of a decree, which was immediately submitted to the Provisional Government, received its unanimous sanction on the night of the 15th March, and appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* on the following day. By this decree the bank was relieved from the obligation of paying its notes in specie, and its notes were declared a legal tender. The power of emission, however, was limited to 350,000,000 francs, as the maximum of the circulation; and it was provided that weekly states of the affairs of the bank should be published, as in England. The emission of notes for 100 francs was authorised by the same decree. The issue of notes for 50 francs and 25 francs had been anxiously prayed for by the commercial classes; but the council-general of the bank refused its consent to this demand, as likely to lead to an exportation of specie at a time when it was of such importance to keep it in the country. The circulation of the bank at the date of the decree amounted to 275,000,000; so that, even as it stood, this measure afforded a considerable extension to the available circulation of the nation, and what was of still more importance, relieved it entirely of the obligation to pay in specie.

25. Thus did the suspension of cash payments result in France from the Revolution of 1848, as the emission of assignats in that country in 1791, and the suspension of cash payments in Great Britain in 1797, had arisen from that of 1789. In all the three cases the change was the result of necessity, and the effect was immense, far exceeding what had been either intended or foreseen by its authors. The forced paper circulation of the first Revolution in France, which at length was pushed to the enormous sum of £750,000,000 sterling, beyond all question brought that country safe through the terrible assault of the European powers in 1793 and 1794; but it did so only by producing a rise of prices which utterly

destroyed the capital of the nation, and inflicted for long a grievous wound on its industry. The suspension of cash payments in Great Britain in 1797 alone enabled the nation to make head against the power of revolutionary France, and preserved the liberties of Europe when threatened with destruction by the arms of Napoleon; but it did this at the cost of a duplication of prices, doubling the amount of the national debt, and imposing a heavy burden on its industry, which will never now be removed. The opposite system, introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1819, of rendering the currency entirely dependent on gold, and contracting the paper whenever the gold was withdrawn, had induced three terrible monetary crises, under the effects of the last of which the nation was still labouring. Steering the middle course between these two extremes, the measure of M. Garnier Pagès, based on the principle of *meeting the drain by an issue of paper, bearing a forced circulation, but limited in amount to what the nation really required*, may be regarded as a model of political wisdom, and perhaps the greatest boon ever bestowed by legislative wisdom on an afflicted nation. For if it had not been passed, and either an unlimited issue of the currency, or an unlimited contraction of it, had been practised, beyond all doubt all the eloquence and courage of Lamartine would have been unable to avert another revolution—a second rule of the Jacobins, a second reign of blood, and a second revolutionary war. Or had the English system of drawing in the paper as the gold is drawn out been put in force, most certainly a universal bankruptcy would have ensued, involving alike the rich and poor.

26. This decree was in the first instance confined to the Bank of France: but by two supplementary decrees, issued on 27th April and 2d May, the protection was extended to the banks of Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Lyons, Marseilles, Havre, Lille, and Orléans, which were amalgamated with the bank of France, and their joint circulation, inconvertible into specie, was extend-

ed to 452,000,000 francs (£18,000,000). This was fully equal to the necessities of a nation which at that period, strange to say, did not require more than £18,000,000 of discounts, while Great Britain needed £130,000,000 !* At the same time the greatest efforts were made by the Bank of France, and all its branches, to sustain industry and credit in every possible way. Discount banks (*Comptoirs Nationaux*) and loan offices (*Magasins Généraux*) were established in Paris and all the commercial towns of France, and bills were accepted for discount bearing two signatures only, instead of three as formerly required. The re-discounting of bills was permitted, contrary to prior usage, and loan offices formed, for granting receipts or warrants for goods stored in public warehouses, on which advances of money might be obtained. By these several means, powerfully aided by the limited but inconvertible currency, very great assistance was rendered by the Bank of France, both to individuals and the public treasury, during the remainder of the year—a period which, but for that relief, would unquestionably have been fraught with unparalleled disasters. In the nine months of 1848 after the decree suspending cash payments, the bank at Paris rediscounted bills to the amount of 90,000,000 francs, and in the branches 140,000,000 francs, besides advancing on security of goods in the “*Magasins*” 62,500,000 more. In addition to these advances to individuals, the bank lent Government on 31st March 50,000,000 francs; and on 3d June engaged for a loan of 150,000,000 francs to the Treasury, of which 50,000,000 francs was actually paid over. In these immense advances, rendered possible solely by the wise suspension of cash payments, rather than in all the eloquence of M. Lamartine, the real causes are to be found whereby France surmounted the crisis, and averted a second reign of terror. And the fruit of these measures clearly appeared in the rapid diminution of the number weekly added to the lists of the *Ateliers Nationaux*, which in the fortnight from 16th

to 31st March was 25,250, and from 1st to 15th April 36,250. But from 16th to 31st May it had fallen to 3000; and from 1st to 15th June, to 1200.

27. Most fortunate was it for France and the world that the Provisional Government had either the sense to see, or were forced by the pressure of the working classes to adopt, these the only measures suited to the crisis, or capable of meeting its dangers; for the condition of the public finances, in consequence of the Revolution, had become all but desperate. Such was the effect of the universal alarm,† that the consumption of every individual in the country, from the highest to the lowest, was at once reduced to the smallest possible amount. The *octroi* of the capital, which in 1847 had produced from 75,000 to 80,000 francs a-day, immediately fell to 40,000 or 50,000 francs. All other taxes on consumption at once fell off in the same proportion. The imports of France in 1848 were little more than half of what they had been in 1847; and as the Revolution only took place in the end of February, this implied a falling-off to a still greater amount in the ten months subsequent to that convulsion. The exports, it is true, did not exhibit a decline by any means in the same proportion; but that arose from a peculiar and very distressing cause, which, so far from bespeaking a revival of industry, indicated just the reverse. It arose from the universal desire to turn movable property into cash, and the impossibility of finding a market for it in France itself. This led to a general sending of it abroad in exchange for the precious metals; and to such a length did this go that the foreign trade of France, in 1848, presented the enormous balance of £11,000,000 in favour of that country, which of course was paid in specie. This is a most curious and instructive circumstance, indicating at once how fallacious a test of the prosperity of a nation the amount of treasure in its banking establishments is; how erroneous an opinion it is, which is often entertained, that the

* NEWMANSH, VI. 73.

amount of exports is to be taken, under all circumstances, as the measure of its manufacturing prosperity; and how great a mistake it is to suppose that the issue of inconvertible paper in moderate quantities will drive specie out of the country. For in this year of unexampled alarm and suffering, when the diminished consumption of all classes brought the imports down a half, and the national industry was sustained only by the issue of inconvertible notes to the extent of £18,000,000 sterling, the balance of trade was £11,000,000 *in favour* of France. Her exports had undergone very little diminution;* the notes in circulation had risen from £11,000,000 to £15,000,000, the bullion in the bank from £3,000,000 to £10,000,000; while the discounts had sunk from £11,000,000 to £6,000,000.†

28. But how deplorable soever may have been the financial state and prospects of industry in France, it was absolutely necessary to make some concession to the powerful revolutionary party in possession of the capital, which imperiously demanded an instant relaxation of the burdens immediately affecting themselves. The tax which was most generally condemned

was that on salt; and by a decree on 31st March it was suppressed, though the Government had presence of mind to defer the taking effect of the decree till the 1st of January succeeding. The same decree announced a great reduction on the excise on meat and wine; and at the same time the railways from Paris to Orléans, and from Orléans to Vierzon, were put under sequestration, upon the pretence that they were insolvent. But these reductions, and the immense falling-off in the customs, rendered some great increase in another quarter absolutely necessary. No other resource appeared practicable but additions to the direct taxes. It was accordingly resolved to increase the whole of them 45 per cent, which was accordingly done. By a supplemental decree, the direct taxes in the departments of the Rhone, including Lyons, were increased 50 per cent more, or 95 in all; and several other departments were subjected in additional charges, varying from 15 to 25, or 60 to 70 per cent in all. By this decree the Government obtained a large accession of revenue; for the receipts of the Treasury in 1848 were no less than £70,000,000, being £15,000,000

* IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (SPECIAL COMMERCE) FROM FRANCE IN REAL VALUE
FROM 1845 TO 1850.

Years.	Imports. Special Commerce.	Exports. Special Commerce.	Revenue.	Expenditure	Deficit.
1845	£34,200,000	£33,900,000	£54,463,000	£54,870,000	£2,070,000
1846	36,800,000	34,100,000	48,794,000	57,340,000	8,500,000
1847	39,050,000	35,600,000	51,293,000	65,190,000	10,290,000
1848	23,200,000	33,300,000	70,720,000	70,860,000	140,000
1849	31,200,000	41,300,000	57,270,000	65,770,000	8,500,000
1850	31,200,000	44,900,000	57,260,000	58,470,000	1,670,000

—NEWMAN, VI. 653, 654, 659; and *Ann. Hist.* 1846 and 1847. The exports and imports of every kind (General Commerce), for the years 1845-6-7, are given at vol. vii., p. 118.

● † At the moment when these lines are written (April 2, 1858), a similar phenomenon is presented in this country. The last Bank and Trade Returns show,—

Notes in circulation,	£19,500,000.
Bullion in Bank,	18,385,000
Do. on 15th November 1857,	7,170,000
Decrease in exports from corresponding months in 1857,	2,084,000
Rate of interest at Bank,	2½ per cent.
Do. in November 1857,	10 per cent.

So that the circulation is nearly entirely metallic. Interest is at the lowest point, and yet exports have sunk £2,000,000 a-month.—*Times*, March 23, 1858. And during the period when this serious decline was going forward—the result of the drain of gold in autumn 1857—the specie in the Bank had, so far from being drawn out of the country by the suspension of the Bank Charter Act in November 1857, increased by upwards of £11,000,000.

more than the receipts of 1847, the last year of Louis Philippe's reign. So that, whatever the French people might hope to gain by the Revolution, relief from taxation could not be included.*

29. No words can convey an adequate idea of the universal disappointment and indignation which this decree occasioned in France. The peasant proprietors, in whose hands nine-tenths of the country was, had received the Revolution coldly but submissively. They neither desired the change, nor were very averse to it; they were simply indifferent. They had no loyal or chivalrous attachment to the Orléans dynasty: all they desired was to be allowed to live in peace, cultivating their little domains; and the chief ground of complaint that they had against the former Government was its expense, and the large deficit which every year was increasing in the Exchequer, to be filled up only by additional loans and taxes. They were told, however, universally, and for a few weeks believed, that the Republican Government would be so cheap that a very great reduction of their burdens would take place—nay, that at no distant period they would entirely cease. In their simplicity many believed this, just as the working class of the Reformers in Great Britain in 1831 did, that, when “the Bill” passed, wages

would be doubled, and prices halved. The additional sum raised by the 45 per cent was 190,000,000 francs (£7,750,000), and this fell almost entirely on the little proprietors. It may be conceived what a sensation the imposition of this addition to their taxes made among a body of peasant proprietors, who had not yet recovered from the general distress produced by the failure of the crops in 1846. But when, in addition to this, they learned that this formidable increase of their burdens had been laid on to support an army of a hundred thousand revolutionists in Paris, who were paid 200,000 francs a-day for doing nothing, their indignation knew no bounds, and the fatal truth flashed upon them that the Revolution, made by the mob of the capital, would be turned only to its advantage, and to their ruin. So universal were these feelings, that in the rural districts they soon came to supersede all other, and are to be regarded as the main cause of the general unpopularity and ultimate overthrow of the Revolution.

30. The time was now approaching when something definite required to be adopted by the Provisional Government in regard to the future constitution of the Republic. With this view the Government felt that it was necessary to convoke a National Assembly; but before that could be done, the basis

* A very valuable report was framed by the Minister of Finance at this period, on the financial state of France when the reign of Louis Philippe ended. From this it appeared that the

	France.
Public funded debt amounted, on Jan. 1, 1848, to	5,792,261,000
Its annual charge to	239,438,000
Floating debt to	697,704,000
Loan contracted in 1847,	250,000,000
Of which was still to be paid,	167,000,000
Sums due by Government to savings-banks,	409,579,000
Sinking fund annually,	48,886,000
Interest of floating debt,	18,000,000
Expended on Public Works,	1,606,039,000
Repaid, or due by Companies,	1,069,000,000
● Remained due by State,	536,839,000
Total public debt of all sorts,	8,095,041,000
Cash in Treasury on 24th February 1848,	192,488,000
In Bank of France belonging to Treasury,	125,644,000
Expenditure of 1847,	1,446,000,000
Revenue of do,	1,391,276,000
Deficit,	54,000,000

—Rapport par M. GONDCHOUX, Ministre de Finance, March 7, 1848. *Ann. Historique*, 1848, p. 137-142.

required to be fixed on which the election of its members should proceed. In these moments of republican fervour, there could be no doubt of the principle which required to be adopted. The Convention of 1793 presented the model ready made to their hands. The precedent of that year accordingly was followed, with a trifling alteration, merely in form, which subsequent experience had proved to be necessary. The number of the Assembly was fixed at nine hundred, including the representatives of Algeria and the other colonies, and it was declared that the members should be distributed in exact proportion to the population. The whole was to form one Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage. Every person was to be admitted to vote who had attained the age of twenty-one, who had resided six months in a commune, and had not been judicially deprived of his suffrage. Any Frenchman of the age of twenty-five, not judicially deprived of his rights, was declared eligible as a representative. The voting was to be secret, by signing lists; and no one could be elected unless he had at least two thousand votes. The deputies were to receive 25 francs (£1) a-day for their expenses during the sitting of the Assembly: and it was appointed to meet on the 20th April. This was soon followed by another decree, which ordered all prisoners for civil or commercial debts to be immediately set at liberty.

31. Before the elections could take place, however, the Republicans became aware of the extreme unpopularity of the régime in the departments; and it was therefore deemed indispensable to postpone the meeting of the Assembly to a later period, and meanwhile to adopt the most vigorous measures to electrify the public mind, and restore the democratic ardour which the serious addition to the direct taxes had done so much to weaken. To effect these objects, a decree was issued which postponed the elections to the 23d April, and the meeting of the Assembly to the 4th May, the anniversary of the famous opening of the States-

VOL. VIII.

General in 1789. Meanwhile, to revive the drooping spirit of Republicanism in the departments, and secure the return of a sufficient number of ardent and true democrats, a circular was sent round by M. Ledru-Rollin to the electors, to be distributed by four hundred commissioners, who, with ample salaries, were sent down to the departments to bring the people to the desired way of thinking. Their reception, however, was by no means encouraging. In some places they were actually chased with hisses out of the villages; in most, their reception was cold in the extreme. The people listened to their ardent harangues in favour of the Republic with distrust and indifference; they could place no reliance on the promises of a government which had begun its career by adding nearly a half to their direct burdens, and bestowing it on an army of idle workmen paid for doing nothing at the Ateliers Nationaux. The reports of the commissioners, upon the whole, were extremely discouraging, and for the first time began to open the eyes of the Government to what universal suffrage may lead when applied to a people of whom the great majority is composed of the holders of property.

32. The circular of Ledru-Rollin, issued on 7th April, was a remarkable document, as evincing the principles and tendency of the Republican Government, and the terrors with which it was already inspired. It set forth: "The Government cannot, under pain of abdication or betraying itself, content itself with merely receiving and registering the votes; it must enlighten France, and labour openly to defeat the counter-revolution if it should attempt the impossibility of again raising its head. Is it that we would imitate the faults of those whom we have combated and overthrown? Far from it. They ruled by corruption and falsehood, we only desire to make truth triumph; they caressed egoism, we appeal to the generous sentiments; they stifled independence, we would give it the fullest development; they bought consciences, we would emanci-

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pate them. There is nothing common betwixt us. But it is precisely because their odious practices have profoundly corrupted the official class, that it is now necessary to speak loud and firmly to root out the seeds of error, and extirpate the calumnies so long spread through the country. Apostles of the revolution, we defend it by our acts, our words, our instructions. Vigilant and resolute against our enemies, we gain partisans to ourselves by making it known. Those only can fear who do not know it. Worthy missionaries of the new ideas which are to rule the world, it is for you to prepare their pacific advent. This is to be accomplished by yourselves, your friends, your writings, your speeches. Shed abroad the light in whole volumes. Let the great and majestic figure of the Republic appear to every eye, regenerating humanity by its moral strength, effacing the distinction of classes, calling all the citizens to the realisation of the political dogma of fraternity by liberating labour and intelligence from the fetters which restrain them, making of our admirable France the most free, the most powerful of nations.

33. "Citizen-Commissioners, what constitutes the grandeur of the duty of a representative is, that it invests him who becomes such with the absolute power to interpret and translate the interest and the wishes of all. He would be unworthy to hold it who should recoil before any of the consequences of the great principle of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Liberty consists in the exercise of all the faculties which we have received from nature, governed by reason. Equality means the participation of all the citizens in the social advantages, without any other distinction but those arising from virtue and talent. Fraternity is the law of love, uniting men, and making them all one family. Thence follow the abolition of every privilege, the division of taxes in proportion to the fortune, a proportional and *progressive* tax on succession, a magistracy freely elected by the people, with the most complete development of the jury system, military service borne alike by

all, *gratuitous and equal* education to all, the *means of labour secured to all*, the democratic reconstitution of industry and credit, voluntary association everywhere substituted for the disordered passions of egoism; and whoever is not prepared to sacrifice his repose, his life, his future to the triumph of these ideas, whoever does not feel that ancient society has perished, and that we must construct a new social edifice, would prove only a lukewarm and dangerous deputy. His influence would compromise the peace of France."*

34. Following up the same principles, another circular at the same time was issued by the Minister of Public Instruction to the voters, pointing out still more specifically on what description of persons the choice was desired by the Government to fall. "The great error," says he, "against which the inhabitants of our agricultural districts must be guarded is this: That in order to be a representative, it is necessary to enjoy *the advantages of education* or the gift of fortune. As far as education is concerned, it is clear that an honest peasant, possessed of good sense and experience, will represent the interests of his class in the National Assembly infinitely better than a rich and educated citizen having no experience of rural life, or blinded by interests at variance with those of the bulk of the peasantry. As to fortune, the remuneration which will be assigned to all the members of the Assembly will suffice for the maintenance of the very poorest. In a great assembly like that, the majority of the members discharge the functions of jurors. They decide affirmatively or negatively on the measures proposed by the *élite* of the members; they only require honesty and good sense; they judge, they do not invent or harangue." These sentiments, which went to letive the Assembly at the mercy of the revolutionists at Paris, excited the greatest alarm among all

* This circular was immediately followed by another, betraying still more clearly the design of the Government to intervene to the utmost of their power in the approaching elections. It will be given at its proper date, which was 12th April.

persons of sense or moderation, and first brought to light the schism which was every day becoming wider between the moderate party, headed by Lamartine, and the violent section led by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. A few days after these circulars appeared, a deputation waited upon M. de Lamartine, to represent the consternation with which they had been seized at the perusal of these alarming circulars, and he replied in terms which at once proved how divided the Government was within itself. "The Provisional Government," said he, "has authorised no one to speak to the nation *in its name*, and especially to speak a language superior to the laws. The Government, recognising freedom of opinion, repudiates that worst sort of corruption, intimidation. It has deliberately resolved not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the elections. I trust public opinion will be reassured, and not take in an alarming sense some words inconsiderately used by ministers, who often attach their signatures in haste."

35. Notwithstanding this formal disclaimer on the part of M. de Lamartine of any intention on the part of Government to overawe or influence the elections, the Minister of the Interior continued without any intermission the great work of securing a Radical majority in the Assembly. The prefects were everywhere changed, and determined revolutionists placed in their stead; all offices in the disposal of Government—and their number exceeded 130,000—were filled with their partisans; and a change was made in the College of France in order to render it more completely the fountain of extreme opinions. Four members of the Provisional Government—M. de Lamartine, Armand Marrast, Garnier Pages, and Ledru-Rollin—were appointed to new chairs, whilst from several others their former occupants were expelled. In proportion as the time drew nearer for the elections, the efforts of the Government, or rather the Radical section of it, became more violent to secure a majority for the extreme Liberal party. "Eighteen

years of falsehood," said the Bulletin of the Republic, a semi-official paper, on the 15th April, "oppose to the government of truth obstacles which are not overcome in a day. If the elections do not achieve the triumph of social truth, they will destroy it. If they become the expression of a caste, torn from the too confiding loyalty of the people, instead of proving the salvation of the republic, they will become its ruin. There is no other way for the people, *who have erected the barricades*, to achieve their salvation, but to evince *their determination a second time* in a manner which cannot be mistaken. That extreme deplorable remedy, France would not wish to force the people of Paris to adopt. France has intrusted to Paris a great mission; Paris is the advanced post of the republican ideas; Paris is the rendezvous of all the generous wishes, of all the moral force of France. If the social influences pervert the judgment or betray the wishes of the masses, the people of Paris believe and declare themselves identified with the wishes of the nation. Citizens! it must not come to this, that you are to be forced yourselves to violate the principle of your own sovereignty."

36. These extreme opinions and declamations not obscurely presaged an approaching convulsion, the more so that a part of the Provisional Government, at the head of which was M. de Lamartine, were at the same time labouring courageously and energetically to coerce the violent party, and direct the revolution into comparatively safe and pacific channels. The first act which evinced the objects of this section of the Government, and obtained the concurrence of the whole, was a most important and noble one—the abolition of the punishment of death in purely political cases. This great victory of humanity and justice over the strongest passions of excited and revengeful man, was achieved by the Provisional Government in the very first moments of their installation in power, and when surrounded by a violent mob, loudly clamouring for the

drapeau rouge, and the commencement of foreign war and the reign of blood. Whatever may be said of the tricolor flag making the tour of the globe, there can be no doubt that this great and just innovation will do so. To regard internal enemies, *provided they engage only in open and legitimate warfare*, in the same manner as external foes, to slay them in battle, but give quarter and treat them as prisoners of war after the conflict is over, is the first great step in lessening the horrors of civil conflict. To say that high treason is the greatest of all crimes because it leads to the commission of all the others, affords no argument whatever for the retention of such a relic of barbarous times in civil conflict, unstained by personal crimes, murder, or robbery. War does the same, yet all the world has concurred in applauding, and all the civilised in adopting, a usage which has lessened so much the evils of external hostility. It is the highest glory of the Revolution of 1848 to have first openly avowed and solemnly promulgated this change; and the honour of it is not lessened by the reflection that, in the unstable condition of their own power, it was the interest of the Provisional Government to pave the way for such a system as night, in the event of defeat, tie up the hands of their successful adversaries. They had no security whatever that, in proclaiming this the rule of their own conduct, they would insure its adoption by their adversaries. On the contrary, the full merit of their noble and courageous conduct will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that, without guards or protection of any sort, they were, at the very time they passed this decree, exposed to the hostility of a bloodthirsty faction, loudly clamouring for the restoration of the guillotine, a second reign of terror, and a forcible propagandism to spread revolution through foreign nations.*

* "Cependant les chefs et les têtes de colonne des séditions pénétrant par moment jusque dans les corridors étroits et encombrés, où ils s'étouffaient par leurs propres masses. Ils harcelaient les membres du

37. To steer the infant Republic in peace through a tempest impelling it so violently upon foreign nations, was an undertaking requiring the highest capacity and resolution; but the courage and genius of M. de Lamartine, now aroused by the dangers by which he was environed, proved equal to the task. One of his first acts was to address a circular to the ministers of all foreign states, in which, amidst some sonorous and adroit expressions, calculated to flatter the vanity of the French, and conceal from them the important restraint upon their excesses which was about to be imposed, the great principle of non-intervention was in substance distinctly avowed. "The proclamation," said he, "of the

Gouvernement, ils ne cessaient de leur adresser les injonctions les plus impérieuses. 'Nous voulons le compte des heures que vous avez déjà perdues ou trop bien employées à endormir et à ajourner la Révolution,' disaient ils, l'arme à la main, la sueur sur la front, l'écume sur les lèvres, la menace dans les yeux, — 'nous voulons le drapeau rouge, signe de victoire pour nous, de terreur pour nos ennemis. Nous voulons qu'un décret le déclare à l'instant l'unique et le seul drapeau de la République. Nous voulons que la Garde Nationale soit désarmée et remette ses fusils au peuple: nous voulons régner à notre tour sur cette bourgeoisie complice de toutes les monarchies qui lui vendent nos sueurs, sur cette bourgeoisie qui exploite les royautés à son profit, mais qui ne sait ni les inspirer ni les défendre. Nous voulons la déclaration de guerre immédiate à tous les trônes et à toutes les aristocraties. Nous voulons la déclaration de la patrie en danger, l'arrestation de tous les ministres passés et présents de la monarchie en fuite, le procès du Roi, la restitution de ses biens à la nation, la terreur pour les traîtres, la hache du peuple suspendue sur la tête de ses éternels ennemis. Quelle Révolution aux belles paroles voulez-vous nous faire? Il nous faut une Révolution qui ne puisse ni s'arrêter dans sa marche ni revenir sur ses pas. Êtes-vous les Révolutionnaires d'une pareille Révolution? Êtes-vous les Républicains d'une pareille République? Non, vous êtes comme notre complice aux vains discours, des Girondins de cœur, des aristocrates de naissance, des avocats du Tribunal, des bourgeois d'habitude, des traîtres peut-être. Faites place aux vrais Révolutionnaires, ou engagez-vous par ces mesures avec eux. Servez nous comme nous voulons être servis, ou prenez garde à vous!' En parlant ainsi quelques uns jetaient leur sabre sur la table, comme un gage qu'ils ne relèveraient qu'après avoir été obéis."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, i. 371, 372.

French Republic is not an act of aggression against any government known in the world. War is not a condition of the French Republic. It would accept, but does not seek to provoke it. But happy would France be, if foreign powers should declare war against her, and thus compel her to grow in power and glory. The treaties of 1815 do not exist in right in the eyes of the French Republic; but war does not necessarily follow from that declaration. The territorial limits fixed by those treaties are the basis which, in point of fact, it is willing to take as the point of departure in its external relations with other nations. But we say openly, if the hour of the reconstruction of some nationalities oppressed in Europe or elsewhere has been sounded by Providence— if Switzerland, our faithful ally since the days of Francis I., is invaded or menaced in consequence of the movement in her bosom, which promises to add additional strength to the league of democratic governments—if the independent states of Italy are attacked, or obstacles thrown in the way of their internal reforms, or an armed force intervenes to prevent them from forming a league among themselves for the security of their independence—France will consider herself entitled to interfere with arms to protect the legitimate efforts at reform and nationality in other people. She proclaims herself the intellectual and cordial ally of all rights, of all movements, of all developments in nations which are desirous of living under similar institutions. She will commence no underhand propagandism among her neighbours. She knows that no liberties are durable but those which arise spontaneously among nations on their own soil. But she will exercise, by the light of her ideas, by the spectacle of order and peace which she will present to the world, the only true and real proselytism—that of esteem and sympathy. This is not a declaration of war—it is the voice of Nature. It is not the herald of agitation to Europe—it is that of life."

38. An opportunity soon occurred

for manifesting in acts the sincerity of these pacific views; and M. de Lamartine then proved, in the most decisive manner, that towards Great Britain, at least, he had no intention of departing from his professions of non-intervention. The Irish revolutionists, never doubting that their efforts to shake off the yoke of England would meet with cordial sympathy from the Provisional Government of France, sent over a deputation, headed by Smith O'Brien, to invoke the aid of the great parent Democracy in establishing a Hibernian Republic in close alliance with it. They openly boasted that "they came to claim what they were sure to obtain—the assistance of fifty thousand French troops for Ireland." But Lamartine replied to the deputation: "The French nation is proud of the many historical recollections which unite them with the Irish people, and it will be always ready to evince that feeling by acts. But as to other encouragements, it is not suitable (*convenable*) either for us to give or you to receive them. I have said this already in reference to Belgium, to Germany, to Italy. I repeat it with reference to every nation which is engaged in disputes with its internal government. When one is not united by blood with a people, it is not allowable to intervene in its affairs by the hand. In Ireland, as elsewhere, we take no part but as lovers of justice, liberty, and public happiness. Any other line of conduct would be unsuitable for us in time of peace with other nations. We are at peace, and wish to remain so, with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only. We believe such a peace to be beneficial and honourable, not only to Great Britain and France, but to the entire human race. We will do no act, we will speak no word, we will address no insinuation, at variance with the principles of the reciprocal inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed, and of which the Continent is already reaping the fruits." The Irish deputation withdrew, violently chagrined at these words. In the evening, Smith O'Brien and his

colleagues were loudly applauded at Blanqui's Club, the most violent in Paris, where the speech of Lamartine met with unqualified condemnation.

39. There can be no doubt that, how adverse soever to the wishes and designs of the extreme revolutionists, Lamartine was perfectly sincere in these words. The lesson of 1814 and 1815 had not been lost upon his enlarged mind; and he was in an especial manner impressed with the belief that it was by preserving close the English alliance that the French Republic could alone hope to withstand the coalition so likely in the end to ensue, of the Continental powers against it. His ideas, too, were essentially pacific. A devout optimist, he desired to found a republic which, by the force of reason and the example of progress and prosperity which it should exhibit to the surrounding nations, should, in peace and silence, work out the regeneration of the world. Towards the realisation of this brilliant Utopian dream, he felt that the co-operation of England, as the oldest and most powerful free state in existence, was indispensable; and he had no doubt that, by its aid, he would succeed in working out his visions of innocent and universal felicity. With Lord Normanby, the former ambassador at the Court of Paris, but who still remained, though not as yet formally accredited to the new government, he was on terms of the most cordial and confidential intimacy. They met daily; and Lamartine never ceased to express his confidence in the stability of the new order of things—his belief in his own power to restrain its excesses—and his entire trust in the wisdom and intelligence of the great mass of the people now intrusted with the direct administration of affairs.

40. Though the Republic, generally speaking, was received in silent submission in the provinces when the telegraph announced its establishment in Paris, yet, in those places where the democratic spirit was peculiarly strong, it was not inaugurated without very serious disorders. At Lyons it was proclaimed at eight at night, on the

25th February, by torchlight; and before midnight, the incendiary torch had been applied to the religious and charitable establishments of the Croix Rouge, Fourvières, and Faubourg du Paix. Before morning they were in ashes, and the trembling inmates, with their weeping children, were turned, with scarcely any covering, adrift in a winter night on the streets. With singular infatuation, the furious mob threw themselves in an especial manner on the hospitals of the poor and the unfortunate, and destroyed these noble establishments. It would seem as if they were jealous of the influence which Religion might acquire by charity—wealth by beneficence. These disorders continued for several months, and at length acquired such a head as seriously to endanger the pacific relations of the Republic. A tumultuous army, estimated at thirty thousand men, comprising nearly the whole National Guard of Lyons and the surrounding districts, assembled on the frontier of Savoy, near Pont Beauvoisin, in order to spread the revolution in the Sardinian States; and it was with great difficulty they were prevented from carrying their designs into effect.

41. Delivered over to the rule of a tumultuous mob, the condition of Lyons for several months was miserable in the extreme; and though perfectly aware of these disorders, the Government did not venture to attempt their suppression. Domiciliary visits, under pretence of searching for arms, really for the sake of pillage, were universal; all persons suspected were at once seized, cast into prison, and their effects despoiled; the jails were thrown open and the criminals let loose, their place being filled by the magistrates who had ventured to condemn them; the detached forts invaded, and a general struck down from his horse and massacred in open day. Barriades were erected, and preparations made for a desperate civil war, on the slightest appearance of resistance. In a word, Lyons resembled for long a city delivered over to the rule of a troop of savages; while on the Upper

Rhine religious fanaticism appeared in a general persecution of the Jews, who were driven to seek refuge in the neighbouring territory of Switzerland, where they were hospitably received. As if to furnish the strangest contrast to these excesses of European life, the Revolution was accepted in silence and fear by the half-civilised colony of Algeria; and the Duke d'Aumale addressed a noble proclamation to the inhabitants and the army—by both of whom he was much beloved—on taking his departure.

42. But while M. de Lamartine, as Foreign Minister, was giving reiterated assurances of the pacific disposition of the French rulers, the Radical portion of the Provisional Government were preparing underhand an expedition into Belgium, in order to overthrow the throne of King Leopold, and establish a Republican régime in its stead. For this purpose, with the knowledge and connivance of M. Ledru-Rollin, as Minister of the Interior, an expedition was prepared in Paris, armed with muskets from the public arsenals, and furnished with funds from the public treasury, the object of which was to revolutionise Belgium, and from thence spread the flame of insurrection throughout Europe. In the inquiries made into the conduct of the Provisional Government by the Commission d'Enquête, the complicity of Ledru-Rollin with this expedition was clearly proved, and in fact, in his defence, he made no attempt to deny it. The first move was made on the night of the 24th and 25th March, when 800 Belgians, with 100 French, arrived at Quiévrain by the railway train: but the Belgian Government was on its guard; they were met by superior forces at the frontier, and prevented from entering the Belgian territory. Alarmed at this commencement of armed propagandism, the Belgian Government strongly reinforced the frontier towns with troops on whom they could rely, and they were thus enabled to repulse a more formidable invasion which took place four days afterwards. The troops employed on this occasion consisted of

1500 men, partly Belgian revolutionists, and partly workmen from the Ateliers Nationaux, armed with muskets sent down from Paris by Ledru-Rollin. They set out at midnight from the neighbourhood of Lille, where they had been encamped for some days, and crossed the frontier near Turcoing, firmly believing that they had only to call out "Vive la République" to be received with open arms by the whole Belgian troops and authorities. But they soon found themselves mistaken. Instead of shouts of fraternisation, they were received with discharges of grape and charges of cuirassiers. In a few minutes they were defeated, and driven back across the frontier, with the loss of twelve killed and forty wounded. This ignominious repulse prevented any repetition of the attempt in that quarter; and M. de Lamartine, who really had no hand in it, gave the Belgian Minister the most solemn assurances that the French Government was entirely a stranger to these "*ridiculous manœuvres*," which the Belgian Government were perfectly entitled to repel by force.*

43. While the Provisional Government was thus underhand seeking to revolutionise Belgium, M. de Lamartine was reiterating to a Polish deputation the most solemn assurances of their resolution not to intermeddle at all with affairs on the Vistula. Some days after the publication of his circular to foreign governments, he was waited upon (March 7) by a deputation from the Polish refugees in Paris, requesting in the mean time arms and advances of

* "From the report of the *Commission d'Enquête*, it appears from records which cannot now be disputed, as they cannot be falsified, that the *Commissaires* were not considered sufficient for the purposes of disorganisation, but that a great number of agents chosen by the most violent clubs, and who had sent in their names on a roving commission throughout France, were paid out of the funds of the *Minister of the Interior*. I see also, that in spite of all the assurances which I received at the time to the contrary from M. de Lamartine, the marauding expedition into Belgium was furnished with arms from the *arsenals of the State*, paid out of the funds of the *Minister of the Interior*, and directed by the *agents of that department*."—NORMANBY, ii. 140.

money to enable them to take a part in the struggle which they describe as approaching in Poland, and entreating that France would openly engage on their side. This, however, could only be done by attacking and forcing a passage through the Germanic Confederacy, which was a very formidable attempt, for they had 300,000 men on foot, which could easily be doubled in the event of a serious invasion. On this account, as well as because the cause of Polish independence had always warmly interested the French people, a great degree of importance was not without reason attached to the reception of this deputation by the Provisional Government. But M. de Lamartine was true to his principles. "The Republic," said he, "is republican without doubt. It announces this in the loudest terms to the whole world. But it is not at war, either openly or underhand, with other nations or existing governments, so long as these nations and these governments do not declare war against it. It will neither commit, nor suffer to be committed, if it can prevent it, any act of aggression on the German nations."

44. But although Lamartine, so far as he was concerned, was thus steady in resisting the war of propaganda to which the more violent portion of the Cabinet and the whole clubs were so strongly inclined, he yet saw the necessity of largely augmenting the military force of the country, in order to be in a situation to repel any attack, and maintain a respectable position among the European powers. It was a farther reason for making a great addition to the army that it would furnish, in a creditable way, bread to many of those who were thrown out of employment, and in some degree lessen the weight of the Ateliers Nationaux. With this view, by a decree of the Provisional Government, the army was ordered to be raised from 370,000 to 580,000 men; and in the course of the year, 530,000 men were actually enrolled. Alarming, however, as this great augmentation of the military establishment was to reflecting men, the necessity of the

case was so obvious that it excited very little attention, and passed without opposition.

45. In the midst of this universal excitement and fever, a very serious run took place on the savings banks, and these establishments soon found that they were unable to pay the deposits in specie. They were not a little embarrassed what to do, for the holders of their deposit-receipts formed no inconsiderable part of the working classes, whom it was of the last importance at all hazards to prevent from breaking out into a second revolution, or helping themselves to their neighbours' property. They determined in consequence on the only measure which, in the circumstances, was practicable—viz., a suspension of cash payments on all deposits above 100 francs (£4). A decree, accordingly, was issued on the 27th March, which, setting out with the preamble, that "the most sacred of all properties is the savings of the poor, and that it is not by words but deeds that the Government must show the good faith with which they meet the trust reposed in them by the working classes," proceeded to declare that out of 355,000,000 francs deposited in the savings banks, only 65,702,000 were forthcoming, and that the remainder, consisting of 286,548,000 francs, should be paid in Treasury bills, *at par*, when they had already sunk *fifty per cent* in value; or in Rentes at *par*, when they were down at 72! This was an evident and shameful evasion of their promises, and spoliation of the poorest and most frugal portion of the people. But such was the general panic, that the holders were glad to put up with the loss of half their property, as a salvage paid for the remainder.

46. From the commencement of the revolution the Provisional Government were extremely solicitous to obtain the recognition of their authority by foreign states, and especially Great Britain. The first power which took the decisive step was America: Mr Rush, the Minister of the United States, did so on the 28th February.

On the same day the Ministers of some of the republics in South America sent in their recognition of the new government. As it was a provisional one only, the British Cabinet could not, in the first moments of uncertainty, venture on an official recognition; but on the 28th February, Lord John Russell said in the House of Commons, in answer to a question by Mr Hume, that the British Government had no intention of intervening in any form of government which the French nation might think fit to adopt, nor of taking any part in its internal affairs; and in a few days after, Lord Palmerston said in the House, in answer to a question by Mr Monckton Milnes, that although diplomatic usages prevented the Cabinet of London from formally accrediting any diplomatic ministers to merely provisional governments, yet as soon as that of France was changed by the National Assembly into a definitive Government, an ambassador would be formally accredited to the French Republic, and that in the mean time Lord Normanby would enter into amicable relations with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. This example was immediately followed by a declaration to a similar effect from Prussia and Belgium; while in Switzerland the intelligence of the revolution at Paris was received with the warmest enthusiasm. Lord Normanby and M. de Lamartine immediately entered into the most friendly and confidential communication; and the latter gave a convincing proof of the generous feelings with which he was inspired, by not only remitting a considerable sum for the use of the exiled royal family, but assuring Lord Normanby that, although to appease the public mind the Government had been obliged to consent to the whole property of the Orléans family being put under sequestration, yet they had no intention of confiscating it, but intended only in the mean time, and for the sake of preservation, to put it under public management.

47. But while the wise and pacific language of M. de Lamartine, joined

to the sage conduct of the European powers, was thus tending to deprive the Revolution of its greatest external dangers, at least in the outset of its career, the apprehensions of the extreme democrats, headed by M. Ledru-Rollin, were preparing perils of a still more serious kind in the interior. Although its victory had been so easy and complete, this party was haunted by perpetual apprehensions of a reaction. Profoundly ignorant of the rural population of France, and judging of them by the ambitious and impassioned mob of Paris, they had, in an evil hour for themselves, but in undoubted conformity with their principles, declared for universal suffrage, and solemnly fixed the election of the National Assembly on that basis. But hardly was the ink dry of the decree which took this decisive step, than they became aware that they had committed what would in all probability prove a fatal mistake: that the great majority of the rural inhabitants, so far from favouring the despotism of the Parisian mob, were decidedly opposed to it; and that, in the present temper of men's minds, an assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all France, so far from establishing the Republic and their own power, would destroy both. Devoured by this apprehension, Ledru-Rollin was indefatigable in his endeavours to rouse the rural population, and by every means at his command, whether intimidation, influence, or corruption, to mould them to the election of representatives of the most extreme democratic character. For this purpose, four days after the publication of his first circular to the commissioners, already given, he sent round a second address to them, conceived in still more violent terms, and pointing out the means by which the designs of the Provisional Government might be realised. Its terms are extremely curious, and highly characteristic of the extreme of democratic government.

48. "Your powers," said he, "are unlimited. Agents of a revolutionary government, you are revolutionary

also. The victory of the people has imposed on you the mandate to proclaim, to consolidate their work. To accomplish that task, you are invested with their sovereign powers; you are responsible to no authority but that of your own conscience; you are bound to do what the public safety requires. Thanks to our feelings, your mission does not require anything terrible. Hitherto you have encountered no serious resistance, and you have been enabled to remain calm in the consciousness of your strength. But you must not permit yourselves to be deluded as to the state of the country. *The republican feelings require to be warmly excited*, and for that purpose political functions should be intrusted only to zealous and sympathetic men. Everywhere the prefects and sub-prefects should be changed. In some lesser localities the people petition to have them continued. It is for you to make them understand that we cannot preserve those who have served a power whose every act was one of corruption. You are invested with the authority of the Executive; the armed force is therefore under your orders. You are authorised to require its service, direct its movements, and in grave cases even suspend its commanders. You are entitled to demand from all magistrates an immediate concurrence: if any one hesitates, let me know, and he shall instantly be dismissed. As to the irremovable magistracy, watch carefully over them: if any one evinces hostile dispositions, make use of the right of dismissal which your sovereign power confers. But, above all, the elections are your great work; it is they which will prove the salvation of the country. It is on the composition of the Assembly that our destinies depend. Unless it is animated with the revolutionary spirit, we are advancing straight to a civil war and anarchy. Beware of those double-faced men who, after having served the king, profess themselves willing to serve the people. These men deceive you; never lend them your support. To

obtain a seat in the National Assembly, the candidates must be clear of all the traditions of the past. Your rallying-cry should be everywhere, 'New men as much as possible, sprung from the ranks of the people.' It is for the working men to continue the revolution; without their aid it will be lost in Utopian theories, or stifled under the heels of a retrograde faction. Enlighten the electors: repeat to them without ceasing that the reign of men and of the monarchy is at an end. You may then see how great are the duties with which you are intrusted. The education of the country has not yet commenced; it is for you to guide it. Let the day of the election be the final triumph of the revolution."

49. Invested with these supreme powers, the commissioners were not slow in exercising their authority. Not only nearly the whole of the subordinate magistracy, but many of the supreme judges, were dismissed by them. At Paris the Presidents of the Court of Cassation, the *Cour des Comptes*, and the Court of Appeal, who were not deemed sufficiently pliant, were deprived of their situations; and a great many of the highest legal functionaries in the provinces immediately shared the same fate. Nay, so far did the determination of the revolutionists go to render the courts of justice mere instruments of their will, that by a solemn decree *all judges*, not excepting those of the highest judicatories, were declared to hold their situations during pleasure only. It could hardly be conceived to what an extent the efforts of Government were carried during the critical period which intervened before the elections. Not content with sending down one commissioner to each district, a second was soon after despatched, to stimulate the efforts of the first; and in many cases a third, to see what they both were doing. In some instances, as at Bourges, as was afterwards judicially proved, a fourth was added, who set out with the principle: "The poor are in want of bread; we must take the plate of

the rich to furnish them with it." Not content with the authorised commissioners of Government, a perfect army of agents was despatched from the clubs over all France to join in the same work, all paid by funds secretly provided by the Minister of the Interior.

50. When such elements of discord existed, not only in the State, but in the Provisional Government itself, it was only a question of time when an open rupture was to take place between them. It was brought on, however, somewhat sooner than had been expected, by an ordonnance of Ledru-Rollin, published on 14th March, ordering the dissolution of the flank companies, or *compagnies d'élite* as they were called, of the National Guard, and the dispersion of their members, without distinction or equipment, among the ordinary companies of the legion. The object of this was to destroy the exclusive aspect and moral influence of these companies, which, being composed of the richer class of citizens, formed the nucleus of a body which naturally inclined to conservative principles, and might impede the designs of the extreme revolutionary party. To "democratise," as it was called, the whole body, the decree ordered these companies to be dispersed among the others, and the whole to vote together for the election of the officers, which was to take place in a few days. As the National Guard of Paris, which had been reorganised on the principle of admitting every one without distinction who could shoulder a musket, constituted a body of nearly 200,000 men, any measure affecting their composition or government was a most important matter; and this decree, which threatened to swamp the whole respectability and intelligence of the body by its indigence and ignorant violence, excited the greatest discontent among the companies threatened with dissolution. A meeting, accordingly, was held of their officers, when it was resolved to have a grand military demonstration, to ward off, if possible, the threatened blow. The

project originated with the staff of the Second Legion, which was the most conservative of the whole body, and it was readily embraced by that entire legion and a considerable part of the others. It was resolved to assemble on the following day in strength, and proceed in uniform, but without arms, to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand repeal of the obnoxious decree. At one in the afternoon of the 16th accordingly, 25,000 men of the *compagnies d'élite* marched to the Place de Grève, and soon began to fill all the approaches to the Hôtel de Ville.

51. How formidable soever this demonstration was, both in appearance and reality, it failed in its object from want of unity in design and vigour in execution in those intrusted with its direction. Without arms or any settled plan of procedure, the flank companies constituted only a well-dressed mob, exposed by their uniform and equipments to the jealousy and dislike of the immense majority of their fellow-citizens. Several of them were obstructed and forced to turn back, before reaching the place of rendezvous, by armed mobs or other bodies of the National Guard, who had obtained intelligence of their designs. Those who did reach the Hôtel de Ville found the approach to it occupied by an immense body, who were calling out, "Vive Ledru-Rollin!" and singing the "Marseillaise." It was evident the design had got wind: the demonstration had failed of its moral effect, and could be rendered successful only by force, for which, without arms, they were not prepared. Lamartine was loudly cheered as he passed through the ranks on his way to the Hôtel de Ville: but Ledru-Rollin was as vehemently applauded by the still more numerous body which encircled the building, and prevented the deputation of the flank companies from obtaining an entrance. After waiting two hours in impotent silence, the *compagnies d'élite*, seeing the multitude which opposed their progress hourly increasing, at length obeyed the voice of M. de Lamartine,

who entreated them, and General Courtais their commander, who ordered them, to retire. They withdrew, accordingly, at four o'clock, amidst the derision and hisses of the multitude, covered with the obloquy with which an unsuccessful demonstration never fails to invest those by whom it has been attempted. General Courtais next day issued an order of the day, in which he stigmatised the *compagnies d'élite*, who had taken part in the demonstration, as "misled men, who were the instruments of impotent wrath, so different from the people who suffer, but *aveat*."

52. The real meaning of these words was made manifest on the following day. For some time past a great demonstration had been in preparation, emanating from the Socialists of the Luxembourg, and intended to force the Government into the immediate appointment of a Minister for "the Organisation of Labour," and those measures for equalising and raising wages, and providing state employment for all, which M. Louis Blanc and the commission which sat there had for a fortnight been promising. The demonstration had been fixed for the 17th; but it was rendered much more formidable and imposing by the failure of the counter-display on the preceding day, which united in it many ambitious and unscrupulous characters who were not originally intended to have formed part. Louis Blanc, Albert, and their colleagues at the Luxembourg, had projected the movement, and Ledru-Rollin had assented to it—the former, from a desire to have Socialism fully established before the National Assembly met; the latter, because he feared that without some great additional stimulus its spirit would not be so democratic as he wished. But, unknown to these leaders, other ambitious spirits combined to take advantage of the projected movement. The design had got wind; the clubs were in motion; and Blanqui, Cabet, and Raspail, decided and ardent democrats, who acted for themselves, and took directions from none, had roused the whole

republican strength of the capital, in order to effect a movement which might overawe the Provisional Government, and possibly establish themselves in their room. At ten in the morning a few men entered the Boulevards, shouting the well-known Jacobin cry, "À ira!" which speedily assembled a crowd, who repeated it; and a placard was quickly posted through the city, which bore—"The people watch with jealousy manifestations against those of the Government who have given so many pledges to the Revolution. We await with confidence the realisation of the promises of Government. The people have shed their blood in defence of the Republic; they are ready to do so again."

53. At noon the mob, which by this time had swelled to an enormous multitude, advanced in silence and military array towards the Hôtel de Ville, which was only protected by three battalions of the Civic Guard. Their appearance is thus described by an eyewitness: "Every minute the Provisional Government went to the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville, from whence the column might be seen approaching. At length it made its appearance. The front of the body was composed of five or six hundred of the *élite* of the clubs of Paris, marching in military order under the guidance of their most renowned orators. They advanced forty abreast, with their hands held together after the fashion of a religious procession, and round each group a long tricolor or red scarf was bound like a vast girdle. In front of each company were three men and a woman, who bore red flags, the well-known emblems of a bloody revolution. Their appearance excited terror, and in some places indignation, in the mob who surrounded them. Behind this organised procession of the clubs came thirty or forty thousand workmen, grave in aspect, decently clothed, saddened in expression, who seemed oppressed by the calamities of their situation. The immense crowd which followed inundated the whole Place de Grève, and extended from the Hôtel de Ville along the quays to the Champs Elysées. By

one o'clock it was evident that above a hundred and twenty thousand men were collected." * "When I saw the procession advancing from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville," says Louis Blanc, "my eyes filled with tears of joy." Their approach brought to light the violent dissensions in the Provisional Government. In the fulness of his heart at what seemed his approaching triumph, Ledru-Rollin said to his colleagues—"Do you know that your popularity is as nothing to mine? I have but to open that window and call upon the people, and you would every one of you be turned into the street. Do you wish me to try?" rising and moving towards the window. Upon this, Garnier Pages walked up to him, drew a pistol from his pocket, placed it at Ledru-Rollin's breast, and said—"If you make one step towards that window, it shall be your last." Ledru-Rollin paused a moment, and sat down.

54. When this formidable demonstration reached the railing in front of the Hôtel de Ville, they found the gates closed; and Colonel Rey, the officer in command, refused them admittance. At the request of Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, however, it was agreed to let in a limited number within the barrier to state what their wishes were. When the deputation entered, the members of the Government rose up, and remained standing while the discussion, which continued several hours, lasted. The sight of their faces, however, considerably abated the satisfaction of the extreme portion of the Government. In addition to those whom they expected, and who were in their interest, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc beheld a number of others who were unknown to them, but who, being in the train of Blanqui, Sobrier, Raspail, Lacambre, and others, known to be extreme Revolutionists, were sufficient to inspire serious apprehensions. The secret was out: this violent party had adopted the movement as a means of overawing even the most democratic of the Provisional Government, and it was directed not less against Ledru-

Rollin and Louis Blanc than Lamartine and Garnier Pages. A sense of this common danger produced a unanimity in the Government which could not otherwise have been witnessed. They were all agreed in combating or evading the demands of the deputation. Blanqui explained them, and they were,—the postponement of the elections, the immediate and perpetual removal of all the troops from Paris, the implicit obedience of the Government to the voice of the people as expressed by the clubs, the postponing of the meeting of the Assembly to the 31st May—in fine, the entire surrender of the Government to the people of Paris, without any regard to the wishes of the remainder of France. The orator concluded with demanding, in a menacing tone, the immediate concession of these requisitions without a moment's delay.

55. Loud applause from the followers of the deputation, accompanied with the most menacing gestures, followed these words; and eight hundred men, who crowded the hall and surrounded the speaker, seemed ready to exterminate the Provisional Government, who, unarmed and defenceless, constituted yet the sole remaining political strength of France. But the members of it, seeing that their very existence was at stake, were united and firm. Ledru-Rollin spoke with ready and nervous elocution; Lamartine was not wanting to his great reputation for courage and eloquence; and Louis Blanc openly combated a movement which he himself had originated, but which had now outstripped his intentions. At length, wearied with an altercation of four hours, and disconcerted by the union of the Provisional Government, which they had not expected, the deputation, with their followers, withdrew at five o'clock. As they went out, a man, pale with indignation, went up to Louis Blanc, and said, "Then you, too, are traitors—you!" The whole procession marched past the Hôtel de Ville in silence and military order, and directed its steps across the centre of the city to the Column of the Bastille. The streets

* LAM. ii. 207, 208.

were crowded, but silent; the citizens, in terror, awaited the event. Before nightfall, a hundred and fifty thousand men had passed in procession.

56. Although, by their unlooked-for union and resolution, the Provisional Government had surmounted this great danger, its effects were very visible, though very different, in Paris and the departments. In the capital, nearly the whole elections, both of the officers of the National Guard and for the Assembly, were in favour of the extreme democratic party, and the case was the same in the principal towns of the departments. But in the rural districts it was very different. There the reports of the proceedings on the 17th March, and the open attempt made by the mob of Paris to dictate their own terms to the Government, and through it to all France, excited the most unbounded indignation. The determination, also, of the Paris mob to make Government entirely subservient to their own purposes, had appeared in the decree regarding the hours of labour, which fixed them at ten hours a-day in Paris, and *eleven in the departments*. The result was that the elections in the departments of the officers of the National Guard generally went against the extreme candidates; and as this augured ill for the elections for the Assembly, it was resolved to have, not a demonstration, but a regular assault on the Government, before the elections, which stood for the 22d April, should come on. In anticipation of that event, the clubs redoubled their activity. The most powerful of them, called the "Club of Clubs," took possession of one of the police-offices in the Rue de Rivoli, where they were furnished with five hundred muskets and thirty thousand cartridges by the Minister of the Interior; while M. de Lamartine, hoping to avert the tempest by concession, not only lavished his flatteries and caresses on Barbès, Cabet, Caussidière, and Sobrier, but, by his own admission, offered a diplomatic situation to Blanqui himself.

57. The object of the conspirators was to obtain a farther adjournment of

the elections, in order to gain time for the more thorough diffusion of extreme ideas among the people in the country, and to remodel the Government so as to retain none in power but the most ardent republicans. The dictatorship was to be bestowed on Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Caussidière. By this means a Socialist majority would be secured in the executive, and the entire realisation of the dreams of the Luxembourg rendered certain. For some days before that appointed for the insurrection the most alarming rumours were in circulation, and the Minister of Police formally warned the Minister of the Interior of the impending danger. Ledru-Rollin, however, it may readily be believed, was in no hurry to take measures against a state of things which he was underhand promoting, and from which he hoped to profit; the clubs continued their defiant attitude, and the preparations for the rising went on without intermission, and with scarcely any concealment. A design was formed for blowing up the Hôtel de Ville, which was only prevented from being carried into execution by the barrels of powder being discovered a few hours before the explosion was to have taken place. Meanwhile Lamartine, who well knew he would be the first victim of the revolt if it proved successful, burnt his secret papers on the night of the 15th, and prepared for the worst.

58. But while Ledru-Rollin was awaiting the reward of his underhand intrigues with the clubs against his colleagues, another still more formidable insurrection was preparing at the "Club of Clubs," the object of which was to destroy his own ascendancy and establish that of Blanqui instead. These new conspirators did not propose to exclude the Minister of the Interior from the dictatorship, but to give him so many colleagues as should throw him into a minority, and render him powerless. But when the proposed members were brought together, Ledru-Rollin refused to act with Blanqui, who on his side was equally determined not to belong to a Govern-

ment which contained Ledru-Rollin. The fact was, that the latter had found in the archives of the Minister of the Interior a document which proved that Blanqui had been on secret terms with the Government of Louis Philippe, and furnished it with all the details of the Liberal conspiracies in 1846. The knowledge of this naturally made them mutually suspicious of each other. The other conspirators did their utmost to reconcile the rival chiefs, but in vain; and at midnight on the 15th they left Ledru-Rollin with these words: "Well, since you don't choose to go with us, you shall be thrown out of the window to-morrow with the others. Reflect on this: we are in a situation to make good our words."

59. Threatened in this manner with instant destruction by his former allies, Ledru-Rollin, after passing the night in the most cruel uncertainty, at length resolved to throw himself on M. de Lamartine, and reveal everything. He went to him accordingly at day-break, and informed him of the designs of the conspirators and the imminence of the danger. "In a few hours," said he, "we shall be attacked by one hundred thousand men. I have come to concert measures with you, as I know your resolution, and that extremities do not disturb it." "In that case," said Lamartine, "there is not a minute to lose. Set out instantly and summon the National Guard; your situation as Minister of the Interior gives you a right to do so. I will fly to gain the three battalions of the Garde Mobile, who may be in a state fit for action. I will shut myself up in the Hôtel de Ville, and there await the first brunt of the assault. One of two things must happen—either the National Guard will refuse to turn out, and in that case the Hôtel de Ville will be carried, and I shall die at my post; or the *rappel* and the fire of musketry will bring the National Guard to the support of the Government attacked in my person at the Hôtel de Ville, and then the insurrection, placed between two fires, will be stifled in blood, and the Government

delivered. I am prepared for either result." Ledru-Rollin acquiesced in this plan, and set out professedly to give orders to beat the *rappel* to collect the National Guard, while Lamartine flew to the headquarters of the Garde Mobile to bring them forth to the combat. They at once agreed to turn out under their brave general, Duvivier, to whom they were extremely attached. After this Lamartine went to the headquarters of the National Guard, desiring General Courtais to beat the *rappel*; but he refused, would only consent to allow fifty men to be summoned from each battalion, and positively declined to furnish them with cartridges. Upon this Lamartine, in despair, returned to the Hôtel de Ville.

60. But, fortunately for France, chance had at that moment brought a man to the Hôtel de Ville equal to this crisis, and whose decision and courage proved the salvation of the Government. General Changarnier, who had been appointed by Lamartine Minister at Berlin, had called that morning at the hotel of the latter in order to receive his last instructions, and he was then informed by Madame Lamartine of the extreme danger of her husband, and the critical position of affairs at the Hôtel de Ville. Thither accordingly he immediately hastened, and found Lamartine and Marrast there. The first question Changarnier asked was whether the National Guard had been summoned, and upon Lamartine replying in the negative, he persuaded Marrast that it was his duty as Mayor of Paris to call them out when the public tranquillity was threatened. Marrast acquiesced, and twelve horsemen were instantly despatched to the twelve sub-mayoralities of Paris, with orders to beat the *rappel*. But during these arrangements and hesitations much precious time had been lost; the insurgents, in great strength, were not far distant, and the Garde Mobile had not yet arrived. At length they made their appearance, though only three battalions of four hundred men each; and Changarnier, who at once

took the entire direction of the defence, wisely withdrew them within the building, the doors and windows of which were strongly barricaded. Still the *rappel* was not heard in the streets; it was evident some hours must elapse before even the first battalions of the National Guard could arrive; and all Lamartine's firmness and Changarnier's military skill were required to avert the catastrophe in the interval before they came up, for the heads of the enormous column of the insurgents were already beginning to appear.

61. For two hours longer the inmates of the Hôtel de Ville remained shut up in the building; and though the *rappel* had been heard, no part of the National Guard had yet arrived. All seemed lost, for the mob had already entered the Place de Grève, and occupied all the opposite end of the square. A battalion of volunteers arrived at this critical moment, and were harangued by Lamartine, who throughout evinced the greatest courage. Meanwhile a column of thirty thousand insurgents met at the Louvre two regiments of the National Guard, commanded by General Courtais; he allowed part to pass, and then, pushing forward his men in double-quick time, interposed them between that part and the remainder. This retarded the advance of the head of the column, and its leaders were perplexed by not seeing at the windows of the Hôtel de Ville the expected signals, and by the seizure of a *fourgon* containing fifteen hundred loaded muskets, which Changarnier had detected near the building, disguised under the appearance of a holiday waggon. Soon after, the heads of the columns of the National Guard were seen on the left bank of the Seine, and, passing over the bridges in double-quick time, they debouched into the Place de Grève, and, drawing up in close column in front of the Hôtel de Ville, presented an impenetrable barrier to the insurgents. The victory was now gained, and the revolutionists were obliged to submit to the humiliation of advancing with their petition with-

out arms, in single file, through the armed battalions. Before nightfall it was rendered complete by the arrival of the remainder of the National Guard in such numbers that before dark one hundred and thirty thousand men were assembled round the building. Then, *and not till then*, L. Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, and the other members of the Government, who had either been intimidated or in secret favoured the insurrection, came to the Hôtel de Ville. They had all passed the day, *far from danger*, in the hotel of the Minister of Finance. The meeting between them and Lamartine was so stormy that it was evidently only a question of time when the Provisional Government should fall to pieces from its own divisions.

62. When dissensions so violent were shaking not only the capital but the Provisional Government itself, it was not to be supposed that the provinces should escape without convulsions. They broke out with peculiar severity in the manufacturing towns, where the greatest efforts had been made to spread Socialist principles, and the prevailing distress insured them the most ready reception. Anxious to avert them, the prefect of Ronen, M. Deschamps, on 10th March, yielded to the solicitations which, on such occasions, are so often addressed to those in authority, and imprudently issued a tariff, fixing the operatives' wages at certain rates, according to their supposed capacities and the necessities of their situations. The consequence might have been foreseen: the master manufacturers, unable from the general depression to pay the sums fixed, dismissed their workmen and closed their doors. Upon this the public agitation rapidly increased; tumultuous crowds assembled in the streets, shouting "Vive Deschamps! à bas les capitalistes!" A strong body of troops, which soon after arrived, restored order at the time, but the workmen remained idle, suffering, and in sullen discontent. This ill-humour was at first vented on a body of four thousand English workmen, who, in defiance of Lord Normanby's remonstrance, were forcibly ejected,

and sent back to England without any of the sums they had deposited in the savings bank. At length the general indignation rose to such a pitch that barricades were run up in all the densely-peopled parts of the town, which were stormed by the troops of the line, not without serious slaughter on both sides. Similar disorders took place about the same time, and were suppressed by the like sanguinary measures, in Elberuf, Nantes, Nismes, and several other places; while at Limoges the tumult was so violent that the polling-office was stormed when the elections were going on—five hundred national guards, sent to suppress the tumult, were surrounded and disarmed—and a provisional government appointed, which for some time ruled the town and surrounding district.

63. Anxious to improve the victory which they had gained in the capital, the members of the Provisional Government agreed on a grand military demonstration in Paris, and for this purpose assembled together not only the whole national guards of the city and *bataillon*, but large bodies of regular troops from the towns and departments in the neighbourhood. The day was fixed for the 21st April; it proved uncommonly fine, and the military force assembled was of unparalleled magnitude, and, if it could all have been relied on, might well have inspired the Provisional Government with the consciousness of invincible strength. The Provisional Government and Ministers took their stations at daybreak at the arch of the Etoile to see the troops defile before them, and from thence the eye wandered over a sea of helmets, bayonets, guns, and standards, which filled the whole avenue of the Champs Elysées, the gardens of the Tuileries, with the quays and principal streets beyond them. Everything wore a joyous aspect; the bayonets of the soldiers were decorated with ribbons, the touch-holes of the cannon ornamented with flowers; universal satisfaction and enthusiasm seemed to prevail; and before eleven at night, when the procession ceased, three hundred and fifty thousand armed

men had passed, and fifty thousand more were obliged to be put off to the following day. Yet amid all "this pomp and circumstance of glorious war," there were many symptoms which were of a more dubious character, and awakened mournful presentiments in the minds of the beholders. Already the division between the rural National Guard and those of the metropolis was painfully conspicuous: cries of "*Vive la République!*" were heard from the latter, but those of "*Vive Lamartine!*" *à bas les Communistes!*" broke from the former. Amidst all the seeming unanimity the seeds of future intestine war were very apparent, and beyond the magnificent display, intended to foreshadow the eternal duration of the Republic, the prophetic eye could already discern the prognostics of its fall.

64. The elections came on amidst this tumult of contending hopes, fears, anxieties, and interests; and although they were of course materially affected by the influence of particular plans or men, yet upon the whole one broad line of demarcation separated them. Generally speaking, the cities returned democratic and the provinces conservative members. All returned were of course, or rather professed to be, republican; and the disposition among the latter almost universally was to support the Provisional Government as the last remaining barrier between the country and the usurpation of the Parisian Communists. But the majority were far from being inclined to adopt the republican as the ultimate form of government in France. They regarded the Revolution in Paris as a mere surprise, in promoting or resisting which the country had taken no share. They supported the Provisional Government because it was in possession of Paris, and in the mean time there was nothing better to support; but they sighed for the period when a government might be established more in unison with the wishes, and suited to the circumstances, of the entire country. Lamartine was the universal hero both with the conservative party in the towns and nearly the whole rural

electors; he was the champion of order against the disorganising doctrines of the Socialists, and their attempted despotism over France; and his popularity was proved by his being spontaneously returned by ten electoral districts besides that which he selected for his seat in Paris. The following is the account which he has himself recorded of his popularity at this period: "The National Assembly was almost throughout inspired by the desire of public safety. The name of Lamartine issued ten times from the electoral urn, without his even knowing that he had been put up as a candidate. Had he said a word, expressed a desire, given a sign,* he would have been elected in eighty departments. His popularity was without bounds at Paris, in France, in Germany, Italy, America. In Germany his name was synonymous with peace; in France it was a guarantee against terror; in Italy it was the symbol of hope; in America it was identified with the republic. He had

in truth at that moment *the sovereignty over European thought*. He could not move a step in the streets without receiving acclamations. They followed him to his dwelling, they interrupted his slumbers. Twice at the opera, when he was recognised, the audience suspended the performance and stood up. France personified in him its joy to have again obtained a government." Such is Lamartine's own account of his popularity at this period; probably it will be somewhat impaired in future times by his being himself the party who proclaimed it.*

* The votes given in the department of the Seine to the different candidates were as follows, which probably pretty fairly represent their respective popularities—viz. Lamartine, 259,800; Dupont de l'Eure, 245,083; François Arago, 243,640; Garnier Pagès, 240,800; Armand Marrast, 239,166; Marie, 225,776; Crémieux, 210,699; Beranger, 204,271; Carnot, 195,608; Bethmont, 189,252; Duvivier, 182,175; Cavaignac, 144,187; Buchez, 135,678; Causssidière, 133,775; Albert, 133,041; Ledru-Rollin, 131,587; Flocon, 121,864; Louis Blanc, 121,140.

CHAPTER LXVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE GREAT REVOLT IN JUNE 1848.

1. THE National Assembly met on the 4th May, the anniversary of the meeting of the States-General in 1789. The Provisional Government had decreed that the deputies should all appear in a particular costume, of which a *gilet à la Robespierre* was the most conspicuous part. But the good sense of the deputies disregarded the injunction, and one only, Causssidière, appeared in the prescribed dress. Audry de Puyraveau was the first chairman, and Dupont de l'Eure opened the proceedings on the part of the Provisional Government. "You are about," said he, "to form a new government on the sacred base of democracy, and to give to France *the only*

constitution which suits it, the republican constitution. Faithful to our origin and our convictions, we have not forgotten to proclaim the republic in February. To-day we inaugurate the National Assembly by the only cry which should rally it, 'Vive la République.'" Loud cries of "Vive la République" were heard upon this; but they proceeded chiefly from the galleries, and were at length re-echoed from the Left only. The Centre and Right remained nearly silent, and they formed the decided majority of the Assembly. It was already evident that the greater part of the members, though neither royalist nor reactionary, were as moderate as a legislature

elected under such circumstances could possibly be. The meeting was held in a wooden building, erected in the court-yard of the former palace of the Chamber of Deputies, as the old edifice was wholly unable to contain the enlarged number of deputies, which was 900. About 620 were present, and the reception of the Provisional Government was extremely cold. The circumstance of the Assembly holding its meetings in a temporary building was regarded by many as ominous of the duration of the constitution they were called together to frame. There was none of the enthusiasm of 1789 on this occasion. Then all was hope and confidence in the coming regeneration of society by the establishment of government on a popular basis. Now experience had chilled these hopes, and the general feeling was a desire to extricate the country as quickly as possible from the dangers with which it was surrounded.

2. On the day following, the election of a president took place, when M. Buchez, joint-mayor of Paris, was chosen by 329 votes out of 727 which were presented. On the 6th the Provisional Government solemnly resigned their authority into the hands of the Assembly, and each of them rendered an account of his stewardship in the department committed to his direction. That of M. de Lamartine was remarkable, as containing his views on the external policy of the Republic. "Our system," said he, "is that of democratic truth, which will gradually enlarge itself into faith in universal social brotherhood. Our vital air is the breath of liberty in every free state in the universe. Three months have not yet elapsed since it was established amongst us; and if democracy must have its thirty years' warlike protestantism at this moment, instead of marching at the head of thirty-six millions of men, France, counting among its allies the free states of Switzerland, Italy, and the emancipated people of Germany, is already at the head of eighty-eight millions of confederates and allies! What victory could equal to the Republic such a

confederacy, conquered without shedding one drop of blood, and cemented by the conviction of our disinterestedness? France, on the fall of royalty, rose up from its abasement, as a vessel loaded with a foreign weight rights itself when it is removed. Such, citizens, is the exact position of our exterior affairs. The prosperity and glory of that situation is entirely owing to the Republic. We accept the whole responsibility connected with it; and we congratulate ourselves upon having appeared before the representatives of the nation, with its grandeur secured, with its hands full of alliances, and unstained by human blood."

3. The first serious care which awaited the Assembly was the appointment of an Executive Commission to supply the place of the Provisional Government which had resigned, until a constitution could be framed and agreed to, and a regular administration appointed. It was agreed that the nomination of the ministers should be intrusted to a commission of five members of the Assembly. Of course the appointment of them became an object of the very highest importance, rousing into activity all the ambitions and passions of the members. Such was Lamartine's vanity and confidence in his popularity, that he never doubted that the first place in this important commission would be conferred upon himself. When informed by M. Marrast, on occasion of the previous election, of his position at the head of the poll, he said in the pride of his heart, "Then I am a head taller than either Alexander or Caesar." But his fall was at hand. In order to secure his nomination, he entered into a coalition with Ledru-Rollin and Marie, with whom he had so recently been literally on terms of daggers-drawing, and whose principles, he well knew, were utterly inconsistent with anything like regular government. On the 9th May he made a strange ambiguous speech, in which he declared that "between him and his former colleagues the differences were more apparent than real," and con-

cluded with openly supporting M. Ledru-Rollin. The result at once showed how completely he had mistaken the temper of the Assembly. When the votes were counted, instead of being, as he expected, at the head of the list, he was fourth, and next to Ledru-Rollin !* Lord Normanby had warned him, in the most earnest terms, of the danger which he ran by entering into the coalition ; but he was deaf to his representations, saying, he knew he would "be damaged at the moment, but that it would be a three weeks' wonder, and then his reputation would become higher than ever." The event has proved that he was mistaken ; he has never recovered the injury inflicted on his character by this unprincipled coalition. He has entered, in his *History of the Revolution*, into a laboured vindication of his conduct, but in vain ; and, like Sir Robert Peel, he remains an enduring monument of the eternal truth, that dereliction of principle on a vital question, however speciously supported, and with whatever genius accompanied, never fails to be fatal to the reputation of public men.

4. But there were other ambitions besides that of Lamartine which were disappointed by the election of the five members of the Executive Commission. Neither Louis Blanc nor Albert, neither Blanqui, nor Barbès, nor Raspail were to be found in it, although the two first were members of the Assembly, and eligible to a place. They had resigned their situations as President and Vice-President of the Commission of the Luxembourg ; and on the day following, Louis Blanc brought forward a distinct motion to have the Commission reappointed, under the direction of a "Minister of Progress and Labour," which situation he made no attempt to disguise was suited for himself. In his speech he characterised himself as the martyr of his love for the people, and drew a picture, in the most lugubrious terms,

of the condition of industry in France, literally in the last agonies of dissolution. He was far from being supported, however, in his demand for a Minister of "Labour and Progress ;" and the finishing-stroke was given to his *éloge* of the former Commission by the ironical observation of M. Peupin, formerly delegate of the watchmakers : "I am far from blaming the Commission of the Luxembourg, and they would err greatly who say that it has been in fault. *Can those be culpable who have done nothing ?*" Instead of appointing Louis Blanc Minister of Progress, the Assembly, on the motion of M. Arago, named a commission, of which he was only a member, to inquire into the condition and sufferings of the working-classes. On the day following, the various offices of Government were filled up by persons for the most part not very eminent, and apparently selected chiefly for their negative quality of not belonging to either of the extreme parties.*

5. The truth was now apparent even to the most obtuse among the republicans, that they were in a decided minority in the Assembly. *Democracy in France had been extinguished by Universal Suffrage*—a strange result, wholly unexpected by the great majority of the revolutionists, but by no means surprising when the fact is recollected that above ten millions of landed proprietors existed in that country, most of whom were inspired with the most mortal apprehensions of the Parisian Communists. "*The republican sentiment*," says Lamartine, "*is weak in France*. Such as it is, it is ill represented in Paris and the departments by men who inspire horror and aversion to the Republic among the rural population. *The Republic is a surprise*, which we have, almost by a miracle, turned to good account, by the wisdom of the

* The numbers were—Arago, 725 ; Garnier Pagès, 715 ; Marie, 702 ; Lamartine, 643 ; Ledru-Rollin, 458.—*Moniteur*, 10th May 1848.

* The Ministry stood as follows :—Justice, M. Crémieux ; Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide ; War, M. Charras ; Navy, Admiral Lacy ; Interior, M. Recut ; Finances, M. Duclerc ; Public Works, M. Trélat ; Public Worship, M. Bethmont ; Commerce, M. Flocon ; Public Instruction, M. Carnot.—*Moniteur*, May 11, 1848.

people of Paris, and by the character of moderation, clemency, and concord which we have impressed upon it. But impressions are brief and short-lived among all people, and most of all in France. Hardly will the majority of the population which has thrown itself, under the enthusiasm of fear, into the arms of the Revolution, have recovered its natural tone of mind, than it will turn against those who have saved it, and accuse the Republic. Then, if there are no republicans of old date in the Republic, or if they are few in number, and divided in presence of their common enemies, it is all over with the Republic. And if the Republic, the sole existing asylum of society, falls before the returning monarchical ideas or used-up monarchical institutions of the country, what will become of France?"

6. Sensible that the National Assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all the country by no means answered their purposes, the Socialists and extreme revolutionists soon conspired to overturn it. They had expected to become a tyrant majority; they had no intention of sinking into a tyrannised-over minority. The unrestrained domination of the clubs of Paris, the general establishment of the socialism which had been preached at the Luxembourg, and universal war with Europe, were their ulterior objects. Blanqui, Raspail, and Cabet, the three principal leaders of the clubs, were highly discontented, for they had not succeeded even in getting seats in the Assembly; Louis Blanc and Albert were equally chagrined, for they were not members of the Executive Commission. They had strong hopes of being supported by Ledru-Rollin, for the *Bulletin of the Republic*, No. 16, published under his auspices, had announced the "determination of the people of the barricades to adjourn the decisions of a false national representation, if the returns did not secure the triumph of socialism." The better to unite these different parties together, it was resolved to take a ground on which

they could all coalesce, and with this view they selected the presentation of a petition in favour of Poland, and for the immediate declaration of war against Germany. They openly boasted that the petition should be presented by a hundred thousand men. The Assembly feeling, in Lamartine's words, that a petition so presented was "not a petition but a menace," passed a decree forbidding the presentation of petitions at their bar. Upon this the whole clubs were in motion, and it was resolved to have a grand demonstration on the 15th of May. There was no concealment of the designs of the conspirators; the Assembly were perfectly aware they were to be the objects of attack. But the Executive Commission was weak from distraction of opinion, the National Guard divided, the new ministers wholly ignorant of the mode of governing men, and no adequate preparations had been made to meet the danger. It came accordingly, and all but overturned the Government, and with it the Republic.

7. M. Walewski, the deputy to whom the advocating the cause of Poland had been committed, was speaking in favour of an armed intervention, by declaring of war against the German Confederation, when an alarm was heard that the Assembly was threatened, and in danger of being forced. It was not that there were no troops to protect them: there were plenty, but no one would take upon himself the responsibility of giving the order to resist. General Courtais was at the head of several regiments of the National Guard in front of the Madeleine, but he was irresolute, and was persuaded to let the procession, which consisted of fully fifteen thousand persons, file through his armed bands. Two battalions of the Garde Mobile were stationed on the Pont de la Concorde over which the procession required to cross to reach the Assembly, but they had no orders, and their officers, hearing what General Courtais had done, allowed the multitude to pass. An immense crowd now surrounded the rails forming the de-

fence of the Palais du Corps Legislatif, loudly demanding admission, which a battalion of national guards intrusted with that post refused. In vain Ledru-Rollin, who came out to harangue them, endeavoured to obtain a hearing: he was received with a few cheers, drowned in a storm of hisses. Lamartine was next sent for, but even his voice failed of effect: he was hooted down with cries of "*Assez joué de la Lyre; mort à Lamartine!*"* In a few seconds the rails were passed, the gates of the barrier forced, and a furious crowd inundated the first court at the foot of the columns. Seeing this, Lamartine, and a few deputies who were with him, retired within the second rail, saying, "Reason is no longer heard: to arms! let us defend ourselves!" The inner court was occupied by a battalion of the Garde Mobile, which fixed bayonets, and seemed disposed to do its duty. But at that critical moment an order arrived from General Courtais to *unfix bayonets*, and return them to their scabbards. No longer resisted, the multitude now broke in tumultuous bodies into the hall where the Assembly was sitting; and the galleries being soon filled, those in front, pushed forward by those behind, were forced over the front of the gallery, and fell among the deputies seated beneath. Lamartine, seeing the Assembly thus forced, raised his arms towards heaven, and said in utter agony, "All is lost."

8. In truth, all was lost, if the case had rested upon the resolution of the Government, or its ability to defend itself. In the front rank of the petitioners stood M. Barbès, who said, amidst deafening shouts, "Citizens, you have come here to exercise your right of petitioning: you have done well to enforce that right, and it now lies with you to take effectual measures to prevent it from ever again being contested. The duty of the Assembly is to take into consideration what you demand; and as the wish which you have expressed is precisely

"We have had enough of the Lyre; Death to Lamartine!"

that of all France, the Assembly *will have to decree what you demand*. The Assembly has heard your demands: it must obey them; but to avoid the appearance of restraint, it would be well that you should now retire." But having once got possession of the hall, the insurgents were in no hurry to withdraw, and it soon appeared that the vast majority were set upon objects of more pressing importance than the restoration of Poland. "The real friends of the people," exclaimed Blanqui, "have been systematically excluded from the Assembly and the Government." Lists were handed down for the inscription of the names of those who were ready to fight in behalf of Poland: only four signed the paper. "We have other things to do," cried they on all sides; "we have had enough of Poland." A furious crowd surrounded M. Buchez, the President, threatening him and the whole Assembly with instant death, unless he signed orders forbidding the rappel to be beat, and enjoining the National Guard not to act. He long resisted; but at length, with the dagger at his throat, he yielded. Upon this, the tumult increased to a frightful degree, and all order or respect to the Assembly was lost. M. Barbès was again forced into the tribune, to state their new demands. "I insist," exclaimed he, "that a forced tax of a milliard (£40,000,000) shall be laid upon the rich, and that whoever gives orders to beat the rappel shall be declared a traitor to the country." "You are wrong, Barbès," cried a voice from the crowd; "*two hours of pillage* is what we want." Wearied at length with these endless and varied demands, which, from the clamour and noise, could neither be put nor considered, one of the most violent of the insurgents, named Huber, was carried on the shoulders of his comrades to the tribune, from whence he said, in a stentorian voice, "In the name of the people, whose voice the Assembly has refused to hear, I declare the Assembly dissolved." Loud applause followed these words, which were immediately succeeded by

a dozen men scaling the President's chair, and dragging him from his seat. In confusion and utter dismay the Assembly rose up, and, following its chief, abandoned the hall.

9. Having thus dissolved the Assembly, the insurgents proceeded to nominate a new Provisional Government. The persons first appointed were Barbès, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Blanqui, Huber, Raspail, Caussidière, Etienne Arago, Albert, Lagrange. This list, however, was deemed not sufficiently socialist; and a new one was read out, and agreed to by acclamation, which embraced Cabet, L. Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Raspail, Considerant, Barbès, Blanqui, Proudhon. The preponderance of the Communist element was very clear here, and several voices called out, "There are too many Socialists." The Government, however, was agreed to, and the whole proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, preceded by a hideous mob shouting, "The Assembly is dissolved; long live the Revolutionary Government! — long live Barbès!" The procession, swelling as it advanced, passed without obstruction before the Prefecture of Police, and took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where the new Government was formally installed. But meanwhile Lamartine had despatched several trusty messengers to the battalions of the National Guard and the Garde Mobile who were most likely to prove faithful, to hasten to the deliverance of the Assembly. At length, about four o'clock, the welcome roll of a drum was heard on the other side of the Seine, and soon the bayonets of a corps of the Garde Mobile were seen crossing the Pont de la Concorde at the *pas de charge*. In an instant the Hall of the Assembly was cleared, and the rude intruders chased out of the doors and windows. They fell back upon the Hôtel de Ville, where the Insurrectionary Government was established, and the principal strength of the rebels was to be found. Preparation for a desperate resistance had been made, and four pieces of artillery were brought up before the infantry, in or-

der to breach the walls of the building before an assault was made. The moment was terrible; but the hearts of the insurgents failed them at the decisive moment; they evacuated the building when they saw the guns pointed against it; and it was taken possession of without resistance by the forces of the Government. Seventy-two prisoners were made on the spot, among whom were Barbès and Albert.

10. Three thousand of the insurgents, all armed, shut themselves up in the Prefecture of Police, where they prepared to resist; but next morning they surrendered to six thousand of the National Guard, which were brought against them. The whole members of the Insurrectionary Government were arrested, and conducted to Vincennes. General Courtais, whose conduct at the head of the National Guard had been more than doubtful, was dismissed, and succeeded by General Clement Thomas, and Caussidière, after some hesitation, resigned the situation of head of the police, and was succeeded by M. Trouve-Chauvel. The battalions of the Garde Républicaine, which had universally failed in their duty, were purged of their most disaffected members, and reduced to something like military order and obedience. General Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria, received the portfolio of Minister of War. Finally, the entrance of great numbers of National Guards from the neighbourhood of the capital, all animated with the strongest indignation against the Parisian Socialists, enabled the Government to take the decisive step of closing the clubs, which was done on the succeeding days, not without violent resistance and some bloodshed. A commission was appointed to make inquiry into the insurrections of the 16th April and 15th May, which immediately commenced its labours, and published a report, under the title of "*Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête*," containing a vast deal of information on the subject, and more authentic evidence on the effects of the revolution than any other collection in existence.

11. The facts brought out by the Commission d'Enquête appeared so strongly to implicate M. Louis Blanc, that the Procureurs-Generaux, MM. Portalis and Landaries, demanded permission from the Assembly to institute a formal accusation against him. The question was warmly debated; but at length, by a majority of 369 to 337, they negatived the demand. It appeared from the evidence that, though Louis Blanc had been borne on the shoulders of the people from the Hall of the Assembly to the Hôtel de Ville, and there named one of the insurrectionary government, yet he was, in truth, hardly a free agent on the occasion, and that he was implicated in the rebellion rather from the doctrines he had promulgated at the Luxembourg than from immediate accession to the attack on the Assembly. But in truth, even if the case had been otherwise, they were too well aware of the strength, at least in Paris, of the party of which he was the head, and the insufficiency of their means of resistance, to venture on the prosecution which was demanded. Meanwhile the disorders in the provinces continued without abatement. At Lyons, on the 18th May, a furious mob arose, demanding the instant liberation of the prisoners who had been arrested on occasion of the tumults in February. The prefect, unable to withstand the violence with which he was threatened, was obliged to sign an order for their discharge; and they were immediately carried in triumph to the Croix Rouge, where barricades were constructed, and a sort of provisional government established. Surrounded by so many and such serious dangers, the Assembly still strangely kept their eyes fixed on those which were passed, and by a majority of 632 to 63, adopted a law, proposed by the Executive Commission, banishing for ever the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, as the elder branch had already been, from the French territory.

12. But the Government soon found that they had more serious causes of disquietude than the dread of a reac-

tion, and more formidable competitors for power to contend with than the princes of the house of Orléans. Among other persons who were brought forward as candidates for a seat in the Chamber in the elections coming on in June, was one whose name spoke powerfully to every heart in France, LOUIS NAPOLEON. A placard, recommending him to the electors of Paris, bore these ominous words: "Louis Napoleon only asks to be a representative of the people; and he has not forgot that Napoleon, before being the first magistrate of France, was its first citizen." His name was heard in various groups on the Boulevards at night: "Vive l'Empereur!" broke from the masses as often as "Vive Barbès!" "Vive la République démocratique!" Alarmed at these appearances, M. de Lamartine, taking advantage of a report, which was afterwards proved to be false, that the commander of the National Guard had been fired at from a crowd which was raising cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" proposed to the Assembly to renew against Louis Napoleon by name the general decree of banishment against the princes of the family of Buonaparte passed in 1832. "We will never," said he, "permit France to degrade herself, as was the case in Rome during the days of the Lower Empire, when the Republic was bought by a name shouted by a few noisy conspirators." These words produced at first a great impression; but ere long it wore off, and in the end the project of banishment was negatived by a majority of two to one. Louis Napoleon, in consequence, was permitted to remain on the roll of candidates, and he was simultaneously elected by the departments of the Seine, the Yonne, the Sarthe, and the Charente-Inférieure. He notified his acceptance of the charge in a letter, some of the expressions in which singularly contrast with his subsequent career, but he afterwards declined to take his seat, from a desire to avoid causing dissension in the Republic.*

* "Your confidence imposes on me duties which I shall know how to discharge. Our feelings, our interests, our wishes, are the

13. The elections for the Assembly in June were very remarkable, as evincing the steady and now uninterrupted growth of reactionary principles in the greater part of the country. The former repugnance to the statesmen who had served in the Chamber of Deputies under Louis Philippe was fast wearing away, and a dread of the rashness of inexperienced men succeeding in its place. Then were, for the first time since the Revolution, returned to the Assembly M. Thiers, M. Victor Hugo, Charles Dupin, General Changarnier, General Rulhières, M. Molé, Marshal Bugeaud, M. A. Fould, M. Rivet. M. Molé was sought after in his retreat by the electors of the Gironde, and forced to accept their representation. On the other hand, the electors of Paris returned MM. Causidière, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Lagrange—that is to say, the chiefs of Socialism. Everything thus conspired to indicate a terrible struggle between the country and the metropolis, which, although it might begin in the Assembly, would to all appearance terminate in the streets. And in the presence of this evidently approaching danger, it was melancholy to see the pitiable state of weakness to which the executive Government was reduced. Formed by an avowed coalition of men of the most diametrically opposite opinions, its members had lost the weight of individual character without having gained the force of united action. The Socialists were determined on an insurrection against the Assembly, which they now saw was decidedly opposed

same. A child of Paris, now a representative of its inhabitants, I will unite my efforts with those of my colleagues to re-establish order, credit, industry, to secure external peace, consolidate democratic institutions, and mutually conciliate those interests which now appear hostile, because they suspect each other to run counter, instead of conspiring to one end—the prosperity and glory of the country. The people have been free since the 24th February; they can now obtain everything without having recourse to brute force. Let us rally round the altar of our country under the standard of our country, and let us give to the world the great example of a people who regenerate themselves without violence, without civil war, without anarchy.” —*Ann. Hist.* 1848, p. 208.

to their demands; and the Executive Commission, divided in itself, felt so unequal to meet it that Lamartine strongly advised them to resign, which shame at the thought of retiring in presence of danger alone prevented them from doing. In the mean time, every precaution was taken to protect them from insult; and the strange spectacle was exhibited to the world of a sovereign legislature, elected by universal suffrage, deliberating under the protection of cannon pointed against its own constituents.*

14. Meanwhile the state of the finances was daily becoming more alarming, and France was beginning again to experience the bitter truth, that the inevitable effect of revolutions is at once to diminish the revenue and enormously increase the expenditure. In the sixty-nine days which had elapsed between the fall of Louis Philippe and the installation of the National Assembly, the Provisional Government had opened extraordinary credits to the amount of 206,183,035 francs (£8,240,000); and such was the necessitous state of the Treasury, notwithstanding the addition of 45 per cent to the direct taxes, that the only resource which remained to M. Duclerc, who had succeeded M. Garnier Pages as Finance Minister, was a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs (£6,000,000), and then to cut down woods to the extent of 25,000,000 francs, and alienate lands belonging to the State or the Crown to the extent of 200,000,000 more (£8,000,000)! Immense as these sums were, they did not embrace the whole obligations incurred by the State in consequence of this most disastrous Revolution; for the Bank of France had already advanced 245,000,000 francs to the Provisional Government, making, with M. Duclerc's fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs, no less than 395,000,000 francs, or nearly

* The votes for these new candidates were as follows in the department of the Seine: Causidière, 146,400; Moreau, 126,889; Goudchoux, 107,097; Changarnier, 105,559; M. Thiers, 97,394; Leroux, 94,375; Victor Hugo, 86,906; Louis Napoleon, 84,426; Lagrange, 78,682; Boissel, 77,247; Proudhon, 77,094 — *Moniteur*, June 12, 1848.

£16,000,000 sterling, of debt already incurred from its effects. The fearful shortcoming of the indirect taxes, which in the course of the year fell off 150,000,000 francs (£6,000,000), the enormous charges of the Ateliers Nationaux, and the great increase of the army, were the chief causes of this most disastrous state of things. The men daily receiving wages at the Ateliers Nationaux were now 118,300, and their cost was 250,000 francs (£10,000) a-day. Of this immense multitude not more than two thousand were actually employed in any species of labour, the remainder being paid for doing nothing, or holding themselves at the beck of the leaders of the clubs to assemble in multitudes, in order to overawe the Government.

15. It was impossible that such a state of things could continue, and yet it was equally evident that it could not be terminated without a desperate struggle; for the paid workmen, who were for the most part able-bodied and armed, were determined not to relinquish the advantage they had gained. In order to derive some advantage from this immense mass of idle proletaires, M. Leon Faucher, in the end of May, brought forward a proposal for employing a certain number of them in the formation of the lines of railway which had been in progress when the Revolution broke out. At the same time some regulations were laid down for correcting the abuses so prevalent in the drawing of pay, and M. Emile Thomas, the superintendent, who had connived at them, was sent under the surveillance of the police to Bordeaux. The committee to whom the matter was reported, recommended that the workmen who had not been domiciled more than three months in the department of the Seine should be sent to their respective homes, to be employed in such productive labour as could there be found for them; and the Assembly, adopting this report, passed several decrees for enforcing the removal of a certain number of the men to various railway works. Victor Hugo, the celebrated novelist, albeit a decided Liberal, who had obtained a

place in the Assembly, said on this occasion: "The Ateliers Nationaux were necessary when first established; but it is now high time to remedy an evil of which the least inconvenience is to squander uselessly the resources of the Republic. What have they produced in the course of four months? Nothing. They have deprived the hardy sons of toil of employment, given them a distaste for labour, and demoralised them to such a degree that they are no longer ashamed to beg on the streets. The Monarchy had its idlers; the Republic has its vagabonds. God forbid that the enemies of the country should succeed in converting the Parisian workmen, formerly so virtuous, into lazzaroni or prætorians. *When Paris is in agony, London rejoices*; its power, riches, and preponderance have tripled since our disturbances commenced."

16. These measures excited the most violent discontent among the workmen; and an insurrection was openly talked of, which was first fixed for the 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. But the measures directed against the Ateliers Nationaux brought matters to a crisis at an earlier period. On June 20, M. Leon Faucher, on the part of the committee to whom the matter had been intrusted, reported that 120,000 workmen were now paid daily at the Ateliers Nationaux, and 50,000 more were demanding to be admitted. Horrorstruck at this prospect, he saw no resource but a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs by the Government, to set in motion in the provinces the industry so fatally arrested by the Revolution; but to this the Finance Minister made the strongest possible objections. Thus, between the two, nothing was done; and meanwhile the paid workmen and Socialists, encouraged by the leaders of the clubs, made open preparations for insurrection, and resolved to resist any attempt at removal. "We must not go," said they; "they are about to destroy the Republic."

17. It was all very well, however, as a figure of speech to declaim on 100,000 armed men as ready to support the de-

mocratic and socialist Revolution; but when the contest commenced, it was found that the actual number who could be relied on was much less considerable. Altogether it was computed that from 25,000 to 30,000 would come forth to support the insurrection, composed of 12,000 liberated convicts, 6000 of the most determined from the Ateliers Nationaux, and 8000 or 10,000 from the secret societies and clubs. On the other hand, the forces Government had *nominally* at its disposal were much more considerable. There were 20,000 regular troops in the barracks of Paris, with ample artillery and cavalry; 15,000 in the neighbouring towns; and the National Guard in the metropolis and the *banlieu* had already turned out, *for a review*, forces said to amount to 300,000 men. But though abundantly ready to come forward on days of holiday parade, it was very doubtful how far the majority of these would either appear or act when shots were to be fired in anger; and it was well known that a large proportion of them were in secret inclined to the insurgents, and would, if the contest appeared at all doubtful, in all probability join them. A similar disunion pervaded the executive, and no united action could be expected from a directory in which such opposite characters as Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Marie held the reins of power. On the other hand, the insurgents, impelled by necessity and in dread of starvation, were united and desperate, and obeyed leaders of no small military ability, invested with that absolute power with which mutineers never fail to invest those whom for a time they have placed in command. Thus, though in appearance unequal, the contest was in reality more evenly balanced than might be supposed; and at any rate, the most desperate conflict which had occurred since the first beginning of the troubles in 1789 was evidently approaching. It was much to be feared that any serious reverse at first would throw all the waverers into the arms of the insurgents, and in all probability consign France to the sanguinary rule of a Red Republic.

18. Hostilities commenced at nine at night on the 22d June by the assembling of crowds on the quays, from the bridge of Notre Dame to the Hôtel de Ville, and the placarding of an address calling on all Frenchmen to sign a petition to the National Assembly on the "organisation of labour." At the same time a brigade of the workmen which had been sent to Corbeil returned, contrary to orders, to Paris, and stationed themselves in the Place of the Bastille and at the Barrier du Trône, calling out, "Vive Napoleon!" "Vive l'Empereur!" "À bas Marie!" "Nous resterons!" During the whole night the workmen of the Ateliers Nationaux remained in the streets, and their leaders and the orators from the clubs harangued them without intermission. Every leader had his post assigned to him. The organisation of the insurrection corresponded exactly to that of the brigades of the Ateliers Nationaux. The whole were under the powerful and able direction of the Société des Droits de l'Homme, which had reconstituted itself in defiance of the Government on the 11th June. Early on the morning of the 23d the erection of barricades commenced, and proceeded with a rapidity, order, and consistency which evidently bespoke a long-laid plan. Nearly the whole population, men, women, and children, in the disaffected districts, which comprised a full moiety of the city, were employed on these works, which sprang up as if by enchantment, and soon appeared of stupendous magnitude. Before noon, nearly one half of Paris, comprising all lying to the eastward of a line drawn from the Pantheon to the Château d'Eau, was covered with barricades. Two strong ones were erected at the Porte St Denis, one at that of St Martin, one at the entry of the Faubourg du Temple, four in the streets leading to the Hôtel de Ville, one of stupendous magnitude at the entrance of the Faubourg St Antoine, and thirty in the neighbourhood of the Isle of St Louis, the Faubourg St Jacques, and the Faubourg St Marceau.

19. During all this time nothing whatever was done on the part of Gov-

ernment to interrupt these preparations. The truth was, they had not, in the outset, the means of combating the insurrection over the immense surface over which it extended. General Cavaignac, in whom, as Minister at War, the supreme command was invested, had only at his disposal 23,000 infantry and 2000 horse, of whom not more than 20,000 of both arms could be calculated upon as effective. The *général* was immediately bent in all the streets; but the National Guard was very backward in answering the call, and many of them, as well as some of the Garde Mobile, were to be seen in the ranks of the insurgents. Orders were sent off immediately to four regiments at Versailles and Orléans to come to Paris; telegraphic messages to the same effect were despatched to those stationed at Lille, Metz, and Rouen, and even a division of the Army of the Alps was ordered to the capital. But some time must necessarily elapse before even the nearest of these troops could arrive, and meanwhile every hour was precious; something required to be done instantly to stop the progress of the insurrection. But Cavaignac was too old and too good a soldier not to know the extreme hazard of involving troops in insufficient numbers in the narrow streets of an insurgent capital, and too much experienced in revolutions not to be aware of the ruinous results which might ensue from the defeat or capture of even an inconsiderable body of regular soldiers. He positively refused, therefore, to divide his forces, or act on any extended scale before the reinforcements came up. In this opinion he was strongly supported by Lamartine. "Do not deceive yourselves," said he to the other members of the Provisional Government; "we do not advance to a strife with an *ennemi*, but to a pitched battle with a confederacy of great factions. If the Republic, and with it society, is to be saved, it must have arms in its hands during the first years of its existence; and its forces should be disposed, not only here, but over the whole surface of the empire, as for great wars which em-

brace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces, as in the days of Cæsar and Pompey."

20. Cavaignac kept his regular troops in reserve nearly the whole of the 23d, and devoted himself to the organisation of his forces as for a serious campaign. He divided his men into four columns, which were placed under the orders of Generals Lamoricière, Duvié, Damesne, and Bedeau. The first of these took post near the Porte St Denis and Porte St Martin, prepared to combat the insurrection in the northern parts of the city; the second, in the centre, was intrusted with the defence of the Hôtel de Ville, the general headquarters of the Government, but which was threatened with an attack on every side; the third, to the south of the Seine, was stationed on the Place Cambray and the Bridge St Michel; and the fourth was to support General Damesne in the quarter of the Pantheon and the Faubourg St Marceau. The insurgents, on their side, were also divided into four columns of five or six thousand men each, supported by an immense body of tirailleurs and detached musketeers. Their efforts were mainly directed to gain possession of the Hôtel de Ville by advancing through the narrow streets and houses adjoining it, where cavalry could not act, and artillery could not be introduced. For this purpose two divisions were to operate on the right and two on the left bank of the Seine. On the right bank the headquarters of the first corps were in the hospital of Clos St Lazare, and stretched to the north as far as the Faubourg du Temple; while the second had constructed a gigantic barrier on the Place of the Bastille, and occupied the whole streets as far as the Eglise St Gervais, behind the Hôtel de Ville. On the other side of the river the third corps was established in the Pantheon, and occupied all the streets stretching from thence to the Pont St Michel and the Seine; and the fourth held the Rue St Victor, the Place Maubert, and the bridge of the Hôtel Dieu.

21. The first hostilities commenced on the afternoon of the 23d, when the

National Guard, though unsupported by troops of the line, attacked and carried the barrier at the Porte St Martin. This was followed by an assault on that of the Porte St Denis, where a most desperate resistance was experienced, and where the enthusiasm of the people was evinced by several women combating on the work, one of whom fell pierced by several balls. On the other side of the river General Bedeau was engaged in a fearful strife in the Faubourg St Marceau. After sustaining great loss, he at length succeeded in carrying the barricades there; but he was wounded in the moment of success, and had to quit the field. On the morning of the 24th, matters looked very serious, and the Assembly, which had endeavoured to ignore the danger, was forced to recognise and take measures to avert it. The inefficiency of the Executive Commission, and the distrust they had inspired in the National Guard, having become painfully conspicuous, a motion was made at noon on the 24th, to confer absolute power on a Dictator, and General Cavaignac was suggested and approved almost unanimously. Some hesitation having been expressed as to the mode of doing this, and the authority to be conferred, M. Bastide cut the discussion short with these words: "If you hesitate, in an hour the Hôtel de Ville may be taken." This announcement proved decisive. The appointment was immediately passed by acclamation; and such was the confidence which it inspired, that, in two hours after it was known, twenty thousand additional men appeared in the ranks of the National Guard. The Executive Commission, finding themselves thus superseded, resigned their appointments, and absolute uncontrolled authority was vested in the Dictator.

22. The effects of this great change were soon apparent. Immense was the difference between the hesitation and disunited action of five civilians in presence of danger, and the decided conduct of one single experienced military chief. The first object was to repel the enemy in the centre from the

vicinity of the Hôtel de Ville. The task was no easy one, for the streets around it swarmed with armed men; every window was filled with tirailleurs, and from the summit of barricades, which were erected across the narrow thoroughfares at every hundred yards, streamed a well-directed and deadly fire of musketry. At length, however, after a dreadful struggle, the nearest streets were carried, and the Hôtel de Ville put for the time in a state of comparative safety. The attack was then carried by General Duvivier into the adjoining quarters of the Eglise St Gervais and the Rue St Antoine. To the north General Lamoricière had commenced operations on the afternoon of the 23d. He pushed on towards the Faubourg St Denis, and then, wheeling to his left, commenced an assault on the Faubourg Poissonnière. The combat here was long and bloody, and at the end of three hours' fighting the progress made was far from considerable. The insurgents defended each barricade as it was attacked as long as possible, and when it was about to be forced, they quickly retired to the next one in rear, generally not more than one or two hundred yards distant, which was stubbornly held in like manner; while upon the column which advanced in pursuit a heavy and murderous fire was directed from the windows of the adjoining houses. In vain Cavaignac threatened to bring up mortars to throw bombs into the houses behind the barricades if they were not abandoned. This threat had no effect; and it was only late in the afternoon that the Place Lafayette was carried, and that with very heavy loss to the assailants.

23. Forcing, by a flank movement, the position of La Villette, Lamoricière, after sustaining great loss, at length succeeded in carrying the barricades of the streets of the Jardin and the Faubourg Poissonnière. He experienced in his progress the most formidable resistance in the Rue St Maur, where a barricade had been constructed of such magnitude and strength that it long repelled all attacks of the in-

fantry. Cavaignac, who hastened to the spot, brought up a gun, but the fire from the barricade and windows was so heavy that in a few minutes all the artillerymen and horses were struck down. A second piece was brought up, but with the same results. Shells were then thrown from a little distance, and while they were exploding, an assault was made on the barricade, and after a frightful slaughter on both sides it was carried, and the defenders put to the sword. At the same time General Foucher received orders to attack five barricades, erected near the Barrier of Belleville, which mutually supported each other. He did so, and was wounded, as well as General François, in the assault; and although it was made and supported with the utmost resolution, two only of the barricades were taken.

24. These bloody conflicts decided nothing; and success was so equally balanced, and the loss, especially in officers, so severe, that it was difficult to say to which side victory would ultimately incline. Real success was first gained at one in the afternoon of the 24th, when preparations were made, to the south of the Seine, for storming the Pantheon. General Damesne, who commanded, did not trust on this occasion to his infantry, however numerous and resolute, but brought up his heavy guns, which battered the splendid edifice for an hour, when, an aperture in the walls having been made, the troops rushed in, and the building was carried. But the insurgents were nowise daunted by this disaster: retreating, with comparatively little loss, to the next barricade in the Rue Clovis, they there again presented an undaunted front to their assailants. General Damesne was dangerously wounded in attempting to storm it, and General Brea, who then took the command, was unable to expel the enemy from these strongholds. Equally formidable was the resistance still opposed to General Lamoricière in the Faubourg Poissonnière, where the insurgents during the night had reoccupied nearly all the positions which they had lost on the preceding day.

The barricade in the Rue Rochechouart was particularly formidable, being twelve feet high, built of solid masonry, and flanked by another of nearly equal elevation at the corner of the Rue Faubourg Poissonnière. The *fusillade* had been extremely warm here during the whole day, and it was not till six at night that the front barricade was carried. Even after this advantage had been gained the flank barricade held out, though battered in front by heavy guns; and it was not till late in the evening that it was at length carried by a sudden rush of the stormers on its flank resting on the boulevards.

25. It was not surprising that the progress even of the vast and hourly-increasing military force at the disposal of the Dictator had been so slow; for the task before them was immense, and to appearance insurmountable by any human strength. The number of barricades had risen to the enormous and almost incredible figure of *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight*, nearly all of which were stoutly defended. The great strongholds of the insurgents were in the Clos St Lazare and the Faubourg St Antoine, each of which was defended by gigantic barricades, constructed of stones having all the solidity of regular fortifications, and held by the most determined and fanatical bands. The night of the 24th was terrible; the opposing troops, worn out with fatigue and parched with thirst, sank down to rest within a few yards of each other on the summit of the barricades, or at their feet, and no sound was heard in the dark but the cry of the sentinels. Early on the morning of the 25th the conflict was renewed at all points, and ere long a frightful tragedy signalled the determination and ferocity of the insurgents. General Brea, before renewing the fight on his side, which was on the left bank of the Seine, at the barrier of Fontainebleau, humanely went with a flag of truce to the headquarters of the insurgents, to endeavour to persuade them to come to an accommodation. They received him, and the aide-de-camp

by whom he was accompanied, within their lines; and having done so, they surrounded them, and insisted on the general signing and sending to his troops a written order to surrender their arms and ammunition. Upon the general's refusal to do so, he was overwhelmed with insults, shot down, and left for dead on the ground; his aide-de-camp, Captain Mauguin, was at the same time put to death, and his remains mutilated to such a degree that the human form could hardly be distinguished. After waiting an hour for the return of his general, Colonel Thomas, the second in command, having learned his fate, and announced it to his soldiers, made preparations for an assault. Infuriated by the treacherous massacre of their general, the men rushed on, and carried at the point of the bayonet seven successive barricades. All their defenders were put to the sword, to avenge their infamous treachery. The body of General Brea was found still breathing, but the vital spark was soon extinct. He was cruelly mutilated, his arms and legs having been cut off. This savage barbarity was the more inexcusable, that General Brea was a man of singularly mild temper and humane disposition. His character was beautifully drawn by the priest at Nantes, who officiated at the interment of his mangled remains: "The character of General Brea was less that of a military chief than of a Christian. The warrior was forgotten in the gentleness of his disposition, the warmth of his heart, the sincerity of his love, the glow of his charity."

26. Similar contests ensued in all the other quarters, but before evening the superiority of the regular soldiers became very apparent. The arrival of reinforcements, both of troops and national guards, from Anniens and Rouen, as well as a large train of artillery from Bourges, proved of essential service. Success was, by their assistance, gained in nearly every quarter, but it was dearly purchased. To the north of the Seine the barriers near the Faubourg Poissonnière and the Rue Rochecouart, which had

been again reoccupied by the insurgents during the night, were all forced in the morning, and the Clos St Lazare stormed. The Faubourg du Temple was soon after carried, and the insurgents were driven out of St Denis and St Martin. Heavy losses, however, attended all these advantages; and in the centre of the city the insurgents were so far from being subdued, that General Duvivier was wounded in the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville, and obliged to relinquish his command to General Perrot. Still the Faubourg St Antoine, the great stronghold of the insurgents, remained in their hands, and till it was wrested from them the victory could not be said to be complete. The position of the enemy there was extremely strong, every entrance being closed by successive barricades of enormous height and thickness, and proof against any but the very heaviest siege-artillery. The troops destined for the assault of this formidable citadel were divided into two columns, one of which, starting from the Hôtel de Ville, followed the line of the quays on the banks of the river, while the other moved by the Rue St Antoine direct on the Place of the Bastille. Both experienced the most determined resistance.

27. The barricades, and every window in the streets leading up to them, were filled with armed men, animated with a fanatical courage. Two pieces of cannon, placed in the Rue St Antoine, were brought up, and played at point-blank range on the first barricade; but such was the severity of the fire which the insurgents maintained, especially from the windows, that twice over every man at the guns was killed or wounded; and after two hours' firing, the rampart was still but little shaken. Colonel Regnault, with the 48th Regiment, then led on the charge, and carried it by a sudden rush; but he was basely slain, after having surmounted the pile, by a prisoner whose life he had just saved. Three other barricades, one behind the other, were in like manner stormed after a desperate resistance,

and with great loss on both sides. The fifth barricade, close to the Place of the Bastille, presented a still more formidable front, for it was constructed of solid square blocks of masonry, and surmounted by embrasures like a regular fortification. For two hours it resisted alike the fire of the guns and the assaults of the troops, but at length it was carried. At the same time, the barriers on the quays were forced by the other column, though the slaughter there was even greater, and General Negrier and the deputy Charbonnel were killed. By these successes the two columns of attack made themselves masters of the Place of the Bastille, where they effected their junction, and both moved on to the attack of the Faubourg St Antoine, the last and most formidable stronghold of the insurgents.

28. But ere the attack commenced, a sublime instance of Christian heroism and devotion occurred, which shines forth like a heavenly glory in the midst of these terrible scenes of carnage. **MONSIEUR AFFRÉ, ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS**, horror-struck with the slaughter which for three days had been going on without intermission, resolved to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, or perish in the attempt. Having obtained leave from General Cavaignac to repair to the headquarters of the insurgents, he set out, dressed in his pontifical robes, having the cross in his hand, accompanied by two vicars, also in full canonicals, and three intrepid members of the Assembly. Deeply affected by this courageous act, which they well knew was almost certain death, the people, as he walked through the streets, fell on their knees and besought him to desist, but he persisted, saying, "It is my duty. *Bonus pastor dat vitam suam pro ovibus suis.*" * At seven in the evening he arrived in the Place of the Bastille, where the fire was extremely warm on both sides. It ceased on either side at the august spectacle, and the Archbishop, bearing the cross

aloft, advanced with his two vicars to the foot of the barricade. A single attendant, bearing above his head a green branch, the emblem of peace, preceded the prelate. The soldiers, seeing him come so close to those who had so often slain the bearers of flags of truce, approached in order to be able to give succour in case of need; the insurgents on their side descended the barricade, and the redoubtable antagonists stood close to each other, exchanging looks of defiance. Suddenly at this moment a shot was heard; instantly the cry arose, "Treason, treason!" and the combatants, retreating on either side, began to exchange shots with as much fury as ever. Undismayed by the storm of balls which immediately flew over his head from both quarters, the prelate advanced slowly, attended by his vicars, to the summit of the barricade. One of them had his hat pierced by three balls when ascending, but the Archbishop himself, almost by a miracle, escaped while on the top. He had descended three steps on the other side when he was pierced through the loins by a shot from a window. The insurgents, horror-struck, approached him when he fell, stanching the wound, which at once was seen to be mortal, and carried him to the neighbouring hospital of Quinze-Vingts. When told he had only a few minutes to live, he said, "God be praised! and may He accept my life as an expiation for my omissions during my episcopacy, and as an offering for the salvation of this misguided people;" and with these words he expired.

29. Immediately after his decease, proposals came for a capitulation from the insurgents, on condition of an absolute and unqualified amnesty. General Cavaignac, however, would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender. This was refused, and both sides prepared for a renewal of the conflict on the following morning. At daybreak the combatants on either part stood to their arms; the barricades and windows were filled with musketeers, the gunners stood with lighted matches beside their pieces;

* "A good shepherd gives his life for his sheep."

but ere long sounds were heard which convinced the insurgents that further resistance was hopeless. A loud cannonade, which every minute came nearer, was distinguished in the rear of the faubourg; it was General Lamoricière, who, having forced his way through the Faubourg du Temple, was in a position to assail them from behind. Still the insurgents held out, and ten o'clock, the period assigned for an unconditional surrender, having elapsed without submission, the fire recommenced. An immense shower of shells immediately fell in the faubourg, which set it on fire in several places. The troops on the Place of the Bastille, without waiting for orders, rushed on and attacked it in three columns on the side of the Rue St Antoine, the Rue de Charenton, and the Rue de la Roquette. All attacks proved successful, and at last the enemy capitulated. With it this terrible insurrection came to an end; the Socialists were crushed, and victory remained to the Government and the sword.

30. The losses on either side in this memorable conflict were never accurately known; for the insurgents could not estimate theirs, and the Government took care not to publish their own. But on both sides it was immense, as might have been expected, when forty or fifty thousand a-side fought with the utmost courage and desperation for four days in the streets of a crowded capital, with nearly four thousand barricades erected and requiring to be stormed. General Negrier was killed, and Generals Duvivier, Damesne, Koste, Lafontaine, and Fouché wounded mortally, — General Bedeau more slightly. Ten thousand bodies were recognised and buried, and nearly as many, especially on the side of the insurgents, thrown unclaimed into the Seine. At the close of the contest nearly fifteen thousand prisoners were in the hands of the victors, and crowded, almost to suffocation, all places of confinement in Paris. Three thousand of them died of jail fever; but the immense

multitude which remained, created one of the greatest difficulties with which for long the Government had to contend. The concourse of troops and national guards who flocked together from all quarters, on the 27th and 28th, enabled the Dictator to maintain his authority, and restore order, by the stern discipline of the sword. The Assembly divided the prisoners into two classes: for the first, who were the most guilty, deportation to Cayenne, or one of the other colonies, was at once adjudged; the second were condemned to *transportation*, which with them meant detention in the hulks, or in some maritime fortresses of the Republic. Great numbers were sent to Belleisle, and the gloomy dungeons of St Michel, on the coast of Normandy; but all means of detention ere long proved inadequate for so prodigious a multitude, and many were soon liberated by the Government from absolute inability to keep them longer. This terrible strife cost France more lives than any of the battles of the Empire;* the number of generals who perished in it, or from the wounds they had received, exceeded even those cut off at Borodino or Waterloo.

31. It is painful to be obliged to add, that the savage cruelty exhibited by the insurgents to such prisoners as fell into their hands, sullied the character which they had justly acquired for courage and resolution. Towards the Garde Mobile in an especial manner their barbarity knew no bounds: they looked upon them as traitors to the cause for which they had been originally enrolled, and as such they subjected them to the most atrocious barbarities. The women here, as in all similar cases, took the lead in atrocity. One amazon boasted she

* In confirmation of his statements in this section, the Author is happy to be able to refer to the able work of his friend Mr Edward Cayley, entitled *The European Revolutions of 1848*, which exhibits equal industry, accuracy, and acuteness, and proves that the talents which have rendered his father, the Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, so distinguished in Parliament, are hereditary in his family.

had cut off the heads of five officers of the Garde Mobile, after they had been made prisoners, with her own hands: others threw vitriol in their faces, and burnt them in so shocking a manner that they implored death to put a period to their sufferings. A pump was found behind the barrier Rochechouart half full of oil-of-vitriol, intended to be used in this manner. In one place they took four or five of the Garde Mobile, perfect children, prisoners; they stuck pikes through their throats under the chin, tied their hands down, and, placing them in front of the windows, fired under their legs, thinking the troops would not return the fire when they saw the uniform. They cut off the head of one, filled the mouth with pitch, lighted a match in it, and, like cannibals, danced round it to the tune of "Les Champions." The prisoners they took were shot down by dozens at a time; a proceeding which, of course, led to terrible reprisals from the military when they, in their turn, had the power. Such, too, was the exasperation of the insurgents when they became the losing party, that deeds of treachery accompanied the usual barbarities of domestic dissension. After carrying a formidable barricade in the Rue St Antoine, the 48th Regiment made a number of prisoners. One of them resisted, and the soldiers were about to bayonet him, when their colonel, Regnault, came up and saved his life. "Thank you," said the perfidious wretch, and with these words drew a pistol, and shot him dead on the spot.

32. Amidst such instances of treachery and cruelty; it is consolatory to have many deeds of an opposite character to recount, proving that, even in its darkest moments, and under the most disastrous circumstances, the national spirit and generosity of the French character were not altogether extinct. The Marquis de la Forte, a nobleman of tall stature and commanding air, was doing duty as a private in the 1st Legion of the National Guard, and when waiting in the front to storm one of the barricades, he

found himself beside a little garde mobile, who had already made his valour conspicuous in the combat. They were before a barricade, on which a red flag floated in proud defiance. "Great national guard," said the little hero to his companion, "shall we two take that flag?" "With all my heart," replied the marquis, and with that they ran forward together, and began to ascend the barricade. They were about two-thirds up, when the boy fell wounded in the leg. "Alas!" he said, "great national guard, I shall have no hand in the taking of that flag." "But you shall though," replied the generous marquis, "little garde mobile;" and with these words he lifted the boy up in his left arm, and, making his way with his sword in his right, pushed courageously on. Amidst a general fire from the defenders, they got so near that the boy was able to seize the flag and wave it for a few seconds overhead; after which the two descended, the marquis still carrying his companion, and reached their comrades in safety. When escorted from the Faubourg St Antoine by a party of the Garde Mobile to the rear, the Archbishop of Paris saw a boy in the ranks whom he had particularly observed combating bravely in the fight. Raising his arms, he took a small rosary, and gave it to the young soldier, whose name was Francois de la Vignière—"Do not lose this cross," said the prelate; "put it on your heart: it will bring you happiness." He received it kneeling, and promised never to part with it. Cavaignac, on another occasion, took the cross of the Legion of Honour from his breast, and gave it to one of the Garde Mobile, whom he had seen particularly distinguishing himself. "How happy this will make my father!" said the recipient, without a thought of himself.

33. The victory once decidedly gained, Cavaignac lost no time in abdicating the dictatorial powers conferred upon him during the strife. But the Assembly were too well aware of the narrow escape which they had

made, to entertain the thought of resuming the powers of sovereignty. If they had been so inclined, the accounts from the provinces would have been sufficient to deter them, for the insurrection in Paris was contemporary with a bloody revolt at Marseilles, occasioned by the same attempt to get quit of the burdensome pensioners at the Ateliers Nationaux, which was only put down after three days' hard fighting by a concentration of troops from all the adjoining departments. At Rouen and Bordeaux the agitation was so violent that it was evident nothing but the presence of a large military force prevented a rebellion from breaking out. Taught by these events, the National Assembly unanimously (June 28th) continued to General Cavaignac the powers already conferred upon him, and prolonged the state of siege in the metropolis. The concourse of troops to Paris was soon immense; that capital had not been surrounded by so many armed men when it was environed by the allied armies in 1814 and 1815. Supported by this force, the reality of military government—the only one practicable in the circumstances—was soon brought home to the inhabitants; and on the motion of M. Martin of Strasbourg, the dictatorship was formally bestowed on General Cavaignac, with the title of President of the Council, and the power to nominate his ministers. The last privilege was slightly contested in the Assembly, but passed by a large majority. The powers of the dictator were to last till a permanent president was elected either by the Assembly or the direct voice of the citizens; and in the mean time General Cavaignac proceeded to appoint his ministers, who immediately entered upon their several duties.*

34. The first care of the new Government was to remodel the armed force of the metropolis, and extin-

* The Ministers were: Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide; Interior, M. Senard; War, General Lanoricière; Finances, M. Goudchoux; Public Works, M. Recurt; Commerce and Agriculture, M. Tourret (de l'Allier); Justice, M. Bethmont; Public Instruction, M. Car-

guish those elements of insurrection which had brought such desolation, bloodshed, and ruin upon the country. The Ateliers Nationaux were immediately dissolved; this had now become, comparatively speaking, an easy task, for the most formidable part of their number, and nearly all who had actually appeared with arms in their hands, had either been slain or were in the prisons of the Republic. Those legions of the National Guard which had either hung back or openly joined the insurgents, on occasion of the late revolt, were all dissolved and disarmed. This, too, was easy, for the immense body of national guards which had been brought up by the railways, especially from *La Vendée*, upon whom entire reliance could be placed, rendered all resistance hopeless. The licentiousness of the press and the clubs next attracted the attention of the Dictator. Already, on June 25th, when the insurrection was at its height, a decree was issued, which suspended nearly all the journals of a violent character on either side, and even M. Emile Girardin, an able writer and journalist of moderate character, was arrested and thrown into prison. These measures, how rigorous soever, were all ratified by a decree of the Assembly on the 1st of August, and passed unanimously. "The friends of liberty," says the contemporary analyst, "observed with grief that the Republic had in a single day struck with impunity a severer blow at the liberty of the press than the preceding governments had done during thirty years." At the same time the clubs, those great fountains of treason and disorder, were closed.

35. Thus was another proof added to the innumerable ones which history had previously afforded, that popular licentiousness and insurrection, from whatever cause originating, must ever end in the despotism of the sword. This, it will be said by superficial ob-

not; Marine, Admiral Leblanc; Chief of the National Guard, General Changarnier. Admiral Leblanc having declined the Ministry of the Marine, it was given to M. Bastide, and General Bedeau became Minister of Foreign Affairs.—*Moniteur*, June 29, 1848.

servers, is a truism which no one denies, and therefore why repeat it? It would be well for the world if no one *in reality did deny it*, and no deeds were done in every succeeding age inconsistent with the denial. But even if it were as universally admitted in action as it ever must be by well-informed persons in theory, that only makes it the more essential that the observation should be here repeated. The most important use of history is, in successive ages, to *deduce old maxims from new facts*; and such deduction is more valuable and important than any new observation that can possibly be made, for it proves the unchangeableness of the moral laws of nature.

36. But in truth there is more in the case than this; and a new political lesson of the very highest importance may be deduced from the memorable four months of popular rule which followed the fall of Louis Philippe. Since the overthrow of Napoleon, two governments had been established, the first by foreign influence, and the last by domestic choice in France, and both had been overturned by popular insurrections. Each one, as it successively arose, was more rigorous and despotic than its predecessor; the government of Cavaignac was as much severer than that of Louis Philippe, as the latter had been than that of Louis XVIII. or Charles X. The despotism of the Dictator, however, was an escape to France from the still more rigorous and oppressive government with which they were threatened from the Socialists; for their principles were that property was the first and greatest of public robberies, and that "the only state of society in which universal felicity was practicable, was that of *labour and*

families in common, with the Government for the sole director over all." The conclusion to be drawn from this is not merely that popular insurrection inevitably leads to military despotism, but that the *rigour and severity of that despotism are in the exact proportion of the degree in which the popular element has been instrumental in bringing about the insurrection*; and that grievous as may be the oppression which follows the crushing of the revolt, it is less galling than that which would have succeeded its triumph.

37. It is impossible, in contemplating these memorable events, not to be struck with the providential manner in which not merely the guilt of the revolutionists was punished, but they themselves were made to inflict that punishment upon each other. Not the loyal inhabitants of La Vendée, not the royal guards of Charles X. or Louis Philippe, caused them to feel the consequences of their actions. The revolutionists had freed themselves from every restraint but the slavery of their own passions. But they remained to work out the purposes of Omnipotence, and vindicate the justice of the Divine administration. The most memorable retribution recorded in history was inflicted on the party which had achieved those guilty triumphs; but they were inflicted, not by their conquered adversaries, but by their victorious selves. Their insane passions did the work of the Almighty; the avenging angel was found in their own bosoms. They were compelled by an overruling power to inflict punishment on their most guilty ringleaders with their own hands; the other nations looked on in silence while they wrought out upon each other the behests of supreme justice.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FRANCE, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAVAIGNAC TO THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY—JUNE 24 TO DECEMBER 10, 1848.

1. THE Dictator was soon brought face to face with the difficulties of his situation. The removal of M. Duclerc from the Ministry of the Finances, and substitution of M. Goudchoux in his room, tore aside the veil which had hitherto been thrown over the financial affairs of the republic, and revealed in their real nakedness their disastrous position. M. Duclerc, in a report framed expressly to conceal the truth, had estimated the probable deficit at 140,000,000 francs, and he had exhibited a variety of extraordinary resources, amounting to 500,000,000 francs, consisting of loans, sales of forests and public domains, by which he expected to meet that deficit, and the probable failure to a still greater amount in the indirect taxes. But M. Goudchoux dispelled the illusion, and demonstrated that, of all those supposed resources, none could be relied on as really available but the loan of 150,000,000 francs from the bank. To this loan he proposed to add a third more from extraordinary resources; but the loan would be more than overbalanced by the deficiency in the indirect taxes, and the extraordinary expenses in which the republic had been involved. The 45 per cent added to the direct taxes proved but a feeble resource for these multiplied necessities.

2. These financial measures were immediately succeeded by another of scarcely less urgency and importance. This was the commission of inquiry appointed to investigate the insurrections of May and June, and report to the Assembly who were the parties implicated, and what should be done with them. The members of the commission were appointed on the 28th June, and immediately commenced

their labours. A great number of witnesses were examined; whose depositions clearly showed the causes of the insurrection to have been the extravagant but seducing doctrines taught by the Socialist leaders, which, by exciting hopes which could never be realised, necessarily led to discontent and a desire to subvert the existing Government. The report of the commission, which was apparently in entire conformity with the evidence adduced, stated that the movement in May had been intended to dissolve the Assembly and establish a committee of public safety; but that the insurrection in June, nominally directed to the establishment of a social and democratic republic, was in reality meant to forward pillage and murder. "There is abundant proof," it adds, "that M. Louis Blanc and M. Caussidière were no strangers to the organisation of the movement of May, with Barbès, Blanqui, and Ledru-Rollin. Though, fortunately, on that occasion conquered, the cause of anarchy was never discouraged. New assistance came to its aid; anarchical speeches were sent free of charge to the departments; the fury of the clubs was fomented; their organisation improved, and power augmented. Nocturnal meetings were held in the hotel of the Minister of the Interior (Ledru-Rollin), at which projects were formed for centralising the clubs and dominating the elections, and afterwards annulling such as were hostile to the Government. The 'Club of Clubs,' under M. Sobrier, had collected 30,000 cartridges and several hundred muskets before the 15th May; the club of the 'Rights of Man,' composed of 14,000 men in Paris and 14,000 in the provinces, had establish-

ed manufactories of arms, and openly prepared for war. All this went on in a still greater ratio before the insurrection in June. It was the excitement of the clubs which occasioned the civil war in that month. The insurgents had their manufactories of powder and arms, their military organisation and chiefs; but the police did nothing to impede their movements. Caussidière, the head of that body, gave no orders; his subordinates knew not what to do without his directions; some saw him behind the barricades, and many more heard him defend the insurrection. M. Proudhon was also seen behind the barricades by more than one member of the Assembly; and the only explanation he could give is, that he remained there 'to admire the sublime horror of the cannonade.' In pursuance of this report, the Assembly, after fully hearing MM. Louis Blanc and Caussidière in their defence, formally authorised the Procureur-Général to prosecute them for their accession to the revolts of May, though not of June following. They withdrew, however, and found refuge in England, the common asylum of refugees of all nations and parties; and with their flight terminated the public career of these able but vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous men.*

3. Upon their removal, M. Proudhon stood forth as the leader of Socialist doctrines. He was more prudent, however, than his predecessors. Taught

by the defeat of the insurrections of May and June, he no longer fomented open revolt. He adopted the tactics of the Liberals in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign; his whole efforts were directed to *discrediting* his opponents. In this attempt he displayed great ability; but he was more successful, as is often the case in similar undertakings, in blackening his adversaries than in whitewashing himself, and accordingly another reaped the fruits of all his exertions. He attacked all the institutions of society in the most violent manner; denounced them as violations of the rights of man, and the prolific fountain of every social suffering. He stigmatised God as "the enemy of society," priests as "paid hypocrites," property as robbery, government as usurpation. He received, in consequence, the warm acknowledgments of those of the one sex who live by crime, of the other by prostitution; and this he has himself recorded as one of his titles to public confidence.* As time went on, he promulgated his ideas more fully in various publications, in his *Journal du Peuple*, under the title of "La Banque d'Echange," and "Son Testament de Vie et de Mort."† The object of all these efforts was to provide a substitute for capital in the maintenance of labour, realised wealth being deemed the greatest enemy and chief curse of society. "The people's bank," said he, "would have rendered you honest and real labourers; will the Revolution ever do as much for you?"

* M. Proudhon, perhaps the most violent of the Socialists, admitted to the Commission d'Enquête that the insurrection of June was the work of the Socialists. His words were:—"Le 23 Juin j'avais crié que c'était une conspiration des prétendants, s'appuyant sur des ouvriers des Ateliers Nationaux. J'étais trompé comme les autres. Le lendemain j'ai été convaincu que l'insurrection était Socialiste. Les Ateliers Nationaux n'en ont été que la cause occasionnelle. La cause première déterminante de l'insurrection c'était la question sociale, la crise sociale—le travail, les idées. Il m'en coûte de le dire, moi qui suis Socialiste."—Commission d'Enquête—Déposition de M. PROUDHON. A happy expression of M. Trélat in the Assembly made a great impression at the time: "La vérité me force de dire que dans ses rapports avec les ouvriers M. Louis Blanc les excitait plutôt qu'il ne les apaisait, et leur inspirait la haine Espagnole plus que la fraternité Française."—*Annuaire Historique*, 1848, p. 265.

* "Les prostituées et les forçats m'ont adressé des félicitations dont l'ironie obscène témoignait des égarements de l'opinion."—PROUDHON, *Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*, ch. xi. xii.

† He formally brought forward a motion for the establishment of the "rights of labour," declaring, at the same time, that if it was not conceded there would remain only to the people the "sacred right of insurrection." The Assembly, indignant, by a great majority, passed to the order of the day, on the ground "that the proposition of the citizen Proudhon is an odious attack on the principles of public morality, a flagrant violation of the right of property, the base of social order, and a direct incitement and appeal to the worst passions, and disgrace to the Revolution of February, by deducing such corollaries from its success."—*Moniteur*, August 1, 1848.

His wrath exhaled in an especial manner at the Jacobins, whom he considered as having betrayed the cause of the people for their own selfish ends. "The demagogues," said he, "so well known in France during the last sixty years under the name of Jacobins, are nothing but the *juste milieu*, disguised under an affectation of violence and revolutionary zeal. Jacobinism desires offices, not institutions; it is the hypocrisy of progress." The termination of the public career of this dangerous zealot was neither the crown of martyrdom nor the sceptre of power; it was an ignominious end, which discredited him as much as he had his opponents. Brought before the "Cour d'Assises" on the 28th March 1849, he was condemned to pay a fine of 3000 francs (£120), and to be imprisoned three years. He has not been since heard of in French history.

4. Other changes were introduced, less exciting at the moment than these doctrines, but more important in their consequences to the country. The old restrictions upon the periodical press, which had been so much complained of in Louis Philippe's time, especially that which compelled them to find caution to meet fines imposed or damages awarded against them, were restored. A permanent law, nominally regulating, in reality suppressing, the clubs, was passed by an immense majority. The law of 2d March, imposing the restriction of ten hours on labour in Paris and eleven in the country, was repealed, and twelve hours fixed for both; and the *octroi* on butcher-meat in towns was re-established. Imprisonment for debt, which had been abolished by a decree of the Provisional Government on March 9th, was restored, after a long and animated discussion, on the 1st September. An important modification in the law regulating the formation of juries was introduced, after a vehement opposition from the extreme Liberals. By this change, the jury-lists, instead of being made up, as heretofore under the Republican regime, of the whole inhabitants without distinction who had attained the

age of twenty-one years, were to be made up in each canton by a committee composed of the councillor-general of the canton, a *juge de paix*, and two members of the municipal council in the cantons, who were empowered to exclude persons entirely illiterate, or who had been condemned to above a year's imprisonment. At the same time the legal age of jurymen was raised to thirty, and the majority requisite to convict was reduced from nine, to which it had been raised by a decree on 7th March, to eight. The important matter of public education underwent an anxious discussion, and was the subject of several narrow divisions. By the law as finally adopted, primary instruction was declared to be gratuitous, and at the expense of the State. But this was rather in appearance than reality; for those among the peasantry who received tuition for their children were to pay for the schools in their local taxes; those who did not require it were to pay double. Several minute regulations were laid down for securing the appointment of proper teachers, and giving a control over their nomination to the council-general of the department. A proposal, brought forward by M. Crémieux, to re-establish the liberty of divorce, which had been sanctioned by the laws of the Revolution and Consulate, was rejected; and an attempt was made by the Minister of Public Instruction to establish agricultural schools at the public expense in the Departments. Thus, on all sides, legislation was retracing its steps, and seeking to re-establish those restraints on popular licence which the experience of mankind in every age has proved to be indispensable.

5. M. Goudchoux, the Finance Minister, brought forward a plan of taxation, suggested rather by utter desperation at the state of the public treasury than by any possible hopes of success, which deserves attention, as well from the principles on which it was founded as from the statistical facts which it brought to light. His system, based on the immense dispro-

portion between the taxes affecting land or houses, and those attaching to movable property or professional income, proposed to remedy the injustice by imposing a tax on incomes of the latter description, so as to equalise the burdens on heritable and movable property.* By this means he hoped to attract capital to the cultivation of the soil, at present repelled from it by the enormous weight of the direct taxes exclusively affecting real property. The entire movable revenue which would then be brought within the pale of taxation he estimated at 3,000,000,000 francs (£120,000,000), and this property he proposed to tax two per cent. The almost unanimous resistance which this financial project awakened, and which occasioned the fall of the minister who had brought it forward, is a very remarkable circumstance, singularly illustrative of the prostrate condition of French real property and agriculture. Land in France at this time was very heavily taxed; it paid £14,000,000, while the greater part of movable income was entirely exempted; yet this proposal of the Finance Minister, to lay even the moderate burden of two per cent on movable property, was almost unanimously rejected! Considering that at least two-thirds of the deputies were the representatives of rural constituencies, this result is very remarkable, and apparently inexplicable. It strangely contrasts with the overthrow of the Derby Ministry in England in 1852, which resulted from an equally equitable attempt to extend the house-tax to houses rented from £10 to £20 a-year. It seems to have arisen from the ignorance, poverty, and conse-

quent inefficiency of the great majority of the rural electors, which rendered them incapable of any joint movement even in their own defence, and illustrates the remark, forced upon the mind by so many passages of French history in the last half-century, that the effect of the Revolution has been to reduce the rural inhabitants of France to the condition of the ryots of Hindostan.

6. These discussions yielded in magnitude and ultimate importance to those on the FORMATION OF A CONSTITUTION, which now forced itself upon the Assembly. The duty of framing it had been devolved, in the beginning of June, on a committee composed of the most enlightened members. A preliminary question arose whether the state of siege, voted by acclamation during the revolt of June, should be continued; and General Cavaignac earnestly and emphatically declared that it should, as it was not the executive power, but the Assembly itself, which was invested with the dictatorial power, which he only wielded. The Assembly acquiesced in this view, and, by a majority of 529 to 140, determined on its continuance till the discussions on the constitution were terminated. Several journals, among others the *Gazette de France*, were suppressed; the *Constitutionnel* itself made a narrow escape during the general crusade against free discussion. These, however, were mere preliminary or precautionary measures; the real question at issue was the construction of a constitution. The discussion commenced on the 2d July, and was only concluded by the formal adoption of the constitution, as then modified, on 23d October. On the important question whether the legislature should be in one or two chambers, the debate was conducted by two distinguished men, Lamartine and Odillon Barrot, whose speeches on this occasion are well worthy of being studied.

7. "I have witnessed," said Lamartine, "the misfortunes and catastrophes which have befallen a nation governed by one legislature; but I have seen the same under a govern-

* The Minister stated the movable income of France as follows:—

	Francs.
Profits of Farmers (exclusive of rent of land), . . .	1,066,000,000
Trade and Commerce, . . .	1,100,000,000
Government Offices, . . .	300,000,000
Public Offices, . . .	200,000,000
Salaries, . . .	300,000,000
Dividends, Government Annuities, &c., . . .	510,000,000
	3,536,000,000
	or £140,000,000

—*Moniteur*, August 5, 1848.

ment resting on two; and I see no identity between the situation of the countries in which the latter form is established and that of our country. The examples of Great Britain and America are not applicable. In them, two assemblies existed in consequence of the nature, ambiguity, and interests of those two great nations. Has France any aristocracy like England? No! we may say, with Pascal: 'What is true beyond the Pyrenees is not true on this side of those mountains.' The considerations which led to the adoption of a senate in America are widely different from those which have inspired the proposal for a second chamber in this country. The Senate there represents the federal principle, which is the basis of their union, but which is not so of a republic one and indivisible. But the idea, in the present social state of France, of clothing what must be a second democratic chamber with aristocratic forms, is a dream—a chimera. It would be a real danger, a perilous step, to attempt to resuscitate an aristocracy in a democratic society. What are you all? Revolutionary statesmen; and if you would act up to that character you must divest yourselves of all historical recollections, and of all the fictions on which the royal power has recently been rested.

8. "How is a constitution to work in which there is a president invested with the executive powers of two chambers? He has not the power of dissolving either. Then if a difference arises between them, or between either and himself, how is he to reconcile the difference? How are the elections of the senators to be regulated? Are they to be chosen on account of their fortunes or their age? If so elected, would they form an aristocracy in our sense of the word? Would they not rather form the representatives of the bankers and the Chaussée d'Antin? They would be, not the Chevaliers de l'Épée, but the Chevaliers de la Bourse. *Would you be justified in laying down a certain age or fortune as an indispensable preliminary to an election for the*

upper chamber? Could you say to Franklin, or to Royer-Collard, 'Your years do not admit of your sitting in the junior chamber; go to the chamber of the ancients, to the Luxembourg, and leave this chamber to its youth and inexperience'? Menaced on all sides, society as at present will for long be under the necessity of recurring to the protection of a dictator. In such a case who is to elect him? Is the choice to be confided to the two assemblies, almost certain in that event to be at variance with each other, or is it to be intrusted to the one to the exclusion of the other? If committed to one man to avoid the difficulty, what security have we that the choice would be rightly exercised? It might be between a Monk and a Napoleon."

9. "The project of establishing a single chamber," said M. Odillon Barrot in reply, "is one of the most insane, and fatal to democracy itself, which can enter into a human head. What we are now called upon to organise is a permanent convention. To found a constitution, a constituent assembly is necessary—unity is indispensable to the work of creation. Every power effecting a revolution, demolishing an old edifice, should be single. The Convention, assailed by foreign and domestic foes, did not establish by its side an independent executive power, but a power which it could send to the scaffold if its mandates were disobeyed or proved unsuccessful. If the Assembly now votes one chamber with a dependent executive, it will restore the Convention in all its omnipotence, for the executive power which itself has created must either yield obedience to its mandates or be itself destroyed. The question then is, whether it is either necessary or expedient to resort to so extreme a measure when not impelled to it by any necessity—to do that when at peace with all the world, and distracted by no internal convulsion, which was only justified formerly by the assault of Europe and the dangers of the Vendean war.

10. "What is the cause of the universal uneasiness and perturbation which

prevail, and the general feeling in favour of a dictatorship? It rests upon the opinion so often proved by experience, now generally admitted, that democracy cannot regulate or moderate itself. All democracies have begun by establishing one single legislative power, but experience has everywhere taught them that a balance was indispensable, and that a power responsible to none—the most omnipotent that can be desired—must soon fall from its very weight if uncontrolled. It is true there is now no aristocracy in France, and it is also true that France can never become, like America, a federal union of separate republics. There is but one force in France, the democratic force; but does it follow from that circumstance that that single force is to be altogether uncontrolled? Can democracy not be tempered by democracy, and can we not discover in republican institutions such a controlling power? The Council of State cannot act as such a controlling power; it is a mere consulting council, to whom projects of change are to be submitted before they are brought before the Assembly. During eighteen years I have laboured in vain to consolidate this constitutional system under the monarchy; but all those efforts were rendered nugatory the moment Louis Philippe resolved to liberate himself from control, and to establish on the throne a system abhorred by the country. What I failed in doing to the monarchy I now would wish to render to the republic. *Pretenders are not to be feared*; democracy has no other enemy to fear but itself; and it will be saved only on the day when it is organised and regulated."

11. The Assembly, as might have been anticipated, decided in favour of one chamber by a majority of 530 to 289. The "sovereign power" of legislation accordingly was vested in a single Assembly, and Lamartine, who was not without a secret hope of becoming its ruler, was triumphant. But the all-important question remained, by whom was the president of the Chamber to be appointed, and what were to be his powers as the avowed

chief magistrate of the republic? Opinions were much divided on this point, some adhering to an election by the Assembly, others to a direct appeal to the people. Contrary to expectation, M. de Lamartine supported the nomination by the whole inhabitants of France. M. Leblond was the chief orator on the other side; and as it was fully anticipated that the people of all France, if left to themselves, would choose a conservative president, he was supported by the whole extreme democratic party in the Assembly.

12. "When the people make choice of their representatives," said he, "if they commit an error in their selection, they soon have it in their power to rectify it, either by dismissing him at the next election, or by neutralising his vote by that of others more to their mind. The choice of good men may be thus made to compensate those of bad ones. But who is to correct a mistake in the choice of a President of the Republic? What incalculable consequences may flow from the unhappy selection of such an officer! and how much are the fruits of a false step in this particular aggravated by its requiring to be taken in the first years of the republic! What a combination of qualities is required in such a magistrate at this time! Dignity to sustain the reputation of France abroad; firmness, mingled with moderation, to restrain its passions within; the hand which can at once protect liberty and restrain its excesses; modesty and disinterestedness, alike proof against the seductions and the mortifications of power. Will not his responsibility give him more right in imposing on him more rigorous duties? Will he not be naturally anxious to illustrate his brief tenure of power, and to leave in History some larger record of his reign than a mere date? Under the constitutional regime ambition centres on the minister's portfolios, and their keepers may be changed. But who is to change an immovable president, a king whose reign is to last four years? Can anything be so insane, therefore, as to intrust the choice of such a powerful and lasting magistrate, not to an

assembly whose members have been selected for their eminence, and enlightened by their experience of public affairs, but to a huge body of general electors, the vast majority of whom must necessarily be ignorant alike of the qualities required in a president, and of those which distinguish the different candidates for that office?"

13. Powerful as these considerations were, they did not deter M. de Lamartine from strongly supporting the direct appeal to the people. He could not be convinced of the fatal blow which his popularity had received from his coalition with Ledru-Rollin. He still thought he was lord of the ascendant, and would be the people's choice if the nomination was vested in their hands. "If you desire," said he, "a president of the republic, he must be named by the republic. Appointed by the Chamber, he would never be more than its delegate. Such a system would virtually destroy the executive. Would he not be of necessity pledged to the majority which had elected him—a majority, it may be, of only ten or twenty votes? What a phantom of authority would a president thus elected prove! and what influence could he have either in asserting externally the dignity of France, or in repressing within its internal factions? Even supposing the people, impelled by a general and irresistible impulse, should fix their choice upon some dangerous character, my decision would be the same—*Acta facta est*: the die is cast; let God and the people declare the result. We must leave something to Providence.

14. "Possibly we may perish in the undertaking: and I say this not in the spirit of a menace to myself or my friends, but as a title to glory. I hope better things, however, of France: I hope so firmly and confidently. Should it, however, prove otherwise, and the people be deceived in their choice; if they are determined to disavow us and themselves, and resolved to renounce the immense hopes which may legitimately be formed from popular rule; if they are determined to repudiate their security, their future,

their liberty,—on their heads rests the responsibility, and not on us, whose merit it has been to have restored their liberty, and left them only the task of guarding and protecting it. But I repeat it: if they are resolved to recur to the conditions of the monarchy; if they will throw away the future which lies before them, to pursue some delusive meteor, they are their own masters: they may do so; they are their own sovereign. It is not for us to say, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther;' or here shalt thou go, and not there. If they are determined to ruin themselves, we shall say with the vanquished at Pharsalia,

'*Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*'

And that protest, which will be the eternal accusation of a nation imprudent and abandoned enough thus to abandon its liberty, will be a sufficient vindication of us in the eyes of posterity."

15. When language of this very remarkable kind was used by one who had been the principal mover of the Revolution in February, and for long the idol of its supporters, it was evident that some very marked change, known to and understood by all, had taken place in the ruling power in the Republic. This was really the case: by extending the suffrage to all France, the revolutionists had dug the grave of their own power. The result, accordingly, decisively demonstrated the strength of this feeling even in the first Assembly elected under universal suffrage, and how well founded were the mournful prognostications of Lamartine as to the approaching extinction of liberty by the very completeness of the triumph of its supporters. In the final division on the subject (Oct. 7), it was carried by a majority of 391—the numbers being 602 to 211—that the choice of a President should be referred by the Assembly to the people. This was equivalent to electing Prince Louis Napoleon at once to that high office, as it was perfectly understood that the great majority of the electors would choose him

for President. It appears at first sight strange how, when this was the real object of the large majority in the Assembly, they did not adopt the shorter and straightforward course of themselves electing him. But the motive, when once revealed, is perfectly intelligible: it was terror. They resolved to throw the responsibility of his election on the people at large, for the same reason that the Girondists advocated the appeal to the people, with the design of saving Louis XVI. In both cases the National Assembly sought to do indirectly what they wished, but had not the courage openly to propose.

16. The formation of the constitution having been at length concluded, it was finally adopted, on 4th November, by a majority of 737 to 30 votes. Among the dissentients were MM. Pierre Leroux and Proudhon, extreme communists, and MM. Berryer and de Larochefaucauld, Royalists. Victor Hugo and M. de Montalembert were also in the minority, though no two men could be found whose opinions on general subjects were more opposite. So decided had the bent of the nation now become to conservative principles, that out of fifteen members elected for the Assembly to fill up vacancies in October, only three were republican; and of these, two—MM. Arago and Audrin—were decidedly opposed to Communist principles. On the evening of the day on which it was adopted by the Assembly, the intelligence was communicated to the Parisians by 101 guns discharged from the Invalides. The sound at first excited the utmost alarm, as it was feared the civil war was renewed: when it was known that it was *only the announcement of a constitution*, the panic subsided, and the people, careless and indifferent, dispersed to their homes. The formal proclamation took place on the Sunday following, amidst the roar of cannon, and all the pomp of military display. But the people had been too much accustomed to those pageants, and were too well aware, from dear-bought experience, of the fragile nature of such constitutions,

to evince any enthusiasm on the occasion. The weather was dark and gloomy, and by some it was deemed of sinister augury that, before the spectacle was over, a heavy fall of snow chilled the feelings and dispersed the crowds of the spectators.

17. By the constitution thus adopted, the form of government in France was declared to be republican, the electors being chosen by universal suffrage, and the president in the same way. The right of the working classes to employment was negatived, it being declared, however, that the Government, so far as its resources went, was to furnish labour to the unemployed. The punishment of death was abolished in purely political offences. Slavery was to be extinguished in every part of the French dominions. The right of association and public meeting was guaranteed; voting, whether for the representatives or the president, was to be by ballot; the representatives once chosen might be re-elected any number of times. The president required to be a French citizen, of at least thirty years of age, and one who had not lost on any occasion his right of citizenship. He was to be elected for four years, and a simple majority was to determine the election. The return of votes was to be immediately forwarded by the returning officers to the Assembly, who were to scrutinise them. Should no candidate have an absolute majority of the whole votes, the Assembly were to choose the president from among the five standing highest on the list. The president was re-eligible after having served the first four years; he was to reside in the palace of the Assembly, and receive a salary of 600,000 francs a-year. A vice-president, also for four years, was to be appointed by the Assembly on the nomination of the president, within a month after his election, and in case of his absence or illness he was to exercise the power of president; but in the event of death or resignation, a new president was to be chosen by the people at large. The whole ministers of state were to be appointed by the president, who also

was to command the armed force, declare peace and war, conduct negotiations with foreign powers, and generally exercise all the powers of sovereignty, with the exception of appointing the judges of the supreme courts in Paris, who were to be named by the Assembly, and to hold their offices for life. Political offences were to be tried by jury. The *juges de paix*, as well as all subordinate judges and functionaries, were to be appointed by the president. The armed forces were never to deliberate; substitutes for military service were prohibited, all the citizens being called indiscriminately to the duty of defending the country. The Legion of Honour was maintained, but its statutes were to be remodelled in conformity with the democratic principle. The Assembly was to frame the organic laws of the republic, and the president was to be elected immediately after the adoption of the constitution.

18. Disguised under the form of a republic, this constitution was in reality monarchical, for the president was invested with all the substantial power of sovereignty; and as he was capable of being re-elected, his tenure of office might be prolonged for an indefinite period. The extreme republicans distinctly perceived this; and as a sure instinct told them that Prince Louis Napoleon was certain to be elected president, they wished to make the best use of the intervening time to renew the most violent democratic agitation. Taking advantage of the article in the constitution which permitted political associations and meetings, the clubs were all reopened, and the most vigorous efforts were made to recover the democratic power. But though the attempt led to several local disorders and tumults, which had sometimes a threatening aspect, the movement had very little success. The flame of democracy had burnt out, or been extinguished in the blood of the barricades. The chief Socialist leaders were in prison or exile on account of their real or supposed accession to the insurrection in June; and such as remained found it impossible to restore

the passions which had led to such disastrous results. All eyes were now fixed on the election of the president; and though there were several candidates for that high office, yet it was soon apparent that the suffrage would really come to be divided between two—General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon.

19. The door had already been opened to the latter by an election which took place at Paris on the 17th September, when the young Prince was again elected by a large majority. Four other departments in the country had already elected him. On this occasion he no longer hesitated, but accepted his election for the department of the Seine. He took his seat on the 26th September, and made the following speech on the occasion, which was very favourably received by the Assembly: "Citizen representatives, I can no longer maintain silence after the calumnies of which I have been the object. I require to announce openly, and on this the first occasion on which I have been permitted to take my seat among you, the sentiments which animate, and have always animated me. After three-and-thirty years of proscription and exile, I at length find myself among you, I again regain my country and my rights as one of its citizens. It is to the republic that I owe that happiness; let the republic then receive my oath of gratitude, of devotion; and let my generous fellow-citizens, to whom I am indebted for my seat in this legislature, feel assured that I will strive to justify their suffrages, by labouring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, the first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the country is entitled to reclaim. For long I have been able only to consecrate to France the meditations of exile and captivity; now the career on which you have entered is open to me; receive me into your ranks, my dear colleagues, with the same sentiments of affection with which I am inspired towards you. My conduct, ever guided by a sense of duty and respect for the laws, will

prove, in opposition to the passions by which I have been maligned and still blackened, that none is more anxious than I am to devote myself to the defence of order and the consolidation of the republic."

20. Threatened by this formidable entrant into the Assembly, and alarmed at the manifestation of conservative feeling which was every day becoming more conspicuous, the Socialists and extreme Democrats had recourse to the tactics which had proved so successful in the last days of Louis Philippe's reign. They got up a series of banquets both in Paris and the provinces, at which the retrograde policy was violently assailed, and the universal misery which prevailed ascribed, not to the Revolution, but to the Assembly which had receded from its principles. M. Ledru-Rollin attended one of these festivals held in Paris on 22d September, and indignantly asked, "What has been done since the 24th of February? I much fear that we have not advanced much in that time, and that we are already very far from the principles then announced. The men of February are now, under the pressure of the majority, excluded from all the situations which they then held." On the same day a banquet, presided over by the prefect, was held at Toulouse, where, amidst thunders of applause, the most inflammatory language was used: "Mort aux riches," "Mort aux Prêtres," "A bas l'Assemblée Nationale," "Vive Barbès," "Vive la Guillotine," were heard on all sides. A similar demonstration took place on the same day, accompanied by similar excesses, at Bourges; but although these revolutionary orgies excited great uneasiness in Paris, and were the subject of warm debates and bitter reproaches in the Assembly, they were in reality not formidable. The revolutionary action was generally extinct in France; all classes, except a few agitators who hoped to profit by them, sighed for a termination of the convulsions, and a return to the paths of peaceful industry. So evidently was this the national wish, so immense the majority who were actuated by it,

that although the banquets still continued, and anarchical toasts, amidst loud applause, were drunk both in Paris and the departments, the Assembly felt it safe to terminate the state of siege in the capital, which was brought to a conclusion on the 19th October.

21. Meanwhile the contest for the presidency was daily becoming more vehement between General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon. Had it taken place at an earlier period, before the nation had had practical experience of the effects of revolutionary government, it is probable that the former might have been the successful candidate, for he had many advantages in his favour—a character long established for republican principles, undaunted resolution in the suppression of anarchy, and the actual possession of supreme unlimited power, with all the patronage consequent on its enjoyment. But at this stage of the movement the chances had turned against him. His reign was inseparably connected in the minds, especially of the rural electors, with the prolongation of the revolutionary regime, and with it its *excesses*, its bankruptcies, and total cessation of prosperous industry. What they desired was a MONARCH, who might terminate all these evils, and restore the prosperity which, ever since the convulsion of February, had been unknown in France. This monarch they hoped to find in Louis Napoleon. The elder Bourbons were banished; the younger branch discredited; but the Napoleon dynasty remained unstained by faction, undiscredited by folly; and it was under the shelter of its illustrious name that the country could alone hope to regain tranquillity. Beyond all doubt, the great majority of the rural electors thought that, in voting for Louis Napoleon as president, they were closing the republican regime, and in effect enthroning an emperor. Prudent and sagacious, waiting his time, and careful "not to pluck the pear till it was ripe," the future president, while these ideas were spreading in men's minds, was cautious not to alarm the jealousy

of the republicans by any open disclosure of his ultimate views. On the contrary, they were, when imprudently revealed by his partisans, studiously and emphatically denied by himself.*

22. Nevertheless, General Cavaignac, supported by his cabinet and all the official persons by whom he was surrounded, could not be brought to perceive the truth as to the chances of his succeeding in the election. He was not, however, without misgivings as to the result, and was alternately sanguine in his hopes and gloomy in his anticipations. The greatest difficulty with which he had to contend, was to repel the assaults made upon him in reference to his military conduct on occasion of the revolt in June. Civilians, of whom the great majority of the Assembly was composed, could not be brought to understand why the insurrection had been allowed to acquire such a head before it was seriously attacked, and indignantly asked where were the 20,000 regular troops at his disposal when the half of Paris was occupied by the insurgents, and barricades in every direction were erected on the evening of the 23d June. His assailants even went so far as to reproach him with being actuated with ambitious motives on that occasion, and involving the capital in bloodshed and massacre in order to secure the conferring of dictatorial power upon himself. The reply of the General in the Assembly on the 25th November was nervous and eloquent. After recounting the military reasons which rendered it indispensable not to divide his forces in presence of so formidable a mass of insurgents, and the disastrous consequences which might have followed the defection or defeat

of any considerable body of regular troops, he added: "Be explicit in your charges. Say, have you not endeavoured to drag to that bar a General charged with being negligent, inert, incapable? speak out boldly, for he is before you. He takes the nation for his judges. If you wish to denounce him as a mere ambitious villain, a traitor, who has sought to cut a path to the dictatorship for himself across blood and ruins—speak now; let there be no false delicacy, no equivocation. It is not my ability which is at issue, but my honour; it is no longer the statesman who speaks, but the soldier, and him you will not refuse to hear. You think to serve the Republic by your violence; the day will come when it will be seen whether you or I have most effectually served it. I know not whether M. Ledru-Rollin has separated from me or I from him; but this I do know, that a separation exists, and that, so far as I am concerned, it is likely to be eternal." Upon this debate General Cavaignac was supported by a majority of 583 to 170; a result highly gratifying to his feelings, and such as was obviously conformable to the justice of the case.*

23. Previous to going to the poll, General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon issued addresses to the electors, which are of value as indicating the political parties and principles

* "Des personnes bien informées ayant averti le Représentant Louis Buonaparte que des insensés travaillent dans l'ombre, et préparent une émeute en son nom, dans le but évident de le compromettre aux yeux des hommes d'ordre, et des Republicains sincères, Louis Napoleon a cru devoir faire part de ces bruits à M. Dufaure, Ministre de l'Intérieur. Il a ajouté qu'il repoussait énergiquement toute participation à des menées si complètement contraires à ses sentiments politiques, et à la conduite qu'il a tenue depuis le 24 Février."—*Journal des Débats*, Oct. 24, 1848.

* "The following conversation, recorded by Lord Normanby, between General Cavaignac and the members of the Provisional Government on the evening of the 23d June, will explain better than anything else the General's military reasons for his conduct on that day: "Une dernière tentative fut faite auprès du Général, M. M. Arago, Marie, Lamarque, Ledru-Rollin, avec M. Barthélemy St Hilaire le pressant de commencer l'attaque. Le Général fut inflexible, et les instances dont il était l'objet irritant sa colère, 'Croyez vous,' dit-il, 'que je sois ici pour défendre vos Parisiens, votre Garde Nationale? Quelle protége la ville et ses boutiques? Je ne veux pas disséminer mes troupes,—Je me rappelle 1830; je me rappelle Février. Si une seule de mes compagnies est désarmée, si nous subissons encore cet affront, je me brûle la cervelle; je ne survivrai pas au déshonneur.' On eut beau représenter au Général que son aide ne remédierait à rien, qu'il s'agissait d'enlever les barricades qu'il avait laissées former. Aucun argument ne put le décider à donner l'ordre de l'attaque; le moment dé-

which they respectively represented. Cavaignac said: "The existence of the Republic is essentially linked with the maintenance of political and social order. The Republic without order, order without the Republic, are now alike impossible, and he who would attempt to separate them is a dangerous citizen, whom reason condemns and the country should disavow. Strive to imbibe these ideas, and to diffuse them among the citizens by whom you are surrounded. Founded on the great principle of universal suffrage, as it is now definitively fixed in its application, the constitution of the Republic gives full liberty to discussion, and thereby takes away all excuse for insurrection or revolt; for on what pretext can a faction, which is in a minority by the vote, pretend to be in a majority by rebellion? On the other hand, in presence of the incessant application of universal suffrage, where is the authority which could even dream of attempting to corrupt it? Universal suffrage is in itself the entire Revolution; every other principle is but an emanation and corollary from it. In the very first rank of those consequences you must consider that which places power under the action and immediate control of the majority. In the new condition which the Revolution has imposed on the Republic, to forget these principles would be a grave fault in any one; but a positive crime in one who, invested with any species of authority, should come to forget its source and foundation. The first result, the first danger of such an error, would be the annihilation of the power which had thus denied its origin and belied its principles."

24. Louis Napoleon's address was more specific in the delineation of the policy which, in the event of success, he would pursue as chief magistrate

cisif ne lui parut pas encore venu. On ajoutait que les insurgés gagnaient à tout instant du terrain. "Que m'importe?" répondit le Général: "eh bien, s'ils sont maîtres de Paris, je me retirerai avec mon armée dans les plaines de St Denis, et je leur livrerai bataille."—"Oui," dit M. Arago, "mais ils ne vous y suivront pas."—NORMANBY, ii. 322.

of the Republic. He thus expressed himself: "I am not so ambitious as to dream sometimes of the Empire, sometimes of war, sometimes of the application of subversive theories. Educated in free countries, in the school of misfortune, I shall always remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages may impose upon me. If I become President, I shall recoil from no danger, no sacrifice, to defend society so audaciously attacked: I shall devote myself, body and soul, without *arrière pensée*, to the consolidation of a Republic wise by its laws, honourable by its intentions, great and powerful by its actions. I shall consider my honour pledged at the expiration of four years to leave to my successor power confirmed, liberty intact, real progress accomplished. Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people; and my support is pledged beforehand to any government which may re-establish order in men's minds, as in material things; effectually protect religion, family property, the eternal bases of every social state; which may anticipate practical reforms, calm hatreds, reconcile parties, and permit a disquieted country to count upon the morrow. To re-establish order is to restore confidence, to provide by credit for the passing embarrassment of our finances, to restore the revenue, to reanimate commerce. To protect religion and family rights is to secure liberty of worship and education. To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the produce of labour, to guarantee the independence and security of possession, the indispensable foundations of civil liberty.

25. "As to possible reforms, the following appear to me to be the most indispensable: To admit every economy which, without disorganising the public service, may permit an alleviation of the imposts most burdensome to the people; to encourage enterprise, which, by developing the riches of agriculture, may, in France and Algeria, furnish work to the unemployed; to provide for the relief of old age by encouraging foresight among

labourers, and to introduce into the laws affecting industry modifications which, without ruining the rich for the benefit of the poor, may found the wellbeing of each upon the prosperity of all; to restrain within just limits the number of employments which depend on power, and often convert a free people into a nation of beggars; to avoid that fatal tendency which prompts the State to undertake itself what can be better done by private individuals. The centralisation of interests is the policy of despotism; the nature of a republic excludes the idea of monopoly. In fine, to preserve the Pruss from its two dangers—arbitrary oppression, and its own licentiousness.

26. "War would bring us no alleviation of our evils. Peace is the dearest object of my desires. France, during the first Revolution, was warlike because Europe compelled her to become so. She answered invasion by conquest. Now that it is not provoked, it is at liberty to consecrate its resources to pacific ameliorations, without renouncing a loyal and resolute policy. A great nation should either remain silent, or never speak in vain. To think of the national dignity is to think of the army, whose noble and disinterested patriotism has so often been misunderstood. It is necessary, while maintaining the fundamental laws which constitute the strength of our military organisation, to lighten and not increase the burden of the conscription. It is time to devise measures for the present and future wellbeing not only of the officers, but of the sub-officers and soldiers, and to procure for men, who have long served their country, a comfortable existence. The Republic should be generous, and have trust in its fortunes. For my own part, having known exile and captivity, I daily invoke for my country the day when it can with safety terminate all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil wars. The task is difficult, the mission immense, but I shall never despair of executing it when calling

to my aid all those, without distinction of party, whom public opinion has recommended, by their enlightened intelligence and approved probity. When you have the honour to be at the head of the French people, there is a sure mode of doing good, which is to wish it."

27. This remarkable letter is well worthy of a place in general history, not only from its containing a complete abstract of the opinions and policy of the very eminent man who has since played so memorable a part on the imperial throne, but because it bears in itself unmistakable traces of his own thought and composition. It contributed greatly to increase the chances in his favour; and they were still further added to by a calamitous series of events, to be detailed in the succeeding chapter, which at the same time involved the Italian revolution in murder, convulsion, and disgrace. Count Rossi, the French representative at the Court of Rome, had been foully assassinated by a band of Roman desperadoes on the steps of the Hall of the National Assembly, and the Pope reduced to such straits by the violence of the revolutionists that he had in the most abject manner solicited assistance from France, not so much to reinstate him in his authority as to save his life, which appeared to be in imminent danger. To this request General Cavaignac had acceded, and an expedition was fitted out to take possession of Rome. To this step he had been moved by the consideration that, if France did not render the aid requested, Austria would, and the influence of a rival power be thereby established in an important point of the Italian peninsula. But the tendering the solicited aid was attended with a difficulty to the executive government of a peculiarly embarrassing character, on the eve of the election for a chief magistrate of the Republic. The succour was to be sent, not to aid the Italian movement, but to check it, and this by a Government of a decidedly revolutionary character, and which only eight months before had

owed its existence to the overthrow of an established sovereign! The obvious inconsistency of this struck the zealous French Liberals with astonishment, and filled them with indignation. However weighty might be the political considerations which induced the French Government to support the Pope in order to exclude the Austrians, they were less exciting than the prospect of extending the cause of Liberalism by openly aiding the insurgents; and General Cavaignac found himself not a little embarrassed by this charge of inconsistency in the contest for the presidency. Another incident, scarcely less damaging to the revolutionary Government, was the discovery that, among the persons to whom national recompenses had been awarded, were to be found the names of nearly all the assassins who had attempted the lives of the late King, or of the royal family.*

28. As the 10th December, the time of the election, approached, the anxiety of General Cavaignac and his friends painfully increased, and the influence of Government was used in the most unsparing and unblushing way to secure his success. But it was all in vain. When the day arrived, although in a few great towns Cavaignac had the majority, the most stunning accounts poured in from all sides of the great adverse majorities in the departments; and at length, when the lists were summed up, there appeared no less than 5,334,226 votes for Louis Napoleon, and only 1,448,107 for Cavaignac! The other numbers were so much below that they were not worth mentioning. Ledru-Rollin had only 370,119 votes; the socialist Raspail, 36,226; Lamartine, 19,900; General Changarnier, 4700! The National Assembly, as a matter of course, declared Louis Napoleon president, and he took, on the 20th December, the prescribed oath, which was in these terms: "In the presence of God, and

of the French people, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic Republic one and indivisible, and to discharge all the duties imposed on me by the constitution." Never had the voice of a nation spoken out more decidedly than that of France did on this occasion. The result completely demonstrated the truth of General Cavaignac's remark to Lord Normanby, "The Revolution was the work of a *tyrant minority*." "It remains only," said M. de Tocqueville, "to be seen whether it is the *Revolution* or the *Revolutionists* whom the country cannot abide."

29. Although Cavaignac did his utmost to bear his defeat with dignity, he could not avoid a little display of ill-humour when the ceremony of inauguration was going on; and when Prince Louis, at its close, went up and held out his hand to him, though he took it, he turned aside his head, and did not rise up. Lamartine's character as a public man was completely lost, as was proved by the miserable minority which voted for him: he had never recovered his unprincipled coalition with Ledru-Rollin to secure a place in the Government chosen by the Assembly, and he had forfeited the only opportunity which presented itself of regaining it, which was by making a bold and manly speech when the insurrection of June was under discussion. He had in private been loud and unmeasured in his abuse of General Cavaignac for his conduct on that occasion, and he was known to be in possession of its secret history; but he never mounted the tribune when it was under discussion. When Garnier Pages descended from it, he said to Lamartine across several other members, "Now, if you do not speak, you are ruined as a public man." He did not do so, and sank to rise no more. Serious apprehensions were entertained of popular violence on occasion of so great a

* La femme de l'épén et ses enfans, une pension de . . . 500 fr. chacun.
 La sœur de l'assassin Leconte, . . . 500 francs.
 Boucheron, assassin des Duc d'Orléans et Nemours, . . . 500 do.
 Coffineau, voleur, condamné à six ans de détention, . . . 300 do.

defeat of the Radical party, and the funds fell rapidly; but the precautions taken by the Government were so complete that the eventful day which terminated the popular reign passed over without any disturbance.

30. The first care of the new President was to appoint a Ministry, the list of which appeared in the *Moniteur* the day after his election. The ministers chosen were probably the best he could have got under the circumstances, but they presented few names of note. M. Odillon Barrot was the President of the Council; M. Drouhyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Léon de Maleville, Minister of the Interior; General Rulhières, Minister at War; M. de Tracy, of the Marine; M. de Falloux, of Public Worship and Instruction; M. Bixio, of Agriculture and Commerce; M. Hippolyte Passy, of Finance. The Cabinet was the representative of the opposition which had overturned the Orléans dynasty. It was an ominous circumstance, however, that none of the experienced statesmen of the Orléans time were to be found in the Administration. The new President had declared that he would select his Cabinet from men of acknowledged ability, of whatever party: but neither M. Guizot, nor M. Thiers, nor M. de Lamarzine, nor M. de Montalembert, were there. Mediocrity was its characteristic; pliant ability appeared to be the chief recommendation to admission into it. This is always the case with governments selected under popular influence, save when instant danger compels the people to give themselves masters, not servants, by placing real ability at the helm. Aristocracy is jealous of talent when not entirely subservient, but democracy is much more so.

31. The first care of the new Ministry was to endeavour to provide for the financial necessities of the State. This was a subject which could no longer be delayed; for the exigencies of the country, from the increase of expenditure on the one hand, and the diminution of income on the other, had come to such a point that absolute bankruptcy stared the nation in the

face. The Government being now changed, the veil was rudely drawn from this important subject, and the difficulties in which the Revolution had involved the country were presented in undisguised colours. From the statement of the Finance Minister it appeared that the expenses of the year had been 1,800,000,000 francs, while the receipts were only 1,383,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 417,000,000 francs (£6,760,000), to be provided for by loans or extraordinary resources. To meet this deficit, no less than 103,790,000 francs had been borrowed from the sinking fund, 250,000,000 francs from other sources, and a floating debt of 150,000,000 francs from the Bank of France! The estimate for the succeeding year was equally alarming. The demands of Government for that year would exceed those of the present by 32,000,000 francs, and the probable deficit at the end of the year would exceed 400,000,000 francs (£16,000,000)! With truth did the Finance Minister say, that "these figures were more eloquent than any words which he could utter." No less than 270,000,000 francs of this large sum were occasioned by the extra expenses of the Provisional Government and Assembly. The expenditure of France in this year was nearly double of what it had been in the latter years of Charles X., when it had been 940,000,000 francs.

32. The comparative produce of the direct and indirect taxes in France during the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 is still more descriptive of the effect of the social convulsions on the industry and prosperity of the country. Between the years 1847 and 1848, the falling-off in the indirect taxes had been 145,000,000 francs (£5,000,000); and the direct taxes, which were calculated on as producing, with the 45 per cent, 623,456,000 francs, realised only 527,994,000 francs—leaving a deficit of no less than 95,462,000 francs (£3,800,000) on the part of the direct imposts, even with the heavy addition made to this amount, which, on paper, was estimated at 162,524,000 francs! The imports and exports did not present a more flattering aspect.

Taken together, they exhibited in the "general commerce" a falling-off of 599,000,000 francs (£23,960,000), or about 23 per cent on the produce of the preceding year. The "special commerce," as the French call it, which is the imports for national consumption, and the exports of the produce of national industry, exhibited a still more alarming decline: they had sunk, taken together, 26 per cent; and the importations, taken alone, no less than 43 per cent. The shipping had fallen off in a similar proportion; it had declined from 3,146,000 tons in 1847, to 1,965,000 tons in 1848, which showed a sinking of 27 per cent. The falling-off in articles imported required in manufactures showed how grievously they had suffered: those of silk had sunk from 76,000,000 lb. to 38,000,000 lb.; while the decline on the duty on sugar showed how seriously the consumption by the working classes of that necessary article had been affected, for it had decreased in amount and value no less than 48,000,000 francs (£1,920,000).

33. When such had been the result of the Revolution to the material interests of the nation, it was not surprising that all classes were discontented with it, and that the repose was universally sighed for which the convulsion had so violently interrupted. Revolution had worked out its natural fruits in ruining the industry of the whole nation. The continuance of its regime was desired only by the insurrectionary leaders who had been, or hoped to be, elevated to greatness by a continuance of the public disturbances. To them, however, the result of the election of the President had been a matter of the most unbounded astonishment and of extreme mortification. Nothing could bring them to see that the domination of the Parisian clubs was regarded with very different eyes in the solitude of the fields by the people who paid the taxes, from what it was in the streets of the metropolis by those who received them. The result, however, is fraught with a political lesson of extreme importance, and which, though often

enunciated in former days, had been wellnigh lost sight of amidst the mingled enthusiasm and heartburnings consequent on the French Revolution. This is the old truth, that while the strength of democracy is always to be found in the *prolétaires* of great towns or mining and manufacturing districts, that of Conservatism is to be sought in the *country* proprietors; and that that state is most likely to stand the shock best which contains the greatest number of independent *rural* freeholders. Beyond all doubt it was the multitude of these which was the main cause of the triumphant return of Louis Napoleon for the President's chair. The peasant proprietors understood they were voting for an emperor, and the suppression of the clubs of Paris, when they recorded their suffrages for him. Tenacious beyond any other class of their little possessions, and averse to burdens being imposed on them, the determination of these proprietors was taken the moment they heard of the Ateliers Nationaux at Paris, and the addition of forty-five per cent to the direct taxes to maintain them.

34. But it is not to be supposed from this that the same will hold in *all* countries placed in different circumstances, or that because universal suffrage has at last proved the grave of democracy in revolutionised France, therefore it would prove the same in un-revolutionised England. It was not so at first. Universal suffrage on the other side of the Channel in 1792 produced not the Assembly of 1848, but the Convention. It placed at the helm, not a Louis Napoleon, but a Robespierre. A nation which has gone through a revolution may be expected to return to conservative principles when intrusted with the powers of self government, because it has felt what is the result of their abandonment; but one which has not done so will most assuredly plunge into the vortex. Nothing is so perilous as to trust to the good sense of a large body of men when their passions are strongly inflamed. Reason and knowledge cannot be supposed to rule

the great majority, although passion and delusion may. Nothing but bitter and dear-bought experience can be relied on to withstand their fascination. Before revolution a "Tory democracy" is a myth; after such an event it may sometimes prove a reality.

35. In addition to this there is one important specialty in the political condition of Great Britain at this time, which renders it peculiarly hazardous to act on the dream of a Tory democracy. There are at this time in Great Britain about an equal number of persons dependent on agriculture and on manufactures; each are about ten and a half millions. Supposing these different bodies of men to be swayed upon the whole by their respective instincts and traditions, the number of their representatives should be about equal, and in that event the balance would be cast by the members for Ireland. As above two-thirds of them sit for counties, this in the ordinary case should secure a majority for the Conservative interests. But in Ireland the case is just the reverse; the most violent members of the movement party are to be found in its county representatives. This is the

consequence of the unhappy religious divisions which have so long distracted that ill-starred country, and of the social position of the great majority of the electors, which, blinding them to their real material interests, renders them the passive instruments of spiritual ambition. As the elevation and advancement of their own church is the exclusive object of the Romish clergy, so everything which tends to embarrass or endanger the Protestant Establishment is sure in time to come, as it has done in time past, to receive their cordial support, whatever effect it may have on their lay constituents. As they know well that nothing is likely to do this so effectually as the overthrow of the English aristocracy, the majority of the Irish county members may be permanently relied on as a direct support to the movement party in Great Britain. This important peculiarity in our present social and political condition, directly the reverse of what might under other circumstances have been expected, should always be kept in view in any changes that may hereafter take place in the representative system of the United Empire.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ITALY, FROM THE BREAKING-OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN JANUARY 1848, TO THE TAKING OF VICENZA BY RADETSKY IN AUGUST 1848.

* 1. AGITATED at once by the most violent social and political passions, ITALY, in the beginning of 1848, was, as already mentioned, in such a state of excitement that it did not require the shock of the French Revolution to throw the whole peninsula into convulsions. So strongly, indeed, was the Italian mind stirred at this period, that it appeared probable that the outbreak would take place sooner to the south than the north of the Alps. The concessions already made

to the demand for reform had produced such a ferment, that the whole Liberal party in that peninsula, so far from being satisfied with what they had gained, passionately longed for still farther victories, and were everywhere prepared to take up arms to gain them. To the thirst for social amelioration and political power had come to be added the still stronger desire for national unity, by which alone, it was thought, either could be secured: and thus the strongest mun-

dane passions which can agitate the human heart—the love of freedom and the love of independence—were roused together, and caused for a time to draw in the same direction. It is not surprising that one of the most general revolutions and bloody wars of modern times arose from their united influence, and that the sacred cause “della unita et libertade Italiana” warmed every generous heart, and nerved not a few powerful arms, in their beautiful country.

2. The reforms of Pio Nono, the democratic concessions of Charles Albert, the more sweeping innovations of the King of Naples, had so strongly stimulated the revolutionary passions in Italy, that it was only a question of time when the smothered fires were to break forth to involve the peninsula in one general conflagration. Various events, prior to the Revolution of 1848, contributed to accelerate its approach. On the 22d December 1847, on occasion of some disorders which had taken place at Modena and Reggio, some Austrian troops, at the request of the Duke of Modena, entered the duchy to preserve the peace, which was immediately represented as an intervention in the affairs of Tuscany. At Milan the popular party passed a resolution against smoking in the streets, in order to diminish the imperial excise; and the attempt to enforce this resolution against the Austrian officers led to several quarrels, in which the latter made use of their arms. At Venice, a fanatical demagogue, named Tommaseo, openly preached revolt; while at Rome, as already mentioned, the carriage of the Pope was surrounded by a tumultuous mob on 1st January, and a tricolor flag was insolently waved over the vehicle when his Holiness was still in it. At Genoa, on 3d January, a crowd assembled with the cries, “A bas les Jésuites!”—“Vive la garde civique!” and the citizens were forced to sign a petition to the King, praying for further reforms, couched in language so violent that even the Liberal ministry refused to receive it. Disorders of a still more serious character broke out

at Leghorn a few days after, attended with consequences of a grave description. An immense mob assembled under the windows of General Sfroni, the governor of the city, with cries of “Morte a Sfroni!”—“Viva Guerrazzi!”—the latter being a briefless advocate, the head of the Radical party. The governor had the weakness to appoint Guerrazzi to the command of a civic guard which a commission was appointed to organise. The consequence was, that he immediately issued a proclamation calling on the people to revolt; and the disorders were only arrested by the arrival of a considerable body of troops despatched by the Grand Duke from Florence. In Naples and Sicily, as already mentioned, the cause of revolution was entirely triumphant, the King having been obliged to proclaim a constitution, framed according to the demands of the Radical party; while in Sicily a provisional government was established, and severance from the continental dominions of the King openly proclaimed. Following the example of his southern neighbour, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on 11th February, proclaimed a representative government; and in Rome a commission, with M. Rossi, the French ambassador, at its head, was appointed to examine and report upon the question how far such a constitution was consistent with the ecclesiastical government.

3. When such was already the temper of the public mind in Italy, it may be conceived what impression the Revolution of February in Paris made. The effect was instantaneous—it might be said, magical. Both parties immediately prepared to act upon it; the aristocratic, by almost unlimited concession—the democratic, by preparations for instant revolt. The Pope, on the 10th March, dismissed his ministers and formed a new cabinet, composed of *ten* of the laity, and only three ecclesiastics—a proportion heretofore unheard of. A new constitution was promised, and the general arming of the people, mobilisation of part of the civic guard, and organisation of a

powerful reserve. On the 16th the news reached Venice, and the agitation immediately became such, that the governor, General Palfy, saw no means of resisting it: on the day following, Tommasio and Manin, the leaders of the former disturbance, were liberated by his orders, and the formation of a civic guard decreed, for which crowds immediately inscribed their names. At the same time intelligence arrived of the reception of the news from Paris at Vienna, and the submission of the Imperial Government. No bounds were then set to the general joy. The people rushed out of their houses into the streets, congratulating each other without any previous acquaintance, and the transports found vent in a general illumination. The governor seeing no means, with the limited force at his disposal, of making his authority respected, and uncertain how to act, when the Government at Vienna itself was yielding, resigned his appointment in favour of General Zichy, the commander of the military force. That officer, hearing of insurrections in Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and the whole Italian Tyrol behind Verona, thought his situation desperate, and deemed himself fortunate in being able to sign a capitulation on the 22d, in virtue of which he was permitted to embark his troops and proceed to Trieste, but on condition of leaving his guns, ammunition, and military treasure, and Italian soldiers, who immediately entered the ranks of the insurgents, bringing with them the advantage of the arms and discipline of soldiers. On the day following, a provisional government, with Tommasio and Manin at its head, was instituted, and the old colours of the Republic, amidst indescribable transports, hoisted on the Place of St Mark, which again resounded with the ancient war-cry, "Viva St Marco!"

4. The Austrian force which at this period occupied Lombardy, and the Imperial provinces in Italy, was about 80,000 strong, under Marshal Radetsky—a considerable force, without doubt, though less by 70,000 than that general had represented as neces-

sary to keep the country in submission amidst the double dangers of foreign invasion and internal revolt. The efficiency of this force was seriously diminished by the circumstance of 25,000 of the whole number being Italian soldiers, who, on the first rupture between Austria and their native country, might be expected to take part with the insurgents.* This arose from the Imperial mode of recruiting, which always leaves the third or depot battalion in its native district to superintend the getting recruits. At least two-thirds of these depot battalions consisted of young men who had acquired enough of military discipline to be formidable in the field, but not so much as to render obedience and attachment to their king and colours paramount to their feelings as citizens. Such as it was, this army was divided into two corps. The first, that commanded by Baron d'Aspre, held Lombardy, and one of its brigades lay along the Ticino on the Piedmontese frontier. Three brigades, mustering ten thousand combatants, were stationed in Milan, the capital of the kingdom of Lombardy; the remainder were scattered over the cities of Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, to the north, and of Parma and Placentia to the south of that beautiful region. The second corps, under the orders of Count Wratislaw, was stationed in the Venetian provinces, and its chief brigades formed the garrisons of Venice, Mantua, Padua, and Verona, with detachments or single regiments in the lesser towns, which formed part of the important military line of the Mincio.†

5. But whatever the positions of the Austrians in Italy wanted in strength to resist a severe external and internal shock, was more than compensated by the extraordinary vigour and capacity of the veteran general who was at its head. JOSEPH

* SCHOENHALS, p. 125.

† The account of Radetsky's campaigns in 1848-49 is principally taken from the clear and impartial narrative of a Swiss author translated by the Earl of Ellesmere; the able and graphic memoir of General Schoenhals, Radetsky's Adjutant-General; and the valuable history of the Italian General Ullio.

RADETSKY, descended of an ancient Bohemian family, was born in 1766, so that at this period he was in his eighty-third year. He entered the Austrian service as a cuirassier in the "Francis" regiment in 1781, at the age of sixteen; and in that corps he rose to the rank of captain. During the fourteen years that he was with it, he was engaged in the wars of the Imperialists against the Turks, and also in the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 in the Low Countries. In 1797 he was promoted to the rank of major, and in 1799 to that of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he was, on account of his remarkable abilities, transferred to the staff, and formed part of the *état-major* of Suwaroff in 1799 in Italy and Switzerland, and Milan in 1800, as well as the campaign of Marengo in 1806. In the campaign of 1805 he commanded a cavalry brigade, and in that of 1809 he was lieutenant-general, and bore a part in the battles of Aspern and Wagram. During the memorable years, 1813, 1814, and 1815, he was chief of the staff to Prince Schwartzberg, in which situation his genius for war became so well known that in 1829 he was appointed general of cavalry—a very high grade in the Imperial service. In 1832 he was made commander-in-chief in Italy, then threatened with immediate war; and in 1836 he received the baton of field-marshal. Thus, during his long and eventful career, he had learned the art of war in the best of all schools—under Suwaroff and the Archduke Charles, and opposed to Napoleon.

6. He was gifted by nature not only with the eye and decision of a great general, but with the physical qualities which in the field are almost equally necessary for memorable achievements. A firm-knit frame, and constitution of iron, enabled him to retain at eighty-three the vigour and elasticity of youth. The youngest of his staff could scarcely keep up with the old marshal in his rides. At this time, though his hair was white, his eye had lost nothing of its youthful fire, his mind nothing of its activity and de-

cision. Frank and courteous in his manners to all of whatever grade who approached him, considerate in his regulations, and especially attentive to the health and comforts of his soldiers, he was yet steady in maintaining discipline, and rigorous in enforcing obedience to his orders. He thus became the idol of his men, who looked upon him as their father, by which name he was always called by them, and they came to place in him that unbounded confidence which is so important an element in military success. In reverses he was never depressed; in victory he was not elated. Ever exposing his own person freely, he was also the first, when the victory was gained, to enjoin mercy to the vanquished; and though the victorious leader in civil strife, he never stained his hands in the blood of the unresisting or the defenceless.

7. GENERAL HESS was Radetsky's chief of the staff through the Italian campaigns, and by his consummate military talents contributed much to their astonishing successes. He was consulted on all occasions; and so completely were their ideas in unison, that it is difficult to say to which the chief part of the merit is to be ascribed. No jealousy or petty feelings divided these great men. Equally animated by devotion to their king and country, alike sensible of each other's merits, they mutually, like Marlborough and Eugene, ascribed the chief share in the triumphs to the other. The subsequent appointment of General Hess to the command of the grand Austrian army, destined to the invasion of the Principalities, proves how sensible the Government were of his transcendent merits.

8. Although the feeling of the people in the great towns in the north of Italy was decidedly national, and opposed to the Austrian rule, yet this was by no means equally general in the rural districts; and even in the larger cities the habits of the people in all ranks were essentially unwarlike. None of them had the qualities either of mind or body essential to the maintenance of a prolonged struggle with the

Imperial forces. The nobility, which formed the entire body of the considerable landed proprietors, were for the most part discontented, and cordially detested the Austrian rule. They were so because they had been ousted by the Germans from the government of the country, and the situations of power and emolument in it which appeared to be their birthright, and subjected to very heavy taxes to the Imperial Government. The mechanics and artisans in towns also, with the whole professors of literature, education, and the arts, were still more discontented, and for the most part belonged to the *Carbonari* or other secret societies, the object of which was the entire liberation of the peninsula from foreign, or, as they called it, *tramontane* domination. The latter were actuated by the desire of political consideration and power which naturally grows upon the middle order of society with the acquisition of wealth, and by the jealousy which intellectual strength invariably feels for the rule of mere physical force. This body was numerous, highly intellectual, very democratic, and strongly banded together for the acquisition of political independence and social freedom. But its members wanted individual honesty and rectitude. Deeply imbued with the profligacy which results from a long course of prosperity in great cities, the Italian republicans regarded revolution as a game of hazard, which was worth entering for the stakes; but they had none of the earnestness and determination of purpose which results in honest hearts from strong natural conviction. The rural population, meaning by that the peasantry, with few exceptions, were satisfied with the German rule. The Imperial Government was strong, and upon the whole equitable; the taxes were heavy, but they were levied with equal hand on the rich and the poor. There was little disposition, accordingly, in the country people to exchange the leaden yoke of Austria for the fiery rule of the Milan republicans; and it was mainly owing to this indifference that Italy was preserved to the Austrians.

For if the inhabitants of the country had been as zealous in the cause of democracy as those of the towns were, beyond all doubt the foreigner must have succumbed.

9. The convulsion at Milan, at once the stronghold of Austrian power in Italy, the headquarters of Radetsky, and the chief seat and school of Italian liberalism, was very violent, and attended with a lamentable effusion of human blood. The receipt of the intelligence from Paris in the first week of March, followed quickly by that of the overthrow of the Government at Vienna, produced such a ferment that insurrection could not be averted. It broke out on the 18th of that month, and the combat continued without intermission for the five following days. Never were the difficulty and dangers of street-fighting evinced in more clear colours. Radetsky had at his disposal, in the first instance, 18,000 men; but they were quickly reduced, by the defection of the whole Italian troops in the Imperial service, to 13,000, while the revolted soldiers carried to the side of the insurgents the advantages of military skill and organisation. This rendered the conflict comparatively equal; for the insurgents, rapidly supported by reinforcements from Pavia, Parma, Como, Brescia, and all the neighbouring towns, soon numbered 10,000 regular Italian soldiers, aided by the desultory efforts of double that number of armed tirailleurs and musketeers, who, though incapable of action in the open field, were extremely formidable firing from windows, or from behind loopholed walls. In the first outbreak of the revolt, the insurgents gained the great advantage, by a sudden and unexpected attack, of making themselves masters of the governor's palace, of the government buildings in the Monforte Street, and of the Broletto or Town-house, on which the Italian colours were immediately hoisted. With such rapidity were barricades erected in the streets leading to this latter point, and with such resolution were they defended, that all the efforts of the Austrians were for long unable

to dispossess them of this stronghold ; and it was not until late on the evening of the 18th that it was stormed, after a desperate resistance.

10. On the night of the 19th, Radetsky withdrew his men entirely from the destructive struggle in the interior, but occupied the line of the ramparts and all the gates of the town. The contest continued round the whole city till the 23d ; but although the Austrian troops combated with the greatest resolution, and were most ably directed by Radetsky, the superiority of the insurgents, who fought with uncommon courage, at length became manifest. Such was the enthusiasm with which they were animated, that the women poured boiling oil and vitriol on the assailants, and, to their shame be it said, cruelly massacred the prisoners who fell into their hands. On the fifth day of this terrible conflict, the ammunition and provisions of the Imperialists were found to have failed. Water was wanting under a burning sun, and the troops, worn out by so long-continued a contest, were in no condition to maintain it longer. To add to the difficulties of his situation, Radetsky, who still retained possession of the palace of the military commander, learned that Pavia and Brescia were in open insurrection, and that the Archduke, the son of the Viceroy, had been made prisoner. In these circumstances, wisely judging that the first thing to be attended to was the safety of his troops, and that if he preserved them intact, victory might soon reconduct the Imperial troops to Milan, Marshal Radetsky drew in two brigades detached on the Sardinian and Swiss frontiers, ordered a general retreat, and withdrew in five columns towards Crema.

11. Immense was the enthusiasm which the retreat of the Imperial eagles from Milan occasioned over the whole of the Italian peninsula. Coming as it did immediately after the overthrow of Louis Philippe at Paris, the subversion of the Imperial government at Vienna, the revolution of Venice, and the successful insurrec-

tionary movements in Naples and Sicily, it inspired the belief that the triumph of freedom was at length secured, and that a league, formed of all liberated states, having France and united and independent Italy for its foundations, would ere long form the basis of the liberty of the world. The provisional government of Milan immediately published a proclamation, in which, with just pride, they recounted their great triumph, and foretold yet more glorious victories from the aid of the prince who was advancing from Turin to join in the great work of Italian emancipation.* On his side Marshal Radetsky issued a brief address to his soldiers, in which he said—"The treachery of our allies, the fury of the enraged people, and the scarcity of provisions, oblige me to abandon the city of Milan, for the purpose of taking a position on another line, from which at your head I can return to victory."

12. Radetsky at first hoped that he would be able to maintain the line of the Adda, and accordingly the army was stationed in the outset along its banks, headquarters being established at Lodi.† But it soon became apparent that this was impossible. Not only had the insurrection spread through all Lombardy, but the Italian troops stationed in Bergamo, Cremona, Brescia, Rovigo, and all the towns at

* "We have conquered: we have compelled the enemy to fly, oppressed as much by his own shame as by our valour. But scattered in our fields, wandering like wild beasts, united in bands of plunderers, he prolongs for us all the horrors of war, without affording any of its sublime emotions. The arms we have taken up, that we still hold, can never be laid down as long as one of his hand shall be hid under the cover of the Alps. We have sworn it—we swear it again, with the generous prince who flies, with the common impulse, to associate himself with our glory. All Italy swears it, and so it shall be. To arms, then—to arms, to secure the fruits of our glorious Revolution—to fight the last battle of independence and of the unity of Italy."—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 321.

† In his retreat to this point the villagers of Melegnano rose in arms to oppose his march. The vanguard stormed, burned, and plundered it. This severe example stifled all further resistance.

the foot of the Alps, had revolted and joined the insurgents, and the most violent fermentation broke out even in the important fortresses of Verona, Mantua, and Palma-Nuova, though all strongly garrisoned by Imperial troops. The last was surrendered by the Italian garrison which held it, with thirty-eight guns, to the revolutionary bands, and Padua was abandoned, as its garrison was required to reinforce that of Verona, which with difficulty held that important fortress against the inhabitants. By these means the military communication with Austria was placed in danger; and this was soon seriously augmented by the intelligence received that the Italian Tyrol was all in arms, and that the important castle of Rocco d'Anfo, with the whole eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and the steamers on the lake, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents. It was also now ascertained that the Piedmontese Government had resolved to take part, on a great scale, and with all their forces, with the Italian revolutionists, and that Charles Albert, with the whole disposable troops of that monarchy, full forty-five thousand strong, would ere long be in the very front rank of the battle. Thus Radetsky would soon have on his hands an army of 60,000 regular troops, formidable both from its courage and discipline, composed of the Piedmontese forces and the revolted Italian troops; while his own force, though weakened only by 700 men during the conflicts in Milan, had lost fully a fourth of its amount by that great defection, and by three entire regiments, which, in virtue of the capitulation of Venice, had been conveyed to Trieste and Illyria. Add to this, that Venice had fallen, with all its arsenal, magazines, and treasure, into the hands of the insurgents, who had thus acquired

an important base of operations directly in his rear. In these circumstances it was evidently indispensable to retire from the advanced position on the Adda; and the retreat was accordingly continued to beyond the Mincio, headquarters being established at Verona (March 31), with only an advanced rear-guard occupying Lonato, on the right bank of that river.

13. When Charles Albert resolved to embrace the cause of Italian independence, he had very considerable forces at his command, and his accession to the league, of which he immediately became the head, might well inspire patriots less enthusiastic than those by whom he was surrounded, with the belief of ultimate and decisive success. The regular forces of the Piedmontese monarchy at this period were seventy thousand strong, of whom about 45,000 were disposable for operations in the field.* This army, as was abundantly proved afterwards in the Crimean war, was admirably organised, equipped, and disciplined, and commanded by a body of officers worthy to lead such an array. Charles Albert had no cause of complaint against Austria, and did not pretend to have any in the proclamation which he issued on taking up arms. He appears to have been actuated by the general fervour which at that period had come in so remarkable a manner to pervade the Italian people, which had led many to imagine that they saw the finger of God in the universal enthusiasm; and he could not be insensible to the brilliant prospects which opened to himself and his own country from placing it at the head of the movement.

14. CHARLES ALBERT, though still a young man, had gone through many and various adventures. In early youth, when the democratic movement

Guards—2 Grenadier and 1 Rifle regiment,	6,000
Infantry—9 brigades, 2 regiments each,	55,000
Cavalry—6 regiments,	5,000
Artillery, Sappers, and Engineers,	4,000

70,000, with 96 guns

in 1821 began in Italy, he had, when heir-presumptive to the throne, allowed himself to be placed at the head of the revolutionary party. He soon, however, repented having allowed himself to be so far seduced by the Liberals; and to wipe away the stain which thereby attached to his name, he entered, two years after, as a volunteer into the French service, and acted as a subaltern with great courage in the assault of the Trocadero in 1823, which won for him from Austria the Cross of Maria Theresa. Intimate in former days with the Carbonari, and acquainted with their ulterior designs, he had sense enough to see that, on the throne at least, he had no interest to favour their projects. His system of government was for long the old-fashioned one—to lean on the nobility and the clergy, whom he supported in their privileges, to keep the middle class in check, and to protect the peasant from oppression. Latterly, however, the stream of innovation had become so violent that he was reluctantly obliged to yield to it, and he ere long saw in these concessions the means of elevating his country to a rank which it had never yet attained. His reforms soon made him popular, and he was universally regarded as the head of the league upon which all hopes rested for the assertion of Italian independence. Passionately desirous of military distinction, he now came forward as the chief of the "*Lega d'Italia*," and, sacrificing his horror at revolution to his thirst for glory, drew the sword against Austria, and threw away the scabbard.

15. While a desperate war was thus breaking out in northern Italy, the other extremity of the peninsula was hardly less agitated, and popular licence assumed a still more terrible form. The concessions of the King of Naples, liberal as they had been, were far from satisfying the desires of the Sicilian revolutionists, as indeed it was impossible they could, seeing the object of the latter was not social reform, but external separation and independence. The catastrophe occurred on the 12th January. On that day the King had

promised that his Lieutenant-General, the Duke of Serra-Capriola, should be at Palermo, and inaugurate the necessary reforms; but his arrival having been prevented by contrary winds on the voyage from Naples, he had not yet come in the evening. The people, suspecting they were to be deceived, in crowds flocked to the Club of the Casino, the centre of the Liberals of Palermo, where they received instructions immediately to take up arms. They were not slow in obeying the injunctions. Before nightfall, menacing mobs occupied the principal squares and streets, bands of armed peasants had descended from the neighbouring mountains, and several detachments of the Neapolitan troops had been disarmed and made prisoners. So active were the insurgents during the night, that next morning the whole of the city was in their hands; and the royal troops had all retired into the forts, when preparations were made for a bombardment. Meanwhile the Court of Naples were not idle, for no sooner did they receive intelligence of the insurrection than they despatched nine vessels of war, having 6000 men on board, to aid in the reduction of the revolted city; and with such vigour were the preparations pushed forward, that the expedition set out from the Bay of Naples on the evening of the 14th.

16. The French consul with some difficulty obtained a suspension of the bombardment for twenty-four hours; but at length it began, and was continued, without any decisive result, for the next forty-eight hours. The town took fire in several places, and great destruction of property ensued; but the leaders of the insurgents showed no disposition to yield, and the Count d'Aquila, brother of the King, having arrived at Naples from the seat of war, gave such alarming accounts of the state of affairs that the Government determined on yielding. On the 18th January four decrees were issued by the King, which embodied a concession of the chief demands of the revolutionists. The first and third regulated, on a more liberal basis, the

Council of State, the powers of which were extended, and declared that it was to consult the provincial assemblies on matters connected with their several localities; the second abolished the promiscuous occupation of offices by the Neapolitans and Sicilians, and reserved the principal places in each for their own inhabitants; the fourth appointed the Count d'Aquila Lieutenant-General of Sicily, and nominated a minister and council, all of known liberal opinions, to assist him in his deliberations.

17. These concessions were in themselves great, and they are worthy of note, as indicating what were the chief grievances of which the Sicilians in the outset complained. But instead of being appeased by them, the Provisional Government and insurgents of Palermo were only the more determined in their demands for a separate parliament, and the constitution of 1812. With these demands began to be mingled others of a still more ominous character, and already the cries of "Viva l'Indepenza Siciliana" were heard in the streets. The royal commanders, however, showed no disposition to yield, and they occupied the following positions, which effectually commanded the city: The King's palace was strongly garrisoned, and inhabited by the Count d'Aquila; and in addition to this, the fort of Castellamare, the barracks of La Mole, the Finance Palace, and the barracks near the royal palace, with the prison between the Mole and the city, were in the hands of the royalists. Meanwhile the forces of the insurgents were hourly on the increase; one unanimous feeling in favour of national independence appeared to have seized upon all classes; and so universal was the fervour, that when the four decrees arrived from Naples, thirty thousand men, for the most part armed, were in possession of those parts of Palermo not actually garrisoned by the royal troops. But events succeeded each other with such rapidity at Naples that they outstripped even the swift march of Sicilian revolution.

18. When the news of the revolt at

Palermo first reached the King of Naples, he seemed disposed to act with the utmost vigour in crushing it, and the rapid fitting out of the expedition for Palermo proved how well he was seconded by his ministers. But in a few days he became sensible that resistance was no longer in his power. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the determination of the Sicilians to hold out for the constitution of 1812, than the ferment became so violent, that Del Caretto, the chief anti-revolutionary minister, was obliged to take refuge on board a steamer to save his life. An entire change of ministry took place, and at the head of the new cabinet was the Duke de Serra-Capriola, who had formerly been ambassador of Naples at Paris. The Prince di Torilla, Prince Dentici, and several other ministers, all of liberal opinions, including M. Bozzili, who had been Councillor of State under Murat, formed the ministry. They declared they could not retain office an hour unless a constitution were granted, and on the 28th January a decree appeared, promising to concede. The decree was placarded next morning over all Naples, and speedily converted the revolutionary fervour into transports of joy. These were increased on the following day, when it was known that orders had been sent to Palermo to withdraw the troops, and the publication of a general amnesty on 1st February. The basis of the proposed new constitution was soon after published by the King, to the effect that the Roman Catholic religion should be the religion of the State, and *no other tolerated*; that the person of the King should be sacred, and his ministers responsible; that there should be two chambers; that the land and sea forces should be commanded by the King, but a National Guard be organised over the whole country; and that the press should be free, subject only to a repressive law against such offences as might offend religion, the King, or public morality and order.

19. But these concessions, great as they were, proved inadequate to re-

strain the revolution in Sicily, which was now directed to the attainment of entire separation from Naples. The news that the movement was taking this direction speedily spread it over the whole country. On the 28th January an insurrection broke out at Messina, and the city was immediately bombarded, as well from the citadel and forts as from an armed steamer in the harbour. Captain Codrington, who commanded an English frigate off the harbour, did his utmost to mediate between the contending parties, but in vain. The peremptory demand of the insurgents that none but native troops should be employed in the island, rendered all attempts at an accommodation fruitless. On the 21st February the insurgents carried the fort of Real Basso, at Messina, by storm, and the royal troops were confined to the citadel and fort of Salvador. Great preparations were now made on both sides for the renewal of the fire, and it began with uncommon vigour on the 7th March, and continued with little interruption till 2d May, when, from the effects of mutual exhaustion, an armistice was agreed on. At Palermo a furious combat took place between the insurgents and the royal castle; but the King having decided on submission, sent an order to the garrison to capitulate, which terminated hostilities in this quarter on the 5th February.

20. Meanwhile matters were nearly in as disturbed a state in Naples itself, where the King with great difficulty maintained his ground against the Liberal Chamber and a disaffected army. On the 14th May the Chamber met, and the preliminary matter which occupied their attention was the nature of the oath which the members were to take. The King insisted for a simple oath of fidelity to the Constitution as it stood; but the Liberals in the Chamber contended for an oath to the Constitution with such changes as the Chamber might introduce into it. The dispute soon became so warm that it was evident it could be adjusted only by an appeal to force. On the day following the erection of barricades

began; and the King, seeing no means remaining of resistance, agreed to yield, and desired the National Guard to remove the barricades. The insurgents, however, declared they would resist this till the decree for which they contended was actually issued; and during the parleying which went on, the musket of a National Guard having accidentally gone off, his comrades thought the Swiss Guards were attacking them, and fired a volley, which was immediately returned by the Swiss, and a most sanguinary conflict ensued, which lasted eight hours. But never was the superiority of regular troops of steady fidelity more decisively proved than on this occasion.* The National Guard and revolutionists were totally defeated, with the loss, it was said, of eight thousand men; and as the lazzaroni all joined the royal forces, the scenes of horror which ensued equalled any in a city taken by assault. At length the French admiral, Baudin, succeeded in putting a stop to the effusion of blood by the threat of landing his marines and forcibly interposing between the contending parties. But before this was done the victory of the King and his faithful Swiss Guard was complete; martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard disbanded, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved.

21. Matters, however, took a very different turn at first in Sicily, where the victory of the revolutionists was as complete as their discomfiture at Naples had been. On the 13th April the Sicilian Chamber met, and the leading Liberals immediately demanded that the Royal Family of Naples should be dethroned, a new sovereign elected, and Sicily joined to the League for promoting the independence of Italy. Both Chambers passed resolu-

* "The crisis of the battle took place in the Santa Brigitta Street. There the regiment of Berne, after being twice repulsed, when in close column, from the principal barricade, at last carried it by advancing in file close under the houses on each side with two guns in the middle of the street to shake the barricade, and the musketry of the infantry to keep down the fire from the windows opposite."—ELLESMEKE, pp. 114, 117.

tions to that effect; and the choice of a sovereign next came under consideration. Much difficulty was experienced on this subject, but at length the choice fell on the Duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, King of Piedmont. He was accordingly formally installed by the title of Albert Amedée I., King of Sicily. But foreseeing an endless war between Naples and Piedmont from such an accession to the partition of the former, he had the prudence to decline the proffered crown; and meanwhile the King of Naples drew up and published a formal protest against the threatened partition, and fitted out a large expedition to restore the island to obedience.

22. The expedition, which consisted of 14,000 soldiers, with a powerful train of artillery, set out from Naples on the 29th August, and arrived off Messina on the 2d September, under the command of General Filangieri. The first care of this experienced commander was to revictual the fort, still held by the royal troops, who, owing to their long blockade by the revolutionists, were reduced to great straits, both in provisions and ammunition. The city was then summoned to surrender, but the proposal was indignantly rejected. The bombardment began at daybreak on the 3d, was kept up with the greatest vigour the whole day, was resumed at daylight the following morning, and continued with the utmost violence on both sides till night. The *Bulldog*, British vessel, and *Hercule*, French, then arrived; but although they made the utmost efforts to interpose between the combatants, and stop so terrible an effusion of blood, they were unable to bring the parties to an accommodation. Gradually, however, the superiority on the part of the Neapolitan forces became very apparent. Though the citizens fought with the greatest desperation, their efforts were sensibly becoming weaker: great part of the city was laid in ruins, ammunition was becoming scarce, and the insurgents were scarcely able to stand to their guns. On the other

hand, the situation of the royal troops was hourly improving. Two thousand fresh soldiers, with ample supplies of ammunition, were landed in safety on the evening of the 4th, followed on the morning of the 6th by six thousand more brought in a fleet, consisting of two frigates, thirteen steamers, and nineteen gunboats. On the day following, the steamers which had returned from Reggio landed additional forces; and the bombardment being renewed with the utmost vigour, the city was soon on fire in every quarter, while, the ammunition of the insurgents being exhausted, they were not able to return a single shot. It was no longer a battle, but a massacre; the whole remaining inhabitants fled from the scene of desolation. No less than ten thousand were humanely taken on board the French and English vessels, and the Neapolitan colours were hoisted on the heights behind Messina.

23. The capture of Messina was an immense advantage to the royal cause in Sicily, as it gave them a secure base of operations, and safe mode of communicating with Naples. Although, therefore, vigorous preparations for defence were made in Palermo, and movable columns were ordered to be stationed in camp at Milazzo, Taormina, Syracuse, Girgenti, Catania, Palermo, and Trapani, yet it was not expected they would be able to make any protracted resistance. Meanwhile occurrences at Rome and in Tuscany precipitated the march of events, and involved the whole of central Italy in the conflagration. Yielding to the demand for innovations which he himself originally had so large a share in promoting, the Pope had in the beginning of January issued a plan for a new organisation of the Executive Department of the Government. But when all thoughts were occupied at Rome with this all-engrossing topic, the Revolution at Paris suddenly excited such a ferment that immediate political change became indispensable. On the 14th March, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, in which the Supreme Pontiff declared his intention of

granting a new constitution, on a liberal basis, to his subjects. In this state paper he stated: "As our neighbours have decided that the people are ripe for representative institutions, not merely *consultive* but *deliberative*, we are unwilling to think less worthily of our own subjects, or to repose less faith in their gratitude, not only towards our own humble person, for which we desire none, but towards the church and the apostolic see, the inviolable and supreme rights of which have been committed to our custody by Almighty God." At the same time, he gave the most decisive proof of his sincerity by forming a new cabinet, composed, as already mentioned, of *ten* of the laity, and *three* ecclesiastics. Nor did the acts of the new ministry belie their origin; for they immediately set about the formation of a constitution, the extension of the National Guard, and the organisation of part for active service in the field.

24. Still, however, his Holiness was inclined to peace, and especially averse to a war with Austria, which he was well aware might soon be required to come to his aid as the last refuge of the Papal Government. Such, however, was the enthusiasm which the war in Lombardy and the revolutions at Milan and Venice produced, that it became ere long impossible to avoid being drawn into hostilities. A body of Roman volunteers, without any authority from the Papal Government, organised themselves in the ecclesiastical dominions, and joined the army of Charles Albert on the Mincio. This, if not an overt and avowed, was at least a real act of hostility; and a device was soon adopted by the Liberals which increased still more the ferment in Rome. An artist of some note, Signor Caffi, had joined the Liberal expedition. His body was found hanging on a tree near Verona, with the inscription appended to the corpse: "This is the way in which the crusaders of Pius IX. are treated." The obvious remark, that if this act had been the work of the Austrians they would never have affixed this inscription, never occurred for a moment to the Romans; the thing

was implicitly believed in the capital; and the populace, with loud cries, demanded an instant declaration of war. On the other hand, the Pope held out, and on the 29th April addressed the cardinals in conclave, declaring that the expedition had been formed without his orders, and that it had crossed the frontier contrary to his commands. Upon this a mob arose, and, surrounding the post-office next day, got possession of the letters, some of which proved that the cardinals were preparing for the worst, and making arrangements to leave the city. The public excitement upon this increased to the very highest pitch; tumults and riots took place in several parts of the town; the fidelity of many of the troops of the line and the whole National Guard was more than doubtful; and the Pope was forced, against his will, to declare war against Austria. This was immediately followed by the formation of a new cabinet, composed entirely of men of the most liberal opinions, at the head of which were Cardinal Ciacchi and Count Marchetti; and they soon after published a proclamation, in which they declared "the present ministry will hold especially dear the sacred cause of Italy and the triumph of right, to which all their attention will be applied, convinced that the first efforts of ardour must not be repressed, but, on the contrary, stimulated and increased." Such, however, was the unwarlike character of the inhabitants of the Ecclesiastical States, that the addition of their native forces to those of the Italian League brought scarcely any accession of strength to the legions on the banks of the Mincio; and it is a melancholy and instructive fact, illustrating the influence of sacerdotal government and long-continued oppression on national character, that the addition of the power of Rome scarcely affected the balance in the quarrel of two of the most inconsiderable provinces of its ancient empire.

25. Following the examples of Rome and Naples, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, on February 11, issued a proclamation establishing representative

institutions in his dominions, though he did not at once join the League of Italy. But it was not by the accession of raw recruits from central Italy that the contest was to be determined. Austria and Piedmont were the principals in the fight; it was with their brave and disciplined battalions that the contest for victory lay. A pause of about a week ensued after the retreat of the Austrians to the Adige, for both parties had time to await the coming up of reinforcements expected from the rear. The army of Charles Albert had crossed the Ticino, and entered the Austrian territories on the 25th March, accompanied by his two sons, the Dukes of Savoy and Genoa; and his troops had followed the Austrian line of retreat in two columns, the one by Brescia, and the other by Cremona.* But although the disposable forces of Piedmont were 45,000 strong, not more than 25,000 were collected round their standards when they reached the Mincio, the remainder being on march from the depots of their respective regiments. These troops, however, were in the very highest state of discipline and equipment, brave, warlike, and experienced, with the true military spirit in their bosoms, and an ancient military reputation to sustain. Some of them, in particular the light infantry called Berzaglieri, were among the finest troops in Europe; and by the delay of a few weeks, 30,000 men might be expected to be concentrated at the decisive points on the Mincio and the Adige.

26. It is true these troops might, would probably be, ere long much augmented by accessions from different parts of Italy; for not only were Lombardy and the Venetian States on fire, but, even before their governments had joined the League, corps of zealous volunteers were formed, who flock-

ed of their own accord to the theatre of war. With these also were united some old corps, which might be expected to render good service in the contest which was approaching. From Parma a fine battalion of infantry, 1000 strong, and a battery of artillery, were got; from Tuscany 4000 men, including a strong regiment of old grenadiers; from Modena, 1500 old troops and 4000 ill-disciplined militia. The Papal troops were much more formidable, for they embraced four battalions of Swiss infantry, 4400 strong, and a battery of eight pieces; his Italian troops consisted of 7000 infantry, two batteries, and a regiment of horse admirably mounted. The Neapolitan forces were still more numerous; but the Sicilian revolt absorbed them so completely, that no reliance could, in the first instance, be placed on their rendering any aid in the contest on the Adige, though by the end of April 15,000 of them were moving towards the Po. In addition to these, however, three regiments, composed in part of Italian soldiers in the Austrian regiments which had revolted, were formed in Lombardy, and as many in the Venetian States; but their organisation was not as yet so complete as to enable them to join in the earlier operations of the campaign. Twenty thousand additional troops were ordered to be levied in the Piedmontese dominions, which, however, could not be ready to take the field for some months. Thus, on the whole, Charles Albert, without reckoning on the volunteers and new levies, might be expected to have, before many weeks were over, 50,000 regular troops at his disposal; and some of them, in particular the Swiss of the Pope and the Piedmontese light infantry, were equal to the best in Europe in equipment, discipline, and courage.†

27. The forces at the disposal of

* The composition of the army of Charles Albert in the field was as follows :—

1st corps, General Bava,	4	brigades,	18,395	men, with 32 guns.
2d " " " " " " " "	4	" " " " " " " "	16,747	" " " 32 "
Reserve corps, Duke of Savoy,	2	" " " " " " " "	9,711	" " " 24 "
		and cavalry division,	44,853	" " " 88 "

—ULLOA, vol. i. pp. 85, 93.

† EILSMERE, pp. 47, 50.

Radetsky were less considerable; and such was the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy that no considerable reinforcements for a long time could be expected to join his standards. Weakened as they had been by the defection of the entire Italian regiments, and by the loss for the time of the whole garrison of Venice, which had been sent under capitulation to Trieste, he could not, in the first instance, collect more than 30,000 men under his orders, and they had to garrison the whole fortresses on the Mincio and the Adige, besides keeping open the communication with Vienna through the Italian Tyrol, which was all in insurrection. Thus, for operations on any one point in front and in the field he could not reckon on above 20,000 men. This force, it is true, was supported by the lines of the Mincio and the Adige, which for a considerable distance run parallel to each other, and form the true military frontier both of Germany and Italy in the north-east. The first of these, issuing from the lake of Garda, descends from thence in a deep channel to the Po. The line on its banks thus leans with its right on the lake and the Alps, and its left on that great river; and being supported by Peschiera and the fortress of Mantua, it presents a very strong position. The line of the Adige in its rear, however, is still stronger; for that river, after flowing down through the precipices of the Alps, overhung by the Montebaldo and the plateau of Rivoli, issues into the Italian plains beneath the walls of Verona, and thence continues its course in a deep bed with a rapid course parallel to the Mincio, as far as the fortress of Legnago, when it suddenly turns to the eastward, and flows to the Adriatic in a line not far distant from the Po. Thus these two lines of defence were both formed of rivers issuing from the Alps and stretching to the Po, resting at either extremity on strong fortresses; circumstances which explain the vast importance which they have lately assumed in all the wars between Italy and Germany.

28. The importance and strength

of these defensive lines, however, were much lessened at this time by the spread of the insurrection over the whole Venetian States and province of Friuli in their rear, which placed the direct line of communication with Austria in the hands of the enemy. Add to this, that as the Venetian States adjoined the Roman, and the whole fortresses of both were in the hands of the insurgents, an easy entrance was afforded by Ferrara and the Lower Po to the Papal troops, into the direct rear of the Austrian position. Thus it was indispensable for Radetsky, should he be driven from the line of the Mincio, which was more than probable, to maintain himself at all hazards at Verona and on that of the Adige; for it was alone by holding them that he could preserve his communication with Germany and the northern Tyrol, from whose inhabitants the most important succour was expected. Should he be driven from the line of the Adige, his only line of retreat would not be perpendicular to his front, but parallel to his right flank—a most dangerous movement in presence of an able and enterprising enemy, who could fall upon it in any weak point, and cut the retiring columns and convoys in two.

29. Even this last and vital line of communication to the Austrian troops was on the point of being lost; for not only had the insurrection spread up the whole western side of the Lago di Garda, but its eastern shores were in a very disturbed state; while on the great road by Trent and Roveredo, in the Italian Tyrol, convoys were frequently surrounded and cut off, especially in the neighbourhood of the Montebaldo, and between that and Trent. The latter important town was in a state little short of open insurrection. The whole disposable forces of the Austrians in the Tyrol itself consisted of two weak brigades, which were entirely absorbed in guarding the posts of Bolzano and Botzen, with the Brenner Pass, and the newly constructed fortress of Franzens, situated to the north of Brescia, and commanding the junction of the roads

northwards to Innspruck, and eastwards to Carinthia. In these circumstances, Radetsky intrusted to Colonel Baron Zobil and a weak brigade the important task of securing Trent, and getting the command of the adjacent country. He executed his mission with such vigour and ability, that though he had in the first instance only eight hundred men and three guns at his disposal, yet he contrived to make his way through the hostile streets into the castle, from whence, by the threat of a bombardment, and giving the town up to pillage, he succeeded in overawing it. The principal leaders of the revolt, all Italians, were arrested, the citizens disarmed, the wearing of party badges forbidden, and the magistracy secured in the German interest. Meanwhile the Government, sensible of the vital importance of the Tyrol to the maintenance of their Italian possessions, and relying on the well-known and oft-tried fidelity of its inhabitants, issued a proclamation calling upon them to take up arms in defence of their king and country. The call was nobly responded to by all of the German blood; and even in those valleys which lie on the Italian side of the Brenner and the crest of the mountains, it met with more success than could have been expected. The German race, as every traveller who has visited that interesting country knows, had spread over the Alpine ridge down the valleys, and with them had been diffused the fidelity, loyalty, and honesty of the German character. Before many weeks were over, sixty companies of riflemen were in arms and fully organised. Rusty swords were furbished up and sharpened; rifles, which had hung unused since 1809, were unslung and cleaned; ball-practice was established in every parish; and not only did the peasantry everywhere take up arms, but the students from the Tyrol, who were at the university of Vienna, separated from their comrades who were in open revolt, and rejoined the standard of their fathers on their native mountains. They were accompanied by

Haspinger, the famous companion of Hofer in 1809. The well-known red beard, which had then been such a terror to the enemy, was now a silver grey; but the gait of the hero had undergone no change, his eye lost none of its ancient fire. He had the satisfaction to meet in Bolzano with Captain Gasser, a comrade of ancient days, who, like him, had come forth to resist the encroachment of Italian liberalism as they had done the invasion of French democracy.

30. This burst of loyalty in all the inhabitants of German descent in the Tyrol was much promoted by an imprudent proclamation issued by the Provisional Government at Milan, in which, regarding rather geographical divisions than political or moral distinction, they had assigned the Brenner and the crest of the mountains separating Italy from Germany as the frontier line between the Austrian territories and those of the Italian Republic. This line would have detached a great number of districts strongly attached to the House of Hapsburg from the Imperial rule; among the rest the valley of Passer, the birth-place and residence of Hofer himself. The German inhabitants of these districts entertained a bitter recollection of the French rule when they formed part of the Regno d'Italia, under the viceroyalty of Prince Eugene; and they were resolute to resist a repetition of the evils then endured. It is worthy of remark, that, while the revolutionary government of Lombardy was thus busied with detaching ancient and attached provinces from the Austrian empire, it itself was threatened with a similar process of dissolution in fear from the revolutionary government of France. The democrats of Savoy, taking advantage of the detaching of the chief Sardinian garrisons from their territory, resolved to set up for themselves, and invited the patriots of Lyons to co-operate in the movement. They were not slow in answering the appeal. On the 3d April, a corps of eighteen hundred free volunteers from thence crossed the frontier, and advanced without

opposition to Chambray, which they occupied, and established a provisional government. But being unsupported by the government forces, this inroad soon came to a disgraceful termination. Next day the peasants from the adjoining mountains, who were attached to their ancient sovereigns, descended from their hills, armed with rusty fowling-pieces and scythes, and chased the intruders ignominiously back into their own territory.

31. These, however, were mere episodes in the war; the real contest lay on the Mincio, and there it commenced in good earnest in the beginning of April. The great inferiority of Radetsky's force rendered it impossible to hold that line permanently; but he resolved to maintain it as long as possible, in order to gain time for the provisioning and arming of Peschiera and Mantua, which, by the unaccountable negligence of the Austrian Government, had not yet been done. It was now set about, however, in good earnest, and the aged governor of the latter fortress, Count Gorjakowski, exhibited in this important duty an energy which rivalled that of Radetsky himself. By his efforts during the week that Charles Albert was doomed to inactivity awaiting his reinforcements, four months' provisions were swept into both places; and Mantua, which during the long peace had lost much of its warlike aspect, was again rendered a fortress of the first order. Hardly was this done, when Charles Albert, having at length got his army well in hand, directed it (April 8), in several columns, on the Mincio. General Bava, with four thousand Piedmontese and sixteen guns, made the first attack, by assailing the village of Goito on the extreme Austrian left, which, after an obstinate defence, was carried by the gallantry of the Piedmontese riflemen, with the loss of two hundred men and four guns to the vanquished, and the bridge taken, the Austrians retiring to Mantua. Among the Austrians killed were two nephews of Hofer, who, with the whole Tyrolese regiment to which they belonged, had fought with the utmost courage. Radetsky wrote to the Ty-

rolese, announcing their loss: "The regiment, your children, whom you have sent me, is worthy of your country." The Piedmontese loss was equal to that of the Austrians; but the latter were undoubtedly worsted, as the town was taken, and the passage of the Mincio forced; and this was a matter of no small importance in the outset of the campaign.

32. Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster on his left, Radetsky immediately concentrated his whole disposable forces, amounting to 19,000 men, at Villafranca, between Goito and Verona, and at first seemed disposed to give battle instead of abandoning the line of the Mincio. But he was soon induced to alter his views. His force was so inferior to that of the enemy, that he could hardly hope to deliver a general battle with any prospect of success, and the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy not only precluded the hope of any considerable reinforcements to compensate losses, but rendered the little army under his command in a manner the last hope of the monarchy. Charles Albert, meanwhile, was not the man to halt midway in the career of success. On the day following the capture of Goito, two other corps approached the Mincio at Valeggio and Mozambano, and the passage at the former point was effected in spite of a heavy fire from the Austrian batteries. The Piedmontese forces were thus solidly established on the left of the river. Seeing this, and having accomplished the provisioning of Peschiera and Mantua, Radetsky resolved to retreat; and on the 10th the whole army retired behind the Adige, leaving only a detachment on the right bank of that river to keep up the communication between the headquarters at Verona and the fortress of Peschiera, which it was anticipated would be the first object of attack.

33. So far brilliant success had attended the Piedmontese arms, which were obviously wielded with courage, as well as directed with skill. Such early advantage, of importance in all wars, is doubly so in those of a revolu-

tionary character, in which so much depends upon the excitement consequent on triumphs; and against a less experienced commander than Radetsky, it might possibly have led to decisive results. But the character of that great general was precisely the one fitted to erect a barrier against which the waves of revolutionary fervour would beat in vain. The importance and vast strength of the line of the Adige was now apparent, as well as the value of the time gained by Radetsky for provisioning the fortresses covering its flanks. It was impossible to force the line of that river between Peschiera and Mantua while both of these places were in the hands of the enemy; and yet, to reduce either, with an able and enterprising enemy, ready to fall on the besieging army, was evidently an undertaking exposed to great hazard. Charles Albert, therefore, wisely resolved to await the arrival of reinforcements before he hazarded the bulk of his forces beyond the Mincio; and he merely, in the mean time, sent advanced guards over the river to observe the country between it and the Adige, holding in strength all the bridges, so as to give him the means at pleasure of commencing more important operations, which he designed, in the first instance, to direct against Peschiera.

34. The generals and colonels of the free revolutionary corps, which had been raised in Lombardy, now earnestly pressed the King to allow them to take advantage of this delay to make a grand incursion into the Italian Tyrol. They were encouraged to hope for great results from this operation, from the friendly disposition of the whole inhabitants of Italian descent in the southern Tyrol, the most of whom were already in arms for the cause of Italian independence. Charles Albert at once perceived the great advantages which this enterprise, if successful, would produce, by endangering, if not entirely cutting off, the Austrian communications by the valley of Trent with Vienna, and he readily gave his consent to the undertaking. He had so little confidence, however, in the steadiness of these allies, that he re-

fused to allow two battalions of light troops with two guns, which were earnestly pressed for, to accompany them. The expedition accordingly set out from Brescia, under the command of General Allemandi, consisting of four thousand men, all Italian volunteers. They marched on the 9th of April, in columns of five or six hundred men each, and moved up the valleys leading to the Alps, which soon fell, without opposition, into their hands. Their progress was so rapid, that by the 17th April they were in possession of the wide tract of country stretching from Cles to the Lago di Garda, and all the roads leading to Trent had fallen into their hands. It was their intention to have made a concentrated attack on that important town, which, if taken, would have entirely cut off the communications of the Austrians with their own dominions.

35. Great was the enthusiasm in the Italian free corps at this auspicious commencement of their operations. The poetry of the war was represented by Signora Bettroni, a heroine who commanded a detachment of one hundred men. But never was more clearly evinced than was soon done the utter inadequacy of raw troops to resist the onset of regular forces, even though greatly inferior in number. General Welden, who commanded the Austrian forces in Trent, drew two battalions of infantry from the Vorarlberg, where the declared neutrality of the Swiss rendered their presence no longer necessary, and with these, and as much as was disposable of his little garrison, resolved to advance and anticipate the attack of the enemy. He divided his force into two small columns, one of which moved from Trent over the mountains into the valley of the Sarca against Allemandi's right, the other on Cles, in the Val di Sole, so as to menace his left; while at the same time the little garrison of Riva, on the Lago di Garda, sallied forth, and totally defeated (April 18) another of the columns, six hundred strong, which was menacing its position. The first of Welden's columns encountered (April 19) a body of free volun-

teers at Silemo, in the valley of the Sarca, and speedily put them to the rout; the second in a few minutes dispersed Allemandi's principal force near Cles. The effect of these victories was, that the free bands fled headlong out of the Tyrol, and regained the plains of Lombardy in the utmost consternation and total disorganisation. So complete was the rout that, after a great deal of mutual abuse and recrimination, the whole of these free bands were dissolved; and such of them as remained, incorporated with the regular army of Piedmont.

36. Shortly after this check, Charles Albert, having received considerable reinforcements, which raised his army to 37,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and 80 guns, deemed himself in sufficient strength to undertake the operation he had long meditated, which was to occupy in force the Venetian States in the rear of Radetsky, and at the same time throw forward his own left along the eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and seize upon Rivoli. By these means he hoped to turn both flanks of the Austrian position, and cut Radetsky off at once from the reinforcements which were hastening to him through the Tyrol, and the army of reserve which was beginning slowly to collect on the banks of the Isonzo. With this view he sent General La Marmora, one of the best officers in his army, destined for future distinction, to Venice, to hasten the formation of the levies there; while the Papal troops, some of which, as already noticed, were foreigners of excellent quality, under General Durando, supported by the Tuscan and other levies from the south of Po that were ready for the field, received orders to cross the Lower Po and occupy the Venetian territory, including Friuli. At the same time the Piedmontese army on the Mincio, now fully in hand and strongly reinforced by the arrival of troops from the rear, was to commence operations on their own left by the blockade of Peschiera. On their side, meanwhile, the Austrians were not idle. The Archduke John hastened to the Tyrol, pressed the armaments

in that warlike and faithful province, and moved southward into the Italian valleys; while General Nugent, who commanded the Austrian army of reserve on the Isonzo, passed that river, and was slowly advancing towards Udine, the capital of Friuli, so that he might soon be expected to come in contact with General Durando, who commanded the Papal troops, which were to converge towards the same point from the Roman frontier.

37. It is evident that this design was well conceived, and made the most of the forces at the disposal of the Piedmontese sovereign. It was open, however, to the usual danger of such flank attacks—viz., that of one of the columns of attack being suddenly assailed and crushed before the others had time to hasten to its relief. This accordingly happened in the present instance. On the 23d April a grand reconnaissance was made by Charles Albert in person, at the head of twelve battalions and a brigade of horse, across the Mincio from Valeggio, in the direction of Villafranca; while a similar movement with a like force took place two days afterwards, on the extreme right under the Duke of Savoy, who crossed the Mincio at Guidizzolo, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Mantua. The result was that it was ascertained that the enemy remained shut up in Verona, and behind the batteries of Mantua. The King in consequence in person superintended the construction of a strong bridge at Goito; and from the number of troops which were moved (April 26) at all points across the Mincio,* it became evident that he intended to concentrate the bulk of his forces between that river and the Adige, and that his first attack would be directed after blockading Peschiera, against the Aus-

* The Piedmontese army which crossed the Mincio was 41,000 strong; 10,000 men were left on the left bank of that river (including a fine Tuscan division, 5200 strong, which had just joined) to observe Peschiera and Mantua; and 5000 more were employed watching the Tyrolean frontier on the side of Brescia. Durando had 7000 Papal troops in the Venetian provinces. In all, Charles Albert had 68,000.—ULLOA, i. 144, 145.

trian positions covering the defile which leads by the banks of the latter river to Trent and Germany.

38. PASTRENGO, situated three leagues above Verona, on the road to Trent, has always been found to be a strategical point of the greatest importance in the wars on the Mincio, as it is placed at the point where the great road from Mantua to the Tyrol reaches the Adige and enters the mountains. The possession of it therefore covers Rivoli, the plateau of which is the key of the southern Tyrol, and gives the command of the whole defile leading to Germany. No sooner did Radetsky perceive that the attack was to be made in this quarter, than he sent orders to General Welden to strengthen himself as much as possible on the plateau; and to gain time for doing so, he placed a brigade in Pastrengo under General Wohlgenuth, and another at Bussolengo, so as to threaten the right flank of an enemy moving on it. On the 29th April the King advanced in person against Pastrengo with the division of General Broglia, and a warm action ensued for the heights of Romaldola, the dominant ridge of the hills lying at the foot of the Alps in that quarter. It finally remained in the hands of the Piedmontese, who, with valour and skill equal to their opponents, had the advantage of superior numbers. The Austrians retired to Pastrengo. There the combat was renewed next day with larger forces and equal resolution on both sides. General Wocher commanded the Imperialists, now consisting of two brigades, who defended the position with the utmost resolution. The Piedmontese attack was made by an entire division under General Federici, supported by the whole left wing and reserve of their army, numbering not less than twenty thousand combatants. At the first cannon-shot, Radetsky, with his staff, approached the spot from Verona; but after viewing the enemy's position and forces, he did not deem himself in sufficient strength to hazard a general battle in defence of the post. Orders were therefore sent to Wocher to retire behind the

Adige, which was done in good order, but with considerable loss. In this action the Imperialists lost nine hundred men, including three hundred prisoners; the King not more than half the number. After the battle, the village of Bussolengo was also abandoned, and the Austrian army retired entirely behind the Adige.

39. While these engagements were going on, the garrison of Peschiera made a vigorous sally, which, however, was repulsed. By the occupation of Pastrengo and Bussolengo, and the retreat of the Austrians across the Adige, Charles Albert was enabled to complete the investment of that fortress, and thereby render his left comparatively secure; while with his right, into which he threw his principal force, he was preparing to effect the blockade of Mantua, which had not yet been completed, owing to the immense extent of the works of the place, and of the inundations by which they were surrounded. Afraid of the pestilential exhalations from these marshes, Charles Albert employed the Tuscan division, 5200 strong, to form a considerable part of the blockading force, and sent a portion of them across the Mincio by Governolo to cut off the communication with Legnago, which hitherto had remained open. No sooner did the governor of the fortress learn that the Italian troops were across the river, than he made a sally and routed them, with such loss that they were driven from their ground back to Governolo, which was even attempted to be carried, though without success. In consequence of this disaster, the Italian division made no further attempt to extend the blockade to the left bank of the river, and left the communication with Legnago entirely open. About the same time, the last remnants of the Italian free bands were attacked at Storo by a detachment sent out by General Welden, which totally defeated them, and sent them headlong out of the Austrian territory.

40. Charles Albert shortly after made an attempt to gain the heights of Rivoli, but it was done in a very feeble manner, and the inadequacy of the force

employed was perhaps the greatest fault committed by him during the whole campaign. On the 4th May the remains of the free corps were transported across the Lago di Garda from Salo to L'Assize, where they were joined by a strong Piedmontese regiment and a half-battery of artillery. Next day the united force, about five thousand strong, scaled the heights which lie between the lake and the valley of the Adige, passed the Fassio rivulet, and began the ascent of the rugged flanks of the Montebaldo. The Austrian outposts fell back to the main body, which, securely posted amidst rocks and thickets, kept up so heavy a fire that the assailants were quickly obliged to retire. Convinced by this repulse that no impression was to be made on the extreme Austrian right resting on the rocks of Rivoli, the King directed his whole attention to their centre, which lay in front of Verona, though not under the cannon of that place. The position of Radetsky there was, however, strong, standing on the edge of a spacious plateau covered in front by the villages of Crocebianca, San Massimo, and Santa Lucia, and sloping gently down in rear to the glacis of Verona. There the veteran field-marshal resolved to give battle with the whole force he could collect, being little over 16,000 men, with 54 guns; for he could not retire farther without exposing Verona to bombardment, and endangering his communications by Trent with Germany.

41. At six in the morning of the 6th May, the whole Piedmontese army, 40,000 strong, with 70 guns, stood to their arms, and shortly after advanced to the attack. On the left General Broglia led his division against Crocebianca; in the centre D'Arvillars directed his against San Massimo; on the right General Bava was to mass two brigades and the reserve against Santa Lucia. The different divisions moved swiftly across the plain which separated the two armies, preceded by their guns, with their flanks covered by a cloud of skirmishers. The fire by nine was ex-

tremely warm on both sides, and the Piedmontese troops were advancing with great steadiness and loud shouts to the attack, when their progress on the left was checked by the fire, on their flank, of an Austrian battery. The weight of the attack was upon this directed by the King against the village of Santa Lucia, on the Austrian left, which was strongly occupied, and obstinately defended by a brigade of the Imperialists under Strassoldo. The attack, however, by the Piedmontese was not less determined; house after house, street after street, were successively carried; the church and churchyard, after a sanguinary struggle, were stormed by the assailants, and at length the whole village was conquered. But the Imperialists in sullen dejection stood firm, still ready to give battle in its rear. Elated by their success, the Piedmontese were rushing out of the village to renew the attack on the other side, when their flank was torn by a discharge from an Austrian-Italian battalion, who immediately after charged with the bayonet and drove them back. In vain they repeatedly endeavoured to debouch and renew the attack; they were as often checked by the fire of grape and musketry which issued from the Austrian lines. Seeing this, and regarding Santa Lucia as the decisive point, the King hurried forward the brigade of guards to support the attack, and posted himself at their head. But the Austrians meanwhile brought up reinforcements not less powerful; Count Clam arrived with three battalions, and with them a general attempt to retake the village was made. The King, on his side, upon this drew in the whole division of General D'Arvillars from his centre; and the combatants on either part, broken into small bodies by the intervening gardens and enclosures, fought hand to hand with equal valour and resolution. But they did so without the Imperialists being able to retake the village. Meanwhile the battle raged with a like fury along the whole front, especially when General Broglia, with the Piedmontese left, attacked the villages of Croce-

bianca and San Massimo on the Austrian right and centre. But no decisive advantage was gained in that quarter; and at four o'clock the King, finding that nothing beyond the bare possession of the village had been gained by his attack on Santa Lucia, gave orders for a general retreat. It was conducted in good order, under cover of the brigade Coni, headed by the Duke of Savoy; but not without some disorder among the Italian troops, several hundred of whom were made prisoners. The Piedmontese loss was 98 killed and 659 wounded; that of the Austrians nearly as considerable.*

42. Although the result of this battle was nowise decisive, it had a material effect upon the issue of the campaign, and modified in an important way the measures both of the Imperialists and the Piedmontese. On the one hand, Charles Albert became convinced that he could not, with his present forces, assail with success the Austrian position on the Adige, or force the important plateau of Rivoli, the bulwark of their communication with Germany: on the other, the Imperial general felt that the campaign to him had hitherto been a losing game, and that it taxed his utmost strength to maintain himself in the last defensive position in Italy, formed by Verona, Legnago, and the line of the Adige. Thus both parties were in a manner compelled to pause in their operations; and this was the more advisable, as each expected considerable reinforcements shortly. The King hoped for the speedy arrival of the Papal troops, including the Swiss regiments, on his adversaries' communications, and something might be expected, at least for guarding convoys and keeping up communications, from the numerous Tuscan and Lombard volunteer corps forming in his rear. Radetsky had still more material succour to expect from the army of reserve under General Nugent, which the Imperial Government, notwithstanding

the straits to which it had been reduced, had contrived to form on the Isonzo, and which was now beginning to threaten Friuli, and make its weight felt in the most important way in the rear of his position.

43. Count Laval Nugent, Master of the Ordnance, and General-in-Chief in Lower Austria, one of the most distinguished veterans of the Imperial army, had in the commencement of the war offered his services to collect and conduct the army of reserve which the Cabinet of Vienna had ordered to be formed on the Isonzo. Forty years' service in the Imperial army, and presence in above a hundred battles, had matured, by the lessons of experience, a mind formed by nature to discharge the most important duties of a general. His offer was accepted; and on the 4th April he reached Gortz, and established his headquarters there, to superintend the formation of the army of reserve. It already consisted, at least on paper, of 20,000 men, of whom 1700 were cavalry, with 64 guns and two rocket batteries. No less than 8000 of the infantry, however, were several marches in the rear, and great part of the artillery was without horses, and therefore incapable of immediate service. The troops were composed of two classes—the reserves forwarded from the depots in the interior to the Austrian regiments in Italy; the Croat borderers, forwarded by COUNT JELLACHICH, BAN OF CROATIA, who, although all but dethroned by the rebellious Magyars in his own dominions, had in the noblest manner despatched every disposable man to the support of his veteran comrade. So slowly, however, did the troops arrive, and such was the state of destitution to which the artillery was reduced, that it was not till the 15th April that he was able to move forward, and then it was only with 18,000 men and 46 guns.

44. General Zucchi commanded the Italian forces in Friuli; but they consisted only of 8000 regular troops, forming part of the regiments in the Imperial service which had revolted, and 8000 volunteers and national

* For the account of this battle compare SCHÖNFELDS, pp. 160, 166, with ULLOA, l. pp. 155, 161, and ELLESMERE, pp. 103, 107.

guards, on whom no reliance could be placed. Fearful of a collision in the open field with the German forces, Zucchi shut himself up in the fortress of Palma-Nova with 8000 men, leaving the remainder to aid the garrison of Udine. Both towns were soon invested by Nugent; and as Udine was surrounded by an old wall, and the streets were strongly barricaded, a desperate resistance was anticipated. It all ended, however, in smoke. On the 21st, the Austrians commenced a bombardment, which, after lasting two hours, struck such terror into the inhabitants that they proposed a capitulation, which was concluded on favourable terms to the citizens on the 23d. The troops in it retired to Osopo. The capitulation was to be open to Palma-Nova, and all the towns in the province; but they refused to take advantage of it, and Nugent, leaving these merely observed by inconsiderable blockading forces, advanced leisurely, after crossing the Tagliamento, with the main body of his troops to Pordenone, which he reached on the 30th, his advanced-guard being posted at Sacile.

45. Nugent, who, though a brave and experienced officer, belonged to the old school in war, advanced so slowly that before he reached the Piave the Italian forces had gained time to break down the bridges and collect on the opposite bank. They were under the command of General Durando, were organised in three divisions, and amounted in all to 15,000 men, of whom 4000, with 8 guns and 700 horse, were Papal Swiss, the best troops in all Italy. To cross a broad and deep river, in presence of such a force, with one of little greater amount, was an undertaking of no little difficulty. The Swiss contingent, which was so formidable, was posted, under Durando in person, near Monte-Belluno, with its front towards Feltre. This body was worth more than the whole of the rest of the army put together, for the remainder consisted of undisciplined Italian volunteers, who were likely to disband on the first serious danger. The Austrians continued

to advance, and when they arrived at the Piave, finding the bridges destroyed, and their own pontoon-train too short to effect the passage, turned to their right, and marched up the left bank to Belluno, where there was a stone bridge which had been carried by a detached Austrian brigade, under Culoz, on the 5th May. There Nugent crossed on the 7th. Upon this Durando, who found the whole Austrian army directed against his single division, retired, but not on the two other Italian divisions, who were posted in front of Treviso, but on Bassano, at the entrance of the Val Sugana—an eccentric movement, which entirely separated him from the rest of the army, and exposed both to the most serious dangers. The Austrian general immediately availed himself of his advantage. Rapidly countermarching, he again approached Treviso, concentrated his troops at Visnadello, and, after two sharp skirmishes on the 9th and 11th, obliged the Italian troops to retire, leaving Treviso, garrisoned only by 3500 of the free bands, to its fate. Ferrari, who commanded the Italians, withdrew to Mestre, intending to unite with the garrison of Venice; while Durando moved down the stream of the Brenta in the same direction, hoping to regain his comrades there. Nugent was now obliged to resign the command from ill health, and it was assumed by Count Thurn, who on the 18th concentrated his whole force, 19,000 strong, at Visnadello. The Italian generals had no force at their command capable of withstanding such a mass; and it advanced against Vicenza, in obedience to pressing orders received from Radetsky to hasten, with every disposable sabre and bayonet, to the decisive point on the Adige. ◀

46. So pressing had affairs now become on that river, that though Vicenza lay on the direct road to Verona, and a vigorous attack upon it with the force at the disposal of the Austrian general could hardly fail of success, yet Thurn, to avoid delay and the risk of an action with Durando, who, having united with Ferrari's troops, was now hastening up to its support, re-

solved not to attempt its reduction, but to make a circuit round it and continue his march to Verona. This he did accordingly. On the 20th his advanced guards fell in with Radetsky's posts in the rear, and on the 21st the much-wished-for junction took place, and the force on the Adige was increased by nearly twenty thousand good troops. Radetsky, however, was anxious not to leave so important a town as Vicenza in the hands of the enemy, and he ordered Thurn to retrace his steps and attack it. He did so accordingly, and an assault was (May 23) delivered. But the barricades were strong, the resistance stout, the guns of heavy metal, and a Swiss battalion, which Durando had meanwhile thrown into the place, displayed the most undaunted valour. The result was, that the attack failed; and, after a useless carnage, Thurn drew off his men, and rejoined the commander-in-chief on the 25th at Verona, leaving Vicenza still in the hands of the enemy.

47. During these events, the important counter-revolution took place at Naples, on the 15th May, which completely restored the royal authority, and occasioned an immediate change in the foreign policy and disposal of the military force of the State. Previous to that event the Neapolitan troops, 20,000 strong, had arrived upon the Lower Po; and the government being completely in the hands of the democratic party, this large force was intended to have co-operated with the Papal troops. But when the King had triumphed over the democratic party in the streets of Naples, a change of ministry and measures immediately took place, and orders were issued to the army on the Lower Po to return. When these counter-orders reached the army, which was under the command of General Pepe, a strenuous Liberal, a struggle ensued in the army as to which party they should obey. Matters came to a crisis on the 28th May, when Pepe, disobeying the orders of his government, instead of returning towards Naples, gave orders to a division to cross the Po, and ad-

vance into the Venetian territories. Several regiments resisted, and, headed by their officers, began to march homewards. In vain the populace of Bologna gave the most strenuous support to the Liberal party in the army. Pepe persuaded two battalions of volunteers and a battery, all Italians, to cross the river; but when the remaining troops of the line approached its banks, General Klein issued a counter-order, and all the regiments flocked to his standard, and formed a camp at Cento ready to obey their sovereign. Pepe soon found that all he could do was to retain the Italian volunteers on his side. At Venice also, the Neapolitan troops, which had been embarked in the fleet, were recalled, and none but the Italian volunteers remained. These events were by far the most important which had yet occurred in the course of the war; for at the very time when the junction of the army of reserve added 20,000 men to the forces of Radetsky, the change at Naples withdrew as large a force from the league of Italian independence!

48. Their importance became the more conspicuous from what was occurring at the same time in the main armies on the Adige. The Austrians had, during the three weeks' inaction which succeeded the battle of Santa Lucia, greatly strengthened their position, and, in fact, converted it into a large intrenched camp in front of Verona. Charles Albert did the same, and exerted himself to the utmost to get up troops from the rear to cover the siege of Peschiera. But though he received considerable reinforcements from his own dominions, the Milanese levies went on so slowly that only five or six thousand of the line were as yet in the front, and as many volunteers. The enthusiasm of the Lombards all evaporated in civil meetings, illuminations, and operatic applause—measures little calculated to resist the onset of the Transalpine legions. Nor were internal divisions of a still more serious character wanting to paralyse the energy by which alone the independence of Italy could be secured. The leading democrats in the several

towns were so divided, and so jealous of superior authority, that Charles Albert, in despair, resolved to have nothing to do with them, and declined the proffered crown of Northern Italy.

49. The King, however, was not remiss in those warlike measures by which alone the independence of the Peninsula could be secured. His whole attention was, in the first instance, directed to the siege of Peschiera, the operations against which were becoming serious when the army of reserve was approaching the Adige. This fortress, situated at the point where the Mincio issues from the Lago di Garda, though not of the first order, was of considerable strength, and the garrison, which was sixteen hundred strong, had orders to defend itself to the last extremity. The King fixed his headquarters with the covering force at Monzambano, about a league from the place; the Duke of Genoa was intrusted with the direction of the artillery and besieging force, which consisted of two Piedmontese brigades and a battalion of marines. The batteries were armed early on the 18th May, and at 1 P.M. on that day the fire began at the distance of six hundred yards. Though no practicable breach in the body of the place had been made, the garrison were, chiefly from the effect of the vertical fire and the silencing of two outworks, soon reduced to great straits, and no provisions remained but dry maize. Summoned to surrender on the 26th May, however, the governor refused, trusting to the measures which the commander-in-chief was meditating for his relief.

50. The position of Charles Albert covering the siege was so strong that Radetsky despaired of success from a front attack. He resolved, therefore, to effect the object of raising the siege, by threatening another part of the enemy's position; and this he did by a bold but most able operation. Leaving Count Thurn with the greater part of the army of reserve, sixteen thousand strong, consisting for the most part of young soldiers, to defend the intrenched camp in front of Verona, he himself set out late in the evening

of the 27th May, with thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and one hundred and fifty guns, divided into three corps, and took the direction of Mantua. The operation was a delicate and hazardous one; for the army, in making this cross-march, showed a long flank to the King, who might have assailed it with advantage at any point—"a species of attack," says Napoleon, "which never fails." But the risk of being so assailed was much lessened by the possession of the fortified towns of Verona and Mantua at its two extremities, which, in any event, secured the two extreme points of the line of march, and prevented the army being turned or cut off from both. The troops of Charles Albert lay concentrated in massive columns on the summit of Somma Campagna and the heights above Villafranca, overhanging the long flank of the Austrian army. It was a glorious night of spring. The rolling of numerous guns and caissons filled the air with a grumbling sound as of distant thunder. On the high grounds to the north, the Piedmontese bivouac-fires burned calm and clear, and the darkness was only illuminated at intervals by the flash of dropping musket-shots from their outposts in the plain towards Villafranca, along the front of which, at the distance of about a cannon-shot, the Austrian host was moving. With wonderful skill did the old Marshal conduct his march, and well was he seconded by the discipline and steadiness of his troops. He moved in three parallel columns, each so well closed up and arranged for instant action, with horsemen in the front and rear, that the whole mass was ready on any point, at a few minutes' notice, to wheel into line and give battle with the artillery and cavalry in their proper places. On the evening of the 28th the whole army bivouacked, without having fired a shot, on the glacis under the cannon of Mantua. Charles Albert remained entirely ignorant of the movement, and thought that some light troops only had pushed across his front.*

* SCHOENHAUS, pp. 192, 195.

51. On the following morning the Austrian marshal resumed his march at daybreak from Mantua, and now his design was apparent; he took the road to Cremona. The Austrian advanced-guard, pursuing their line along the right bank of the Mincio, and on the southern shore of the lake in which Mantua stands, came in contact, at the Canal Ossone, which issues from it, with the Tuscan division, six thousand strong, with eight guns, which was prepared to dispute the passage. The village of Curtatone, through which the road passed, was strongly barricaded and loopholed, and every preparation had been made for a vigorous defence. Some delay occurred in reaching this post, from the deep ditches which flanked the chaussée on either side requiring to be filled up before the columns could pass along. At length, however, the leading division, under Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, reached the post, and the stormers, under General Benedek, were formed for the attack. Twice that gallant officer led his troops to the barricades, and twice they were repulsed by the steady fire of the Tuscans. At length, however, on the third rush the defences were carried, and the guns taken. Half a league to the south, at the bridge of Montanora, Count Clam, with the leading brigade of Prince Frederick Schwarzenberg's division, was engaged in a desperate combat. Twice his men tried to storm, twice they were driven back in disorder. At length the Tuscans, turned by a brigade which had crossed the Ossone still further south, and menaced in flank by Benedek's men from Curtatone, were enveloped and gave way. In these severe combats the Tuscan division lost five guns, four hundred and eighty men killed and wounded, and two thousand men made prisoners. This advantage, great as it was, had been dearly purchased by the Imperialists: they lost ninety-five killed, and five hundred and fifteen wounded. The proportion of officers struck to the men proved how bravely they had stood to the front to lead on their troops; the

number of officers in action compared with the men was one in thirty, the number hit was one in sixteen.*

52. Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, Charles Albert moved from his position on Somma Campagna, and marched to Goito, moving a part of his troops to the right bank of the Mincio, in order to cover his communications with Lombardy, which he imagined the field-marshal intended to threaten. It was full time he should do so; for on the evening of the 29th, the Austrian army began its march in two columns—the one following the highroad to Milan by Cremona, on the left bank of the Po, the other by moving by a parallel road to its right. On the morning of the 30th, Radetsky, wheeling to the right, directed his army in two columns northwards into the space lying between the Mincio and the Oglio. The right column, consisting of Wratislaw's, followed by Wocher's corps, moved on Goito where the right of the Piedmontese army lay; the left, composed of Aspre's corps, marched on Ceresara to threaten Brescia and their sole remaining route to Milan. The field-marshal had no intention of giving battle: his object was to force the enemy to abandon the line of the Mincio, and raise the siege of Peschiera, in order to preserve his communications with Milan. It fell out otherwise, however, and the Imperialists sustained a severe check in consequence of the division of their forces into two columns, which exposed the one to attack while the other was not at hand to support it. General Bava, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, to stop this advance hastily drew together eighteen thousand men and forty-four guns at Goito, which he disposed in the most skilful manner to defend that important town, with its passage over the Mincio. The Austrian advanced-guard under Benedek, composed of the leading brigade of Wratislaw's corps, was,

* In the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, the English officers killed or wounded were 1 in 15; the French, 1 in 25; the Russian, 1 in 35.

at a turn of the road, at the foot of the high ground above the town, suddenly saluted by a fire from a heavy battery, to which they had nothing to oppose. So eager were the Imperialists to engage that the field-marshal was in a manner compelled to bring up brigade after brigade to the attack, after the first had been repulsed. It was all in vain, however: the Piedmontese stood to their guns manfully, and had the advantage of fighting under cover, while the Austrians were exposed. The Duke of Genoa directed the artillery with coolness and judgment: the King, who hastened to the front when the firing began, received a slight contusion on the ear; and after four hours' fighting, the Austrians, after sustaining a loss of 397 killed and wounded, drew off.

53. While his right was thus seriously menaced, the King, with equal courage and judgment, stood firm before Peschiera—not a gun or a man was withdrawn from the siege; and the Piedmontese and Austrian troops, alike fearful of each other, stood within their lines awaiting the issue of the conflict going on.* But meanwhile the garrison of that fortress were reduced to the last extremities. Forty thousand bombs and cannon-shot had been discharged into the place, and with such effect that two-thirds of the guns on the ramparts were dismounted; and for such as remained on their carriages, only two gunners a-piece remained fit for duty. The vertical fire of the Piedmontese had reduced the garrison to a third of their numbers; the mills had long since been destroyed: and the resource of horse-flesh and roughly-pounded maize had begun to fail. A last armistice of twenty-four hours expired on the evening of the 30th, and on that evening the governor received a final summons to surrender, accompanied by an account of the affair at Goito, which was magnified into a decisive

victory. Upon this all further hesitation was at an end; a capitulation was agreed to on condition of a free march to Ancona. On the 31st, at mid-day, the Piedmontese troops entered the fortress, and on the day following the King visited the place and heard mass in the church. The artillery taken in the fortress amounted to one hundred and eighteen pieces, nearly all damaged by the fire to which it had been exposed, and part of very old construction.

54. These repeated disasters rendered the position of Radetsky very critical. Notwithstanding his success at the Canal Ossone, the object of the expedition to that place had failed. Peschiera had fallen, while the repulse at Goito had both restored the hopes of the Italians and somewhat damped the spirit of his own troops. To add to his embarrassment, advices were received two days afterwards of the events of the 26th May at Vienna, which had led to a total revolution in the government of that capital. On the other hand, everything seemed to smile on the Piedmontese sovereign. By the capture of Peschiera he had secured his left flank, and acquired a solid base of operations both against Rivoli and Verona; while by his victory at Goito he had caused his right to be respected, and in a great measure compensated the injurious effect on public opinion of his defeat at Ossone, and the withdrawal of the Neapolitan troops from the theatre of war. Above all, the revolution at Vienna had entirely paralysed the forces of his adversary, and rendered it more than doubtful whether Radetsky's army might not ere long receive orders from a provisional government to unite their forces to those of the leader of liberated Italy. Impressed with these ideas, the field-marshal resolved on a retrograde movement, and concentration of his forces in the intrenched camp under the cannon of Verona. But an ordinary retreat would be too hazardous under the circumstances; and he therefore determined, before doing so, to take advantage of the concentration of his forces on his left to strike a backhand-

* An attempt to effect a diversion from the side of Rivoli was made on the 28th, but failed from the small number of troops disposable for the movement.

ed blow which should at once clear his rear and compel the enemy to keep at a respectful distance. With this view he resolved to march with his whole disposable force on Vicenza.

55. The advantages of this movement, in a strategical point of view, promised to be very great. It would reopen a new and secure communication with the Tyrol and Vienna, entirely *within* the Austrian territory, which could not be said of that by Trent, now that Peschiera was taken and Rivoli threatened; restore the direct road with Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, by Trieste, and render available the whole country in his rear between the Alps and the Po for the supply of his army. To insure success it was necessary to throw the whole centre and left on Vicenza, leave the right shut up within the intrenched camp in front of Verona, and abandon Rivoli, the object of such fierce contention in former wars; for the garrison of Vicenza was fifteen thousand strong, amply provided with artillery, and embracing the Swiss regiments of the Pope. But if Vicenza was gained, and the interior line of communication by the Arsa valley in consequence opened, the loss of Rivoli was of no importance; nay, it would rather prove an advantage by distracting the troops and attention of the enemy from the real point of attack.

56. On 2d June, the army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of Goito, was drawn back in an ostentatious manner to Mantua, and reports were circulated that a general retreat had been resolved on. General Zobel, who was left with a single brigade in Rivoli, had orders to withdraw from that post as soon as it was seriously threatened. On the 5th the field-marshal left Mantua with his whole disposable force, amounting to 24,000 infantry, 5000 horse, and 150 guns, and took the road to Vicenza. On the 6th he passed the Adige at Legnago, with the corps of Asprè and Wratislaw, while Wöcher's weak reserve corps, wheeling to the left, moved up its right bank to Verona so as to cover the movement from the sight of Charles

Albert. On the evening of the 9th he was in sight of Vicenza. Passing round the group of beautiful hills called the Monte Berici, he approached the town on the eastern side, thereby cutting off all communication with Venice. Here he was joined next morning by 5000 men under General Caloz, called up from Verona, who by great skill had succeeded in making their way through many natural and artificial obstacles. This raised the Austrian force to 35,000 men. The enemy under Durando, however, had in the interim not been idle. The Papal division, 5000 strong, had been mingled with the Italian volunteers, 10,000 more, the artillery, consisting of 38 pieces, stationed on the most commanding eminences near the town, and strong intrenchments and barricades thrown up to prevent an entrance being effected at any point.

57. Having got all his forces well in hand, on the evening of the 9th the field-marshal made his dispositions for a general attack on the morning of the 10th. The key of the enemy's position evidently was the Monte Berici, and its occupation would secure the fall of the city. Caloz, on the left, was to assail the lofty summit of the Madonna del Monte from the side of Arcugnano; Wratislaw, in the centre, ascending the right bank of the Bacchiglione, was to advance up the southern slopes of the Monte Berici; Asprè, on the right, beyond that river, was to move along the Padua road against the eastern suburb of Vicenza. The action commenced at seven in the morning by an attack by Caloz on the heights of Santa-Margherita, which were soon carried, as was the villa of Casa-Ramboldo, situated on the spur of the hills, which had been converted into an ammunition store, and was blown up by a discharge of rockets, and the Bella Vista peak beyond. At 2 P.M. the general attack on the Monte Berici by both Caloz and Wratislaw commenced. The assault was made by the Austrians with the utmost gallantry, nobly led on by their officers, who sustained in consequence a very heavy loss. The resistance, however, of the Papal Swiss was not less determined; and for long

these dauntless antagonists of the Teutonic race held the issue in suspense. At length, however, the great superiority of the Austrian artillery determined the conflict, and the Villa Rotonda and all the lower ridges was carried at the point of the bayonet. Meanwhile, beyond the Bacchiglione, under cover of a tremendous vertical fire of mortars, Prince Frederick of Lichtenstein with Aspre's leading brigade, carried the suburb of Padua, while that of Santa Lucia was also in part forced; but a deep ditch beyond arrested his further progress. Still the Swiss on the Madonna del Monte held out, and nobly in that trying hour did they sustain the ancient fame of their fathers. But the native Pontifical troops having fled, they were obliged to retire into the town, which they did, surrounded but unconquered, and firing all the way. They endeavoured to make a last stand in the noble colonnade, supported by one thousand columns, which leads from the summit of the hills to the town, but they were at length forced to give way. The white flag was immediately displayed at some points, the red flag at others; but all uncertainty was soon at an end by the arrival at midnight of a flag of truce to treat for a capitulation. It was at once agreed to by Radetsky, and the convention signed at six on the following morning. By it the Papal troops were to begin their march at noon for the right bank of the Po, with their artillery and baggage, by Este and Rovigo, but not to serve against Austria for three months. The free bands for the most part dispersed upon learning of this capitulation. This great success was not gained by the Austrians without heavy loss; it amounted, on their side, to Major-General Prince William Taxis and 17 other officers killed, and 285 men; 2 colonels, 28 officers, and 650 men wounded and missing. On the other side, the Swiss alone, who went into action 3000 strong, lost 600 men in the fight. Their wounded were treated like brothers by the Austrians, the field-marshal himself visiting them in the hospitals.

58. No sooner was this great victory gained, which at once restored the Austrian communications with Roveredo and the Tyrol, than Radetsky set out to return by forced marches to Verona, where he was well aware the garrison of the intrenched camp would be reduced to the last extremity during his absence. With such expedition did he move, that General Culoz, who had headed the stormers at Vicenza on the 10th, reached Verona on the evening of the 12th, a distance of thirty-six miles, and the bulk of the army followed on the 13th. Hardly had the wearied soldiers reached their old lines when they were again hurried to the front to combat the King in person, who, with 20,000 men, was descending from Villafranca to menace the intrenched camp, and force the passage of the Adige below the town at Ronco, during the absence of the greater part of the army at Vicenza. The determined air of the outposts, however, and the dense battalions which appeared behind them, soon convinced him that he was too late. He drew off his forces, accordingly, after a sharp reconnaissance, and contented himself with the capture of the plateau of Rivoli, which, in obedience to the orders of Radetsky, had been abandoned (June 10th) by General Zobel when pressed by the forces of the King the very day of the attack on Vicenza. The intelligence of the conquest of Rivoli by the Italians excited the most unbounded transports at Paris and Milan, where it was thought to be, as it had proved in the wars of Napoleon, decisive of the campaign; ignorant as they were of the new line, cut since 1796 through the mountains from Vicenza by the Val d'Arsa to Roveredo, which deprived it of its great strategical importance. The Austrians brought back in triumph to Verona from Vicenza 44 guns, 18 powder-waggons, and 681 muskets. Their loss from 7th May, when the counter-march to Mantua began, to 12th June, when they returned to Verona, was 2232, of whom 304 were killed.*

* ELLESMERE, pp. 152, 153.

59. The capture of Vicenza made a prodigious sensation in Europe, and at once restored the lustre of the Austrian arms. It proved a withering blow to the Italians, and seriously damaged the reputation of Charles Albert, who, with his whole army well in hand, had accomplished nothing more during the absence of the field-marshal than the occupation of Rivoli, which had ceased to be of any value. Its immediate fruits at the theatre of war were not less important to the Imperial arms, for it opened the resources of the mainland of Venice to them, and facilitated the operations of a second army of reserve, under Welden, which the Government of Vienna had begun to collect for operations against Venice. The extreme difficulty, however, of collecting the recruits from the depots in the rear, and the undisguised hostility of all the inhabitants of the country to the Germans, which is perhaps stronger there than in any other part of Italy, rendered the formation of this second army of reserve a very tedious affair; and it was not till the end of May that Welden was able to collect such a force as enabled him to commence the offensive; and even then, though he had sixteen battalions, four squadrons, and eight batteries under his orders, he could only unite on one point 2500 men, and *one mortar*! About the same time, an Austrian movable column from Welden's little force entered the mountain districts which had revolted, and occupied Cadore, thereby re-establishing the communications with Austria by the great

road of Belluno. Shortly after, Welden, whose detachments from the rear were rapidly coming up, invested Treviso, and advanced his right wing to Bassano at the entrance of the defiles of the Val Sugana. The Italians, taking advantage of a strong position in the defiles of the Brenta, by rolling down stones, and a heavy plunging fire of musketry, for two days repelled the enemy; but in the night of the second, four companies of Tyrolese militia climbed the heights in their rear, and compelled the insurgents to retire. By this means the direct communication between Bassano and Roveredo, by the Val Sugana, was restored, and the value of the position of Rivoli to Charles Albert entirely lost. This was followed by the forcing of the passage of the Val d'Arsa on the 12th June, by an Austrian brigade, detached by Asprè from Vicenza, which arrived on the 15th at Roveredo, thereby opening the direct passage from Vicenza, and restoring, by two lines, the communications between the Venetian provinces and the German Tyrol. Such was the consternation excited by these events, that, on the 13th, Treviso capitulated, with its garrison of 4185 men. to Welden on the same terms as those which had been accorded to Vicenza. Padua, on the same day, followed the example, surrendering to General Asprè, who had only a single brigade before it; and the whole Venetian mainland being now abandoned, the insurgents shut themselves up in Venice, and the entire shores of the Lâgunes were occupied by the Austrian troops.

CHAPTER LXX.

ITALY, FROM THE CAPTURE OF VICENZA BY THE AUSTRIANS TO THE
TERMINATION OF THE ITALIAN WAR.

1. A PAUSE now ensued of a month's duration in military operations. The interval was spent by both parties in getting up reinforcements to compensate their losses; in repairing the equipment of the troops; collecting supplies of ammunition, guns, and provisions from the rear, and strengthening their positions in the front. So equally balanced were the two hosts, that neither made any attempt to interrupt his opponent; and the positions of each, in consequence, grew into the most portentous strength. That of Radetsky, in front of Verona, was protected by works which rivalled the far-famed lines of Torres Vedras. He at the same time greatly strengthened the fort of Riva, at the upper end of the Lago di Garda, and established a flotilla on it, which gave him the entire command of the lake. The whole *Civica* or National Guard in the Venetian territories were at the same time disarmed, and strong garrisons established in Vicenza, Padua, Bassano, Treviso, Palma-Nuova, and the other recovered towns in the continental provinces of Venice, as well as on the shores of the Lagoon themselves. But though by these means the Austrian position was rendered much more secure, and extensive supplies were obtained for their troops, the disposable force which they could bring to the front was proportionally weakened. The reinforcements which they got up from the rear were not adequate to repair the losses and wear of the campaign, and at the same time occupy in sufficient strength the numerous towns in their rear; and Radetsky was mortified to find, that, after all his efforts and victories, he could not collect above forty-four

thousand effective men on any one point for offensive operations in the field.

2. The efforts of the Piedmontese King had been equally vigorous to restore and reinforce his army during the pause in active operations. The filling up of the Piedmontese battalions with Lombard recruits, so long recommended, had now begun to be carried into effect, and added considerably to the strength of the battalions, though by no means in an equal degree to their efficiency in the field. A camp of reserve battalions was formed in the rear, which furnished seven thousand young but good soldiers. The material of the army was also improved by large importations of artillery and arms from abroad. But these acquisitions by no means equalled the reinforcements which, in the end of July, began to pour into the Austrian army. A new levy of twenty thousand men had indeed been decreed at Turin, and the battalions were beginning to be formed, but some months must elapse before they could by possibility take the field. An energetic proclamation had been issued (June 20) by the Provisional Government at Milan, calling on the Lombards to take arms; but it was responded to so slowly that the Italian army, instead of increasing, was diminishing every day, and it was evident that the cause of Italian independence would receive no effective support from the inhabitants of the plains between the Alps and the Apennines. On the other hand, the strength of the Austrian forces was materially increased in the end of July by the addition of twelve thousand men from Welden's army, who were formed into

a corps under General Culoz, and posted at Legnago, and the arrival of numerous recruits from the Austrian provinces. By these means the troops at the disposal of the field-marshal were raised to 126 battalions and 60 squadrons, with 240 guns. The total combatants, if they had been all up and effective, would have been 132,000; but 12,000 were sick or wounded, an equal number on march, and at least 40,000 were required to garrison the towns in the rear and keep up the communications; so that not more than 60,000 could be relied on for operations in the field, of whom 45,000 only could be collected for one battle by the field-marshal. This force was divided into five corps, of which three (those of Wratislaw, Aspre, and Woeher) were concentrated at Verona in the centre; one, under Count Thurn, was in the Tyrol on the right; and one, under General Culoz, was at Legnago on the left. The Piedmontese active army was not less numerous, because, though the sum total of the forces at the disposal of Charles Albert was not, including the garrison of Venice, above 90,000, yet, as the country in his rear was all friendly, he was not in an equal degree weakened by detachments and garrisons to keep up the communications, and could concentrate about 60,000 men with 104 guns on the line of the Mincio. But the efficiency of this army had been much impaired by the large intermixture of recruits which had taken place to fill up the chasms among the old soldiers—a circumstance which had seriously lessened their steadiness and their power to move under fire.

3. But whatever advantage the Austrian field-marshal might have over Charles Albert in the forces immediately under his command in the field, was compensated, and more than compensated, by the distracted condition of the Austrian monarchy, which was in such a state that its immediate dissolution, without external stroke, seemed imminent. Bohemia, in open insurrection, had only recently received its first check, by the bombard-

ment of Prague by Windischgratz. It was this success which had enabled Count Latour, the minister-at-war, to forward the large reinforcements which he had lately despatched to the Adige. But Hungary was distracted by a frightful schism, which threatened to deprive the empire of its best soldiers and most powerful support. The Tyrol was firm and loyal, and Croatia sent forth gallant bands to encounter the Magyars on the Hungarian plains; but Vienna was in a state of smouldering insurrection; and it was impossible to say how soon the Imperial rule might pass entirely into revolutionary hands. In these circumstances, it was impossible to overrate the importance of the defensive position held by Radetsky on the Adige, or the calamitous results which would ensue if his gallant host were to experience any serious reverse. Caution and prudence were thus imposed, as a matter of necessity, on the Austrian commander, for defeat, in any considerable degree, might prove the forerunner, not merely of the loss of an army, but of the dissolution of an empire.

4. The forces on the opposite sides being so equally balanced, Charles Albert resolved to take the initiative in offensive operations by the investment of Mantua. He was too good a soldier not to be aware of the dangers with which such an undertaking would be attended in the presence of such a general as Radetsky, himself holding an impregnable position on the flank of the blockading army; but, in truth, he was no longer the master of his own movements. The revolutionary press in rear had opened upon him such a torrent of abuse for his so-called inactivity after the capture of Rivoli and victory of Goito, that he was compelled, against his better judgment, to undertake an enterprise which was the immediate cause of his and their own ruin. Compelled by the same ignorant and senseless external pressure to give up none of his acquisitions, he resolved to hold the plateau of Rivoli on his left, and the works in front of Verona in his centre,

while he accumulated the mass of his forces against Mantua on his right. This weakening of his centre and left, directly in front of the fortified position of Radetsky, whose forces were concentrated under its guns, was a grave fault in a military point of view, savouring rather of revolutionary enthusiasm than experienced wisdom, and would be a lasting reproach to the military conduct of Charles Albert, were it not that it is well known that he was not, in so doing, his own master. He was overruled by a council of heated revolutionists at Turin and Milan, whose ignorance of military affairs was equalled only by their presumption in assuming their direction.

5. The siege of Mantua having been resolved on, the movements of the Piedmontese to commence the investment began on the 13th July, on which day the headquarters of the King were moved to Roverbella in the vicinity of that place. On the same day an Austrian brigade, five thousand strong, was detached by the field-marshal, under Prince Lichtenstein, from Culoz's corps at Legnago, for the relief of the citadel of Ferrara, which had remained in the hands of the Imperialists ever since the beginning of the war, but was now beginning to be hard pressed for provisions by the Piedmontese force which held the town. The passage of the Po having been very skilfully effected by means of boats on the 13th July, the Austrian column appeared before the place at mid-day on the day following, and the Piedmontese blockading force, being much inferior in number, immediately agreed to a convention, in virtue of which the citadel was to be regularly supplied with provisions every two months. Having secured this object, Lichtenstein immediately recrossed the Po. After this success, the Austrian commander, agreeably to his instructions, moved upon Governolo, a fortified town of some importance, situated at the junction of the Mincio and the Po, and which was held by a small Austrian detachment. The object of this was to cross the Mincio at that place, and threaten the rear of

the force blockading Mantua, which was at the same time to be disturbed by a sally from the place. No sooner, however, did Charles Albert hear of this movement than he detached General Bava, with six battalions and fifteen guns, who carried the place before Lichtenstein could reach it. Finding himself thus anticipated, the Prince took up a position at Sanguinetto, on the road between Legnago and Mantua, where he was in a situation to cover Legnago and prevent any movement against General Welden's corps, which maintained the blockade of Venice and the line of the Lower Po.

6. But more important events were now on the wing, and those great strategetical operations were about to commence which were destined to decide the contest in Italy. Radetsky's plan was to direct his real attack on his own left against the Piedmontese force grouped around Mantua under the King in person, but to disguise this design under a subordinate attack on Rivoli on his right, which might induce the King to make considerable detachments in that direction. The better to conceal that object, he published a bulletin, in which he announced a further prolongation of the defensive system; and while every one was reading this, and expressing surprise at his inactivity, now that his army had been so largely reinforced, he was silently preparing for both expeditions. On the evening of the 21st, Count Thurn, collecting twenty-three companies of his corps in the Tyrol, set out for the rendezvous appointed for them at a post on the Monte Baldo near Aquanegra. There they assembled at five in the morning of the 22d, and immediately proceeded in two columns to the attack of the Piedmontese positions defending the approaches to the plateau of Rivoli. The left column, under Count Lichnowsky, moved down the valley of the Adige with great intrepidity to the attack; but they were met by 3000 Piedmontese, with four guns, at the village of La Zuanne, where the ascent of the slope, of which the plateau is the summit, commences; and after sustaining severe loss, they

were compelled to retire. Count Thurn, who, with the main column, descended from the heights of the Monte Baldo, met with no better success; his troops were so exhausted by their mountain march before they reached the enemy, that they were unable to make any impression on the Piedmontese, who stood to their guns with the utmost resolution, and drove him back to San Martino, where he passed the night. Although, however, the Piedmontese had thus been successful at both points of attack, yet the numbers of the Austrians were so superior, and their position was such, that they could not fail of obtaining success on the following day when their columns came into united action. The Piedmontese commander, therefore, abandoned the position of Rivoli in the night, and withdrew to Peschiera, leaving the plateau to be occupied by the Austrians. In these untoward affairs the Austrians sustained a loss of eight officers and two hundred men.

7. Having by these means fixed the attention of the enemy on his own right, Radetsky prosecuted with the utmost vigour his projected attack on the enemy's centre before Verona. On the evening of the same day, July 22d, on which the Piedmontese had evacuated Rivoli, the field-marshal collected his forces in the intrenched camp before Verona, and prepared for the great and decisive trial of strength with the enemy. The intrenched camp, strongly guarded, was left under the orders of an able officer, Field-Marshal Haynau, and the field-force was divided into three columns. The right, consisting of seven brigades, was composed of Aspré's corps; the left, also of seven brigades, was formed by that of Wratislaw; while the reserve, which was moving up midway between the two a little in the rear, was under the orders of General Wocher. The Austrian forces were not less than 45,000 strong. The Piedmontese force, under General Sonnaz, was very strongly posted, but greatly inferior in number, the brigade of Savona having been drafted off to defend the plateau of Rivoli, and that of Piedmont to the

extreme right for the blockade of Mantua. For the defence of the intrenched position threatened with attack, only two brigades and some cavalry could be relied on, mustering not more than 12,000 combatants.

8. The Austrian troops, during the night march, encountered a heavy storm of rain, and the darkness was such that the troops could not find their way in the thickly-enclosed country through which the march lay; and the advance, which had been ordered for one o'clock in the morning, was necessarily suspended till daybreak, when it was resumed. The Piedmontese position, which was about two leagues in length, extended along the eastern edge of that range of heights which stretches from Somma Campagna by Custoza to the Mincio, and covers, against an enemy advancing from the north, the whole plain which extends in the rear towards Mantua. It was here that the Piedmontese force was placed; occupying Santa Guistina with its left, Sona with its centre, and Somma Campagna with its right; and it was this range of heights which it was Radetsky's object to force; striking thus, after the manner of Napoleon, a decisive blow at the enemy's centre when imprudently weakened and exposed to attack. A heavy storm of rain for some time arrested the Austrian advance, but at seven in the morning the battle begun by the storming of the heights of Sona by three brigades of Aspré's corps, which, after a brave struggle, were carried by the Hungarian regiment of the Archduke Ernest. On this occasion the assault and resistance were both so desperate that in some cases the Hungarians seized with their hands the enemy's muskets, which were protruded through the embrasures, tore off the bayonets, and fired through the loopholes in return. This success was followed by the storming of the height of Madonna del Monte, to the Austrian left of Sona, by the brigade of Prince Lichtenstein; and shortly after the cavalry brigade of Schaffgotsche's, supported by Schwarzenberg's infantry, converting what was designed for a false attack into a real

one, carried the heights of Santa Giustina on the Piedmontese left. Lichtenstein's brigade pursued the enemy's centre into San Giorgio in Salice, from whence they were driven to their last tenable position of Castel-Nuovo, from which they were expelled by assault. While this great success was gained by Baron d'Aspìe on the centre and right, General Wohlgenuth, on the Austrian left, was assailing, with three brigades of Wratislaw's corps, the Piedmontese right, which was defended by three thousand men, with four guns, strongly posted on the summit of the Somma Campagna. After a stout resistance, it too was carried by the impetuous attack of the brigade Strassoldo, led on by Wohlgenuth in person. The enemy, finding his defences now broken in and pierced at all points, retreated rapidly towards the Mincio, which their centre left wing crossed; the Austrians followed, and before evening the heights of Custoza were fully occupied by their left advanced column, and the reserve established in San Giorgio in Salice, where headquarters were placed. By the operations of this day, Radetsky had entirely succeeded in his object; the whole intrenchments of the Piedmontese centre had been carried, their centre and left wing driven across the Mincio, and the Imperialists established on the entire heights which covered to the north the Mantuan plains as far as that river.

9. So far the most brilliant success had attended the Austrian operations; but Radetsky's position after his victory was by no means free from danger; for while the bulk of his troops were pressing forward over the heights to the Mincio, Charles Albert had concentrated a large force at Villafranca, in the plain behind the field-marshal's left, which was slightly fortified, but had been merely observed and passed by the corps moving on to the heights. The possession of this important point gave him the means either, by raising the siege of Mantua, of giving battle with his entire force, before theirs was concentrated, in the plain in front of that fortress, or, by throwing the

bulk of his forces behind their left, of menacing their communications. In truth, the two armies were in a very peculiar situation, for they had mutually passed each other, and each threatened his opponent's communications. But there was this difference between them, that Charles Albert had his forces better in hand, and was in a more favourable situation, notwithstanding his recent discomfiture, to engage in a general and decisive battle. Both generals were aware of the circumstance, and both exerted themselves accordingly,—the King to make a sudden assault on the enemy while still, in a manner, on a line of march—the field-marshal to close up his columns, force the line of the Mincio, and seize the road to Milan. The former concentrated nine brigades and a division of cavalry, nearly 24,000 strong, in Villafranca, and with these he determined to commence the offensive. Accordingly he moved forward, on the evening of the 24th, directly against the Austrian left and communications. The Duke of Savoy led the left against Custoza, the Duke of Genoa the right against Somma Campagna; the centre was under General Bava, and moved on the Val Staffalo, the cavalry covering the plain on the side towards Verona.

10. A great advantage in the first instance attended this daring yet wise movement of the Sardinian king. The advance of his concentrated columns perpendicularly against the Austrian line of march soon brought them into contact with the enemy, when leisurely pursuing the cross-march to close up in their front. The brigade Simb-schen was the first to be attacked, when stretching in loose array along the summit of the heights from Somma Campagna to Custoza: it had been detached by Radetsky from Culoz's corps at Legnago, and brought across the plain to reinforce his left. In an instant it was pierced through; the regiment Haynau, which was the leading one, suffered severely; the regiment Prince Emile, cut off from the others, was surrounded and made prisoners. The entire brigade, originally

6000 strong, was obliged to retire to Verona, with the loss of 1317 men, of whom 1100 were prisoners. Here, again, the immense advantage gained by the party which can attack in column an enemy in flank, disposed over a line of march, was very apparent; and if Charles Albert erred by extending himself over a line thirty miles in length, from Rivoli to Mantua, in the first instance, he nobly redeemed his error by his attack on Custoza and the Somma Campagna in concentrated columns, while still bleeding under his defeat.

11. This brilliant stroke wellnigh re-established the King's affairs. He had now regained possession of the range of hills east of the Tione from Custoza to the Somma Campagna, which nearly neutralised the advantages gained by the enemy from the victory on the preceding day. No sooner, therefore, did the field-marshal receive intelligence of this defeat than he resolved to make a great effort to regain the ground he had lost. For this purpose his troops, during the night of the 24th, were faced to the right about, and disposed for a general attack on the enemy on the ridge from Custoza to Somma Campagna. Wratislaw, on the right, was ordered to hold fast with his corps Valeggio and the heights between the Tione and the Mincio. Asprè, whose corps was on the opposite, or eastern, bank of the Tione at Castel-Nuovo, was to assume the offensive with vigour, and, advancing southwards over the heights by Sona, to drive the enemy from Somma Campagna and Custoza down into the plain. Wöcher, at Oliosi, was to support Asprè, and Thurn to watch Peschiera. On his part the Sardinian king, encouraged by his brilliant success, was not less anxious to renew the conflict, and had made all his arrangements for a general attack on the Imperialists from the Somma Campagna by the Duke of Genoa on Oliosi, and from Custoza by the Duke of Savoy on Salionze, while General Bava, in the plain, was to attack Valeggio. The fate of Italy would in all probability depend on the issue of the

battle to be delivered on the following day.

12. The morning arose clear and bright, and the sun shone forth with unclouded brilliancy, with all the heat of the dog-days in Italy. About eight, General Bava marched against Valeggio, on the Austrian right; but he was received with so terrible a fire of grape and musketry in front, aided by charges of cavalry on his flank, that he soon became convinced that no impression could be made there till the heights behind, on which Clam's brigade was posted, were won. Towards noon the Austrian brigade Giulay, of Asprè's corps, which had got the start of the Piedmontese in the occupation of Sona and Madonna del Monte, on the Imperial left, made an attack on the heights of Somma Campagna, and after sustaining several repulses, at length, with the assistance of a flank attack from the brigade Perin, most opportunely detached to its support by Haynau from Verona, succeeded in carrying them, chiefly through the gallantry of the Vienna volunteers. More to the centre, Lichtenstein's brigade (also of Asprè's corps) was engaged in the attack of the Casa Berattara, and the adjacent heights as far as the Monte Bosconi. This affair was deemed of so much importance that the old field-marshal rode with the advanced posts, encouraging the soldiers by his voice and example. They were at length carried by a desperate storm of the Hungarian infantry. Such was the heat in the afternoon that great numbers on both sides perished by sun-stroke on the field of battle. The Monte Godio, in front of Custoza, in the centre, was now assailed by Kerpen's brigade, supported by that of Schwartzberg. Here the issue was for long doubtful. At length, however, the Imperialists were successful, after a desperate struggle at all points: the Piedmontese fell back on Custoza, and thence on Villafrauca; while the Monte Mamar, a height flanking Valeggio, which Bava had won, was carried by Clam's brigade, and the enemy finally driven down into the plain. In the night the

Piedmontese army collected around Villafranca, and at midnight commenced their retreat in two columns towards the Mincio, thus finally abandoning to the Austrians the long-contested ridge of eminences between that river and the Adige, and as a necessary consequence raising the siege of Mantua.

13. In the two battles of Custoza the Austrians lost, besides what had been sustained on the 24th by the brigade Simbschen, 18 officers and 237 men killed, 51 officers and 1039 men wounded, 1 officer and 628 men made prisoners—in all, 1974; which, with the 1317 lost on the 23d, amounted to above 3300 men. The Piedmontese loss was probably not less considerable, but it has never been published on official authority. The retreat was directed on Goito, as the best point for crossing the river, and conducted with the utmost precision and regularity. There Charles Albert rejoined his left wing under Sonnaz, who, during the whole of these important operations, had lain inactive on the heights of Volta. The field-marshal, on his side, without a moment's delay, prepared everything for a vigorous pursuit. By daybreak on the following morning he was on horseback, and his corps were advancing on the traces of the enemy at all points. Wratislaw's corps crossed the Mincio at Monzambano, while that of Aspre, after collecting on the heath of Prebiana, moved upon Valeggio. At Salionze a portion of Wocher's corps crossed the river, in order to invest Peschiera, already blockaded on the left bank. After passing the river at Valeggio, the brigade of Prince Frederic Lichtenstein came in contact, in moving on Volta, with the Piedmontese brigade of Savoy, which was approaching the same point from Goito. A fierce conflict ensued in that village, both on the evening of the 26th and on the following morning, in which the Piedmontese were successful, and the Austrians sustained a loss of 347 men, including 160 prisoners. Both parties now hurried up reinforcements. The King's troops, however,

were at length compelled to retire, by the arrival of fresh forces on the enemy's side; and the retreat was continued towards the Oglio, abandoning the line of the Mincio at every point. The field-marshal, upon this, moved on to Goito, and from thence, in three columns, towards the Oglio: the investment of Peschiera was completed, and intrusted to Count Haynau; while the garrison of Mantua, now entirely relieved, made incursions into the adjoining country, and drove back far towards the Oglio the last remains of the blockading force.

14. After this success the progress of the Austrian arms was a continued triumph. On the 30th they crossed the Oglio at Canneto and Isola Dovarese without opposition, as it was known that river afforded a bad line of defence against an enemy advancing from the eastward, and on the 31st the Piedmontese continued their retreat across the Adda, closely followed by the Austrians. Serious resistance was nowhere attempted, for sixty thousand men, flushed with victory, thundered in close pursuit, and the retiring force already was beginning to melt away under the discouragement which, especially with young troops, always attends a long-continued retrograde movement. Large bodies of the Italian new levies and volunteers threw away their arms and returned to their homes; and even the Piedmontese regulars were far from exhibiting on all occasions the steadiness which can alone avert disaster in the course of a long retreat. The King, dreading the entire dissolution, at least of the volunteers of his army, if the retreat continued, proposed (July 28th) an armistice to Radetsky, with the Oglio as the line of demarcation between the two armies. These terms the field-marshal at once rejected, demanding on his side that the Piedmontese should retire behind the Adda, and surrender the fortresses of Peschiera, Pizzighetone, and Rocca d'Anfo, with the withdrawal of their troops from Venice, Parma, and Modena, and the release of the whole Austrian officers who had been de-

tained at Milan since the commencement of the war. The King was not so far reduced as to submit to such terms, and hostilities continued.

15. During this retreat, which continued without intermission towards Milan by Cremona and Lodi and the right bank of the Adda, decisive evidence was obtained that, unlike the inhabitants of the towns, the rural population were attached to the Austrian in preference to the Italian rule. This appeared not merely in the acclamations, which in every country attend the advance of a victorious army, but in substantial acts of kindness, which, when fortune was adverse, the peasants had evinced to the sick and wounded of the Austrian force. In the village of Le Grazie, near Mantua, the Imperialists found upon their advance a hundred of their sick and wounded, abandoned during the former retreat, whom they had concealed, unknown to the Piedmontese, in a church, and carefully tended, till relieved by the second advance of their countrymen. Near Mantua, every peasant was suspected by the Piedmontese as an Austrian spy. Meanwhile, the utmost agitation prevailed in Milan; and the Provisional Government issued a decree (Aug. 1) ordering every man capable of bearing arms to take them up, and repair forthwith to the Adda. This decree, without adding one man to the military force of the country, only increased the general consternation by universally diffusing the belief that the cause must have been hopeless before resort was had to so desperate a measure. A resolution was passed, at the same time, hastily uniting Lombardy and Piedmont into one kingdom; but already a divergence of interests as well as passions had appeared between them; and the retiring Piedmontese columns, which had fought so nobly for Italian independence, were exposed to insult while traversing the streets of Milan. The Austrian field-marshal, without a moment's delay, continued his advance in pursuit of the enemy; the main body by Turano to Lodi; Thurn's corps,

on the left, on Pavia; & a detachment under Colonel Wyss, on the right, to Vigliano—where three thousand Piedmontese endeavoured to make a stand. The King continued his retrograde movement on Milan; and, on the morning of the 4th August, the Austrian bugles joyfully sounded for the the last advance on the Lombard capital.

16. Moving through Melagnano, the Imperialists found the Piedmontese army in position at Gambaloita, half a league in front of Milan. There a sharp combat took place, in which the retreating army, though finally worsted, exhibited the courage in disaster which is the most honourable attribute of soldiers. But all was unavailing; the decree of Providence had been pronounced, and Italy was again, for a time, to pass under foreign dominion. Already the Austrian left had occupied Pavia, and pushed its advanced-guard to the Gravellone, an arm of the Ticino, thus threatening the communication of the King with his own dominions. The centre was grouped in appalling strength within a league of Milan; while a detachment from their right, advancing between that city and the Alps, had occupied Monza, and cut off from the capital the band of Garibaldi, formed of six thousand Italian volunteers. The King, seeing the abandonment of Milan inevitable, had, during his retreat, sent his reserve park across the Po to Piacentia, and ammunition was awaiting for any protracted defence of the city. A capitulation was proposed and discussed on the 5th; but no sooner did the people hear what was going forward, than they assembled in tumultuous masses, surrounded the King's quarters in the Greppi palace, calling out, "Death to the Piedmontese!" and loudly demanded the construction of barricades, and "Guerra a morte!" with the Austrians. Shots were actually fired in at the windows from the crowd outside; and so irritated were the Piedmontese at this ungrateful conduct on the part of their recent allies, that it required the utmost efforts of their

officers to prevent them from sallying forth and avenging the insult to their sovereign. In the night the King was extricated from his perilous situation by a detachment of his guards; and at the earnest request of the civic authorities, who, with reason, dreaded indiscriminate plunder on the retreat of the Piedmontese rearguard, which took place during the night, the barricades were removed, and the Austrians entered the city in triumph at ten on the following morning. They came in by the Porta Romana, headed by D'Aspie's corps, which had taken so memorable a part in the war. They swept by in superb order, to the triumphant strains of military music, amidst the deathlike silence of all who witnessed it. The dreams of the enthusiasts had passed away—the vision of Italian independence had melted into air—the iron had entered the souls of the Milanese. Many recollected the words which the veteran field-marshal had addressed to them before a shot had been fired, and which had proved prophetic,—“The sword I have borne for fifty-six years with honour in the field, yet remains firm in my grasp. May I not be compelled to unfurl the standard of the double-headed eagle: its strength of wing will be found unimpaired!”

17. On the day following the entrance of the Imperial troops into Milan, the King proposed an armistice, which was accepted by the field-marshal only on the condition of an entire exchange of prisoners; and, meanwhile, a large body of Austrians was advanced to Placentia, with a view to an immediate passage of the Po in the event of hostilities being resumed. This, however, was not the case. On the 9th, General Salasco made his appearance at the Imperial headquarters, with proposals for a six weeks' armistice, with a view to negotiations for peace. It was concluded on condition of the Piedmontese troops retiring within their own territories, the frontier of which was to form the line of demarcation between the two parties. The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo, and Osopo, were to be

surrendered to the Austrians; the duchies of Parma and Modena to be evacuated by the Piedmontese, and the city of Placentia to the extent of the town, and a circle of three thousand paces round it. This armistice, which was warmly supported by the English minister at the court of Turin, was afterwards prolonged and continued through the whole year. On the day following their entry, the field-marshal published an order of the day to his brave soldiers, in which he said, with deserved pride: “The Imperial flag is again waving from the walls of Milan; there is no longer an enemy on Lombard ground.” On their side, the Revolutionists, headed by MAZZINI, exclaimed: “The war of kings has terminated; that of the people is about to commence.” He set out professedly to enrol himself in the corps of a partisan named GARIBOLDI, destined to celebrity in future times, who was at the head of a large band of volunteers on the banks of the Lago Maggiore. But on the approach of an Austrian column he fled to Lugano, from whence he sought refuge in Switzerland, leaving, as a legacy to his countrymen, a pamphlet, in which he stigmatised the “moderate traitors” who had combated on the Adige, while the real patriots were making speeches at Milan.

18. The war of the people accordingly began; but its issue was even more calamitous to the cause of Italian independence than that of sovereigns had been. The Austrian occupation of Milan, in the first instance, so far from tranquillising the peninsula, only increased the general agitation, and seriously augmented the difficulties with which the governments had to contend. The armistice between Piedmont and Austria was indeed prolonged; and the British and French Governments, sincerely and in good faith, laboured to bring about a lasting accommodation between them. The former, in particular, which had from the outset disapproved of the treacherous advantage taken by the Piedmontese Government of the revolution at Mi-

lan, and earnestly dissuaded from the war, was now earnest in its endeavours to mediate between the contending parties. But this was every day becoming more difficult, for the violence of the revolutionists was augmented in proportion as the danger increased; and the direction of affairs, under the pressure of general excitement, passed out of the hands of experience and wisdom into those of ignorant zeal and presumptuous enthusiasm. A division of the Austrian army of reserve, under General Welden, on the 3d August passed the Po, in pursuance of the general plan of advance consequent on the battle of Custoza, and moved forward to Ferrara and Bologna. The intelligence of this invasion of the Pontifical territory, and of the disasters on the Mincio and the Oglio, excited the greater sensation at Rome, that it was received immediately after a report had been spread of a pretended victory by the Piedmontese troops, and in the midst of fêtes given by the Liberals to the volunteers who had capitulated at Vicenza. As the Roman troops had taken part in the crusade against the Germans, of course they had no right to complain of this incursion. It produced, however, a violent explosion of revolutionary fury at Rome, which terminated in the fall of M. Mamiani the prime minister, and the installation of a more radical administration. The ministers of England and France betrayed the secret leaning of their governments by protesting against this violation of the ecclesiastical territory, although they had made no complaint of the Papal troops having entered the Austrian territories and combated the Imperial forces. The Austrians, who were on the point of occupying Bologna, withdrew in consequence of these remonstrances, lest the war should become general. But the duchy of Modena was occupied by Prince Frederick Lichtenstein on behalf of its lawful sovereign; and on the 14th, Count Thurn, amidst general acclamations, again hoisted its sovereign's colours on the walls of Parma. Peace was thus restored for the rest of the year to Northern Italy,

only broken by a feeble incursion of Garibaldi into the Lombard territory with a few thousand Liberal refugees from the neutral territory of Switzerland, who, after some partial successes, was forced by General d'Aspre again to seek refuge in the recesses of the Alps.

19. At Florence, the agitation consequent on the defeat of the Piedmontese and the advance of the Austrian armies was not less violent than at Rome; but the Tuscan territory was protected from invasion by the powerful shield thrown over it by the ministers of France and England, which the victorious Austrians had orders to respect. They could not prevent, however, an explosion of revolutionary violence at Leghorn, which, as a great seaport and commercial city, had become the common resort of the discomfited Liberals from all quarters. French and Polish refugees, mingled with Italian enthusiasts and banditti, encumbered its streets, and presented ready-made all the elements of a democratic convulsion. It broke out, accordingly, under the guidance of Guerrazzi, at whose instigation mobs speedily arose, and traversed the streets exclaiming, "Vive la République!" A deputation to confer with the Grand-Duke at Florence was despatched, and preferred claims to an independent sovereignty, which the extreme party had meantime assumed. Their demands were not formally acceded to, but they were not absolutely rejected; the Government at Florence had no armed force at its command; and the Grand-Duke, as a reward for his liberal concessions, was compelled to wink at the assumption of independence by a considerable part of his dominions.

20. The revolutionary passions were still more violent at Rome, where they had first been fostered by the innovating philanthropy of Pius IX.; and before the end of the year, they led to a frightful tragedy in the Eternal City. During the whole autumn it presented little more than a scene of anarchy in the people, and impotence in the Government. The cardinals were so grossly insulted that they could no longer

venture to appear in public; the word "Republic" was often heard in the streets; and the weakness of the executive became so painfully evident, that the Count Rossi, formerly ambassador of France, was intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet. He himself took the arduous post of Minister of the Interior and of Finance, and Cardinal Segio was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the difficult circumstances in which Italy was now placed, Rossi perceived the absolute necessity of pursuing a pacific and temporising policy. The proud adage, "*Italia para da se*,"* had been tried, and found wanting. Charles Albert himself, in the proclamation which followed the evacuation of Milan, had made the mournful confession that Italy, standing alone, could not resist Austria.† Rossi, conscious of this, and thinking it probable the war between Piedmont and Austria would be renewed, was anxious to effect a confederation of all the states for mutual defence, and actually drew up the scheme of a convention for that purpose; but it came to nothing, as Piedmont, actuated by its own ambitious views, kept aloof. Meanwhile his administration proceeded vigorously in correcting real abuses and effecting reforms; and with such success were these labours attended, that confidence was in a great measure restored, and even Bologna chose him for its deputy. But this did not by any means answer

the views of the extreme democrats, who did not wish the correction of abuses, but that they might get into power and profit by them. Seeing, accordingly, that the revolution was taking quite a different direction from what they either expected or desired, they spared no pains to discredit the administration in general, and Rossi in particular, with the people; and at last the revolutionary party were worked up to such a pitch of frenzy against him as led to the commission of a hideous crime, which has affixed a lasting stain on their cause.

21. The 15th November was the day appointed for the opening of the Chambers. Considerable excitement prevailed, and the Ministry were the objects of severe animadversion for not proceeding more rapidly in the career of Revolution; but no disorder was apprehended, far less the commission of any serious outrage. The seditious, however, were busy; the secret societies had determined that the principal minister was to be assassinated; they had decided by lot who was to strike the blow, and the assassin had practised on a block where to strike, which was on the great artery in the neck. The minister received several anonymous letters, warning him of his danger, and a priest even violated the confessional to put him on his guard: but in vain; he was too brave either to fear death or take precautions against it. He said it was his duty to go to the Chamber, and go he would; if any one desired his blood, there were plenty of opportunities for shedding it. At noon he went to the Chamber in the Cancellaria in his carriage. A number of persons, armed with daggers, and decorated with the Vicenza medal, lined each side of the court as he entered, and a howl of execration arose when the carriage drove in. Righetti, the deputy-minister of finance, was on his left hand; but when they alighted, he was separated from him in the crowd, in which cries arose and daggers were gleaming. Some one addressed him, and when Rossi turned to answer, he was suddenly stabbed in the neck, and dropped dead. The Vicenza heroes, decorated with

* Italy will take care of itself.

† On August 10th, Charles Albert issued a proclamation, in which he said: "The enemy increased. My army was almost alone in the struggle. The want of provisions obliged us to abandon the position we had conquered. With my army I retired to Milan; but, harassed by long fatigues, it could not encounter a new battle-field, for even the strength of the brave soldier has its limits. The interior defence of the town could not be maintained; money, provisions, and ammunition were wanting. The courage of the citizens might, perhaps, have resisted for some days, but only to bury us under the ruins, not to conquer the enemy. A convention was begun by me. The Milanese adopted and signed it. The throbs of my heart were ever for Italian independence; but Italy has not yet shown to the world that she can conquer alone."—*Ann Reg.* 1848, p. 326.

their medals, clustered round the fallen minister, and under cover of this the assassin quietly walked off. Not an attempt was made to seize him, though all had seen the thing done. It was only in May 1854 that the murderer was discovered and convicted; he proved to be a sculptor of the name of Constantadini. Upon the dreadful event being known in the Chamber, a cry of horror arose, and the deputies disappeared. The Pope's remaining ministers vanished; with Rossi the whole Government fell to the ground. Nothing was done to provide the means of defence against further violence, or guide the vessel of the State amidst the breakers by which it was surrounded. The revolutionists were not equally supine. The clubs met in the evening, and preparations were made for taking advantage of the consternation to force an entirely revolutionary government on the Pontiff.

22. In pursuance of this design, a crowd, composed of a few hundred braves and desperadoes from the secret societies, met early in the morning, and, followed by an immense concourse of spectators, proceeded to the palace of the Quirinal, bearing aloft a flag, on which were inscribed the names of the popular ministers who were to be demanded from and forced upon the Pope. The Swiss Guards, though only a hundred in number, seeing the formidable aspect of the procession, closed the gates, and prepared to defend their sovereign. A few shots fired over their heads soon made the mob recoil, and the victory seemed gained for the Government, when suddenly an unexpected apparition came on the scene, and turned the tide the other way. As the crowd were retiring, they were met by the Civic Guard, several thousand strong, in uniform, with a military band at their head, who joined the retreating insurgents, and opened a sustained fire upon the gates and windows of the palace. The Swiss, however, fought well, and kept up so vigorous a discharge upon the assailants that they were obliged to bring up cannon, which blew open the gates, upon which the Pope ordered the firing on his side to

cease. A prelate had been shot dead in the Pontiff's ante-chamber, upon which he turned to the diplomatic body who surrounded him, and said he was no longer a free agent, and must yield to necessity. The whole *corps diplomatique* showed the greatest courage on the occasion, and hastened on the first alarm to surround the Pontiff. A list of ministers, composed of the most decided Revolutionists, with Mamiani and Galletti, two favourite leaders, at their head, was now presented to him to sign; but he refused, saying, "I cannot sign that; it is against my conscience." Upon this being known outside, the tumult redoubled, and the cries, "Sign! sign!" were heard on all sides, till at length he was obliged to subscribe the list. Loud cheers immediately broke from the crowd which traversed the streets, great part of which were illuminated, shouting, "The Sovereign has given us a republic!" Thereafter the Pope remained a virtual prisoner in his own palace. He took no part in public affairs, though the government of the Revolutionists was carried on in his name; and on the 25th, finding his situation insupportable, he mounted, in the disguise of a priest, the box of the Bavarian minister's carriage, on which he was fortunate enough to pass the gates undetected, and arrived in safety at Gaeta in the Neapolitan territory, leaving the government of the Pontifical States entirely in the hands of the Revolutionary ministry.

23. The war on the Po having been for the time suspended, and the Papal authority overturned at Rome, the revolutionary party throughout Italy began to disclose their plan of operations. They had no intention at this time, whatever they may have had afterwards, of establishing, like the Jacobins of Paris, a republic one and indivisible; the ambition of the numerous democratic leaders in the many great towns of Italy forbade any such projects. As this brought into the field a multitude of clashing interests, a confederacy of republics seemed to be the only alternative, and this accordingly was the project which Count

Rossi had laboured so assiduously to promote. But the only return which he received was the stroke of an assassin; and after his death the revolutionists seemed set only on forwarding their own separate plans of aggrandisement. Knowing that the shield of France and England was thrown over Tuscany and the Roman States, and that the Austrian troops would not venture to cross their frontier, the extreme democrats looked upon these states of Central Italy as their own peculiar domain, where every revolutionary project might be carried into effect with impunity. The revolutionary party in Rome, after the flight of the Pope, and some ineffectual negotiating to induce him to return to his dominions, agreed to appoint a provisional government of three persons, chosen by the Chambers, who were to exercise all the functions of government. A decree to this effect was passed by the Chambers, and the choice fell on Prince Corsini, a helpless old noble; M. Zucchini, leader at Bologna; and M. Camerata, the mayor of Ancona; Zucchini declined, and was replaced by Galletti. But these names inspired no confidence; and within a week of their nomination the clubs at Rome demanded the convocation of a constituent assembly, with a view to the organisation of a republic. So violent did the clamour become that the ministry of Mamiani was obliged to retire, and was succeeded by another of a still more democratic character. A ministerial crisis also ensued in Turin, and a new ministry, with Gioberti at its head, was (Dec. 16) appointed, the condition of whose existence was the renewal of the war with Austria. In the Pontifical and Tuscan states, under the protection of the English and French flags, the anarchy became so complete that it could not be said at the end of the year that government any longer existed. Meanwhile the Pope, having in vain launched the thunders of the Vatican at his insurgent subjects, which only met with derision, addressed a formal appeal for protection and aid to the European powers, in which, after narrating his early and voluntary acts on behalf of his people, he de-

clared that in all his later measures, in particular the war against Austria, and recent revolution, he had acted under direct compulsion. And to complete the strange picture presented by Italy at this time, the last elections in Naples, carried through under the influence of indignation at the Sicilian revolt, were so decidedly reactionary that, when the Chambers met on the 30th November, the chief difficulty of the King was to restrain within the bounds of moderation the ardent desire of his subjects to seek refuge in the tranquillity of absolute despotism.

24. In the distracted condition of the Papal States, it was no easy matter for the Swiss infantry, who formed so important a portion of the ecclesiastical troops, to know how to act, or to which side to incline. Their commander, Count Latour, who was stationed with the brigade in Bologna and Forlì, had hitherto served with honour, but his moral resolution was not equal to his personal courage; and when an order arrived from the Pope, directing him to move his forces to the Neapolitan frontier for the protection of their sovereign, he at first temporised, and at length (Jan. 27) refused to obey. Instead of marching, he remained at Bologna fraternising with the civic authorities there, from whom he was constantly receiving the most fulsome flattery. Many of his officers, and the greater part of the common soldiers, considered this conduct treasonable, and a breach of the proverbial good faith of the Swiss, and not a few left their colours and returned home in consequence. Had they obeyed the orders of their sovereign, it is probable that the revolution at Rome would have been stopped, and the whole calamities which afterwards befell that city prevented. As it was, this defection of Latour and a part of his troops brought matters to a crisis in the Papal dominions. Part of the Swiss infantry took service with the revolutionists; the artillery did so in a body; and Garibaldi collected a band of volunteers and refugees, with whom he made his way across Lombardy and Tuscany, and established himself, with three

thousand followers, in Rome in the end of January. The consequence of this accession of strength was, that the revolutionary party acquired the complete ascendancy in Rome, and the Constituent Assembly, which had now assembled, on the 9th February dethroned the Pope, and proclaimed a republic. Florence and Leghorn, a few days after (18th and 19th February), declared also for a republic, with Rome as its centre. The Grand-Duke, after a vain attempt to raise the peasants for his support, finding that the regular troops had deserted him, and that a body of auxiliaries promised by Charles Albert could not be furnished, saw his case was hopeless, and embarked for Gaeta. The democratic revolution was now complete in Central Italy; republics were everywhere proclaimed; a large part of the regular troops had fraternised with the people; the sovereigns were all dethroned and in exile; and "war to the knife" was universally proclaimed against the Austrians. "The war of the people," of which Mazzini had boasted, had now in good earnest commenced; and if decrees on paper could fight battles, it would furnish no inconsiderable accession of strength to Charles Albert, for the provisional governments of Florence and Rome ordered the immediate preparation of an army of twelve thousand Tuscans and fifteen thousand Romans to march without delay towards the Po.

25. It was not, however, by decrees of revolutionary governments that the Austrian arms on the Ticino were to be withstood. Notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the British and French ministers at the Court of Turin to bring about an accommodation, the mutual irritation of Piedmont and Austria, so far from diminishing, was rapidly increasing, and in the beginning of 1849 had reached such a point that a renewal of the war was imminent. Each had abundant causes of discontent, some well founded, some imaginary, against the other. The Austrians complained that the Piedmontese fleet had wintered in the Adriatic, where it had repeatedly fur-

nished supplies to the revolutionary garrison of Venice; that considerable funds had been forwarded to them by the Piedmontese Government; and that Piedmontese agents were in the Austrian ranks, encouraging the Hungarians and Italians to desert. On the other hand, the Piedmontese maintained that negotiations should be entered into for a cession of territory to indemnify Piedmont for the expenses of the war; declared that an artillery park left by them in Peschiera had been fraudulently detained; and complained of an infraction of the treaty by a passing entry of the Austrian troops into Ferrara on 7th February, to obtain satisfaction for the assassination of three of their soldiers returning from the hospital to the citadel, which had been in point of fact given, and the troops retired the day after. It is of little moment to inquire further into the mutual complaints of the Austrian and Piedmontese diplomatists, because they were neither the real causes of the rupture of the armistice which followed, nor the matters on which the attention of the opposite parties was chiefly fixed. It was to Hungary that all eyes were turned; it was to the exploits of the Magyars that young Italy looked for deliverance. A Hungarian emissary, Baron Spleny, had for some time resided in Turin, and spread the most exaggerated reports of the success of the Hungarian insurrection. Turin swarmed with Lombard refugees, who gave equally flattering accounts of the warlike disposition of their countrymen, and the numerous armed bands who would join the ranks of independence the moment the Piedmontese standards were again unfurled on the banks of the Ticino. The Austrian monarchy seemed to be falling to pieces on all sides, even without external stroke; the only question was, whether or not Italy was to take advantage of a crisis more favourable than could possibly have been hoped for, or than might ever occur again, to establish its independence. It was universally believed that Pesth had yielded to the arms of the Magyar

insurgents, an event which really did occur, but not for ten weeks after. The democratic party in the Chamber loudly demanded a renewal of the war; a courageous deputy, Lanza, who had the courage to say that the Austrians by treaty had a right to enter Tuscany, was hooted down, and obliged to retire from the Chamber. Gioberti resigned, and was succeeded in the ministry by the General of Engineers, Chiudio. On 5th March the Chamber of Deputies presented an address to the King in favour of war; the Italian Council on the same day did the same. In vain the English and French ministers represented the extreme hazard with which the renewal of hostilities would be attended; the King was well aware of this, but he was no longer a free agent. "I must declare war," said he, "or abdicate the crown, and see a republic established." On the 10th March the ministers obtained from the Chambers the necessary credit to carry on the war; and on the 12th the armistice was formally denounced.

26. War having in this manner been forced upon him by his own subjects, Charles Albert made every disposition which the circumstances would admit to carry it on with promptitude and vigour. The suddenness of the event, however, was such that he was far from being at the moment prepared for it. His troops, though formidable on paper, were by no means equally so in reality; their nominal strength was 120,000, but the muster-roll, on the opening of the campaign, showed only 99,973 effective men, including 6000 cavalry, with 156 guns. This, after making the usual deductions for sick and detached, would leave about 85,000 disposable for field operations. The old soldiers, inured to war, and familiar with its dangers, had no confidence in the result; the young ones alone, heated by the declamations of the clubs, were zealous in the cause and hopeful of success. The bad result of the former campaigns was not ascribed to its real cause—viz., the pressure of the democratic leaders on Charles Albert, which

had forced the King, against his better judgment, to undertake the siege of Mantua while still occupying the line from Rivoli to the Po—but to the incapacity of the generals or the lukewarmness of the native aristocratic officers. "Give us," it was said in the clubs, "a foreign general, a Lamoricière or a Cavaignac, and the army will soon recover its spirit. Remove the aristocratic *fainéants*, and all will be well." These clamours prevailed against the opinion of the King. General Bava, without regard to his great services, was removed from the command, which was bestowed on a Polish general, Chrzanowski, who had received the scientific education of an engineer at the military academy at Warsaw, and had afterwards joined in the revolt, and served with distinction in the war of independence in 1831. The Italians had good cause to regret the consequences of the change.

27. The Austrian army had received considerable reinforcements since the termination of the last campaign. Several new battalions and corps of cavalry had joined the army during the interval of hostilities. Among the rest were the field-marshal's escort of Sereschaners, from the military colonies on the Croat frontier, a present of the faithful Ban of that province, whose picturesque attire, and weapons of Oriental fashion, recalled the pandours of the last century. The entire force of the army in the beginning of March was somewhat above 130,000 men, but of these 12,000 were in hospital, and 48,000 in observation of Venice, or in Central Italy: so that, at the very utmost, not more than 70,000 could be reckoned on for operations in the field. But these troops, though hardly superior in number to the Piedmontese, were decidedly so in discipline, equipment, and spirit. The loyalty and steadiness of the German character had now come to tell decidedly on the fortunes of the war, as much as the vacillation and instability of the Italian had weakened the other side. All the elements of imbecility had been sifted out of the Teutonic

army during the last campaign, and even the recruits, by constant outpost duty, had been hardened into the consistency of old soldiers. The harmony among the generals, and brotherly union among the officers, as well as the spirit of the entire army, were such as to inspire the most sanguine hopes of the result. The fidelity of the Magyar soldiers had resisted all the efforts to seduce them (and they had been many and alluring) by the revolutionary party in Lombardy: even such of them as had reserve battalions or depots in Hungary which had joined in the insurrection, were content with mourning in silence the delusions under which their brethren laboured, without attempting to follow their example. At the end of the first day's march, these regiments, sensible that they must, in some degree, labour under suspicion, sent a deputation to the field-marshal, requesting to be allowed the post of honour to prove their fidelity, which was at once conceded. Such is the spirit by which the Austrian army was then animated, and by which, in the last extremity, the Austrian empire was saved. It was not new in the annals of its military fame; the same spirit, two hundred years ago, had animated the cuirassiers of Dampier and Piccolomini, on occasion of Wallenstein's revolt, immortalised in the pages of Schiller. It had appeared eighty years before in the heroic garrison of Schweidnitz. It is the unseen bond which holds together the empire, and has enabled it so often to rise superior to all the storms of fortune.

28. The armistice ceased, under the notice given, at mid-day on the 20th March. Its close was received in a very different spirit in the two armies. In the Piedmontese it produced silent uneasiness: the confidence felt by the democratic leaders who had provoked, was far from being shared by the soldiers who were to face, the dangers of the conflict. In the Imperial ranks, on the other hand, the intelligence was universally hailed with joy; and the soldiers immediately all appeared

with green boughs in their caps, the well-known and prescriptive badge of military exultation in the Austrian army. The addresses issued by the two commanders evinced the same difference: Charles Albert spoke of the conflict as unavoidable from the ambition of Austria. Radetsky's address was different: "Forward, with Turin for your watchword."*

29. The theatre of war on which the battle which was to decide the question of Italian independence was to be fought, was the great plain watered by the Po, which lies between Turin and Milan, and cut at right angles by the Ticino, which descends from the Alps to that great river, and crosses the highroad leading from the one capital to the

* "The attitude of Austria has shown that no honourable peace can be hoped for unless won by arms. By waiting longer we should have wasted our strength without any result: our finances would be exhausted, and our army, now so efficient and patriotic, would have felt its spirit broken if it had been compelled to remain longer inactive. You understood it, gentlemen, when a few days ago you manifested the wishes of the nation—you raised the war-cry: the Government has heard it. It is well aware of the perils attending the struggle about to recommence, and of the evils which will be its sad and unavoidable consequence. But between these perils and the shame of an ignominious peace, which would not insure Italian independence, the King's Government could not, and ought not, to hesitate. On the 12th, at noon, the cessation of the armistice was announced to Marshal Radetsky."—*Speech of M. Ratazzi, Minister of the Interior, March 14, 1849; Ann. Rep. 1849, p. 281.*

"Soldiers! your most ardent wishes are fulfilled. The enemy have announced the termination of the armistice! Well, we are ready to meet them, and shall dictate in their capital the peace we so generously offered them. The contest cannot be long. You are to combat the same enemy you overpowered at Santa Lucia, Somma Campagna, Custoza, Volta, and under the walls of Milan. God is with us, for our cause is just. To arms, soldiers! Follow once more your old General to war and victory. I will witness your last exploits. It will be the last joyful act of my long military career if, in the capital of a perfidious enemy, I can decorate the breasts of my brave comrades with the emblem of valour, conquered with blood and glory. Let our watchword be, Forward! Forward to Turin! where alone we can find the peace for which we are fighting.—RADETSKY."—*Moniteur, 18th March 1849.*

other. The strongest ground on which the advance of an enemy from the eastward towards Turin can be resisted, is on the right or southern bank of the Po, with a flanking corps on the left, as there are several defensible positions there capable of arresting an invader. On this side, also, the defending force has the advantage of resting on the important fortresses of Alessandria, Valence, and Casale, in the angle formed by the junction of the Tanaro and the Po, and Genoa, more valuable as a base of operations than Turin itself. The experienced General Bava accordingly had fixed on the right bank as the line of the main army's concentration. But his successor, being overruled by the democratic clubs at Turin, was compelled to alter this judicious plan of operation, and, abandoning altogether the right bank of the river, and the idea of a defensive war, to concentrate his force for offensive operations at NOVARA, on the direct road to Milan. The object of this was to favour an insurrection in that capital and the whole Lombardo-Venetian provinces, which had been formally enjoined by proclamation from Prince Eugene of Savoy Carignan, in order to celebrate the anniversary of the Austrian retreat from Milan, on the 23d of the preceding year, by a triumphant entry into that capital. They fully expected that Radetsky would abandon it without striking a blow. To confirm them in this belief, the veteran field-marshal spread abroad the report that he was about to retire from Milan, and take his stand as before on the Adda or the Adige. The better to encourage this belief, preparations were ostentatiously made for removing the heavy carriages of the army behind the former river, and transporting the crown jewels to Mantua.

30. Deceived by these artifices, and impelled by the democratic leaders at Turin, who never doubted they were advancing to certain victory, Charles Albert, with the advanced-guard of his army, crossed the Ticino at the bridge of Buffalora, on the direct road from Novara to Milan, and advanced to Magenta. The Austrians made no

attempt to dispute the passage, but, hastily withdrew towards that capital. The bulk of the Piedmontese army, 60,000 strong, distributed in five divisions, was massed about Novara. To its left, at Oleggio, on the Upper Ticino, was Solaroli's brigade, 5000 strong. To its right Ramorino alone, with 8000 Lombards, stood at Casteggio, on the right bank of the Po. His orders were to cross the river to La Cava, and show a front to the enemy, should the latter advance from Pavia. On the right bank of the Po, the true battle-field for Turin, there would then only remain 4000 men under Colonel Belvidere at the pass of Stradella. Away at Sarzana, on the Tuscan frontier, with orders to advance on Parma and raise the popular party there, was La Marmora with his division, 8000 strong. The Austrian general was not slow in taking advantage of these arrangements. The plan of operations suggested by General Hess, his chief of the staff, to the field-marshal, was "to concentrate the army at Lodi, cross the Po at Pavia, cut off the enemy's detachments on the right bank of the Po from the main body, and deliver battle *probably* at Novara." Little doubt was entertained of the issue of the battle; and having gained it, the Austrian army was to wheel to the left, cross the Po at Casale, fall upon the right wing of the enemy, and having dispersed it, march direct upon Turin. It was no small recommendation of this plan, that by thus countermarching up the course of the Ticino the bulk of the army was brought so near to Milan that, in the event of a revolt breaking out in that city, an overwhelming force might be at its gates in a few hours. With such celerity were the orders in pursuance of this plan given and executed, that twenty-four hours had not elapsed from the declaration of hostilities when the most distant detachments were already in motion for the Adda, while those at Milan and its neighbourhood were moving to the rear towards Lodi, and those on the Ticino direct on Pavia. The effect of these movements was to bring the bulk of the army to

Pavia and the left, from whence the Ticino could be passed on two bridges in front of that town.

31. The field-marshal, after issuing a solemn admonition to the inhabitants of Milan as to their conduct during his absence, broke up from that capital on the evening of the 18th, and marched, not on Pavia, but to St Angelo, on the road from Lodi to it. The object of this seemingly strange movement was to deceive the enemy as to his real intentions, and to spread abroad the belief that he was about to take up a defensive position between Lodi and Cremona, or even to retire behind the Adda. So completely were the designs of the veteran general kept secret, that even officers of high rank at Pavia were astonished when they heard, on the morning of the 20th, that the field-marshal had slept at Torre-Bianca, only two leagues in the rear of that town, and that the army, in great strength, was concentrated at its gates. With such precision were the orders for uniting at Pavia executed, that at the same hour on the morning of the 20th the converging columns approached its walls. "By all the streets," says an eyewitness, "which led from east to north through Pavia, advanced the columns of the Imperial army. It took about three hours to arrange the different corps in the order in which they were to enter the enemy's territory. The eye of the spectator was fascinated by the spectacle of the variety of uniforms and equipment discernible in the living masses; the ear was saluted by an equal variety of sounds by which the different nations interchanged their exultation—German, Bohemian, Italian, Magyar, Polish, and Croat. When at last the signal for march was given, and the dense masses were put in motion, the bands struck up enlivening airs, and all, in the finest order and the highest spirits, moved, with a proud step, from north to south through the town. As the field-marshal was recognised in a balcony, the vivats and hurrahs were deafening. The acclamations were renewed as the columns reached the opposite bank of the Ticino, and set foot

on the hostile territory." The fate of Italy seemed sealed, for sixty battalions, forty squadrons, and one hundred and eighty-six guns, with carriages and equipment complete, distributed into five corps, and mustering sixty-five thousand combatants, had invaded at one point the Piedmontese dominions.

32. Entirely deceived as to the real point of attack, General Ramorino, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, 8000 strong, opposite Pavia, detached only four weak battalions to La Cava on the left bank of the Po, and hurried with the greater part of his force down the right bank towards Stradella, where he expected to find the enemy. His orders were to defend the course of the Lower Ticino and the passage of Pavia, and, if forced back, to retire by San Nazzaro on Mortara, still on the left bank of the Po. When, therefore, instead of doing so, he remained on the right bank of that river, and left the direct road from Pavia to Turin open, he violated his instructions, and incurred the displeasure of his commander, by whom he was deprived of the command, and sent to a court-martial.* Aspre's corps led the advance of the Austrian host, and speedily overthrew the small body of Piedmontese at La Cava, driving them over the Po by the bridge of Mezzana Corte, which they destroyed. It then advanced, followed by the rest of the army, to Gropello. Radetsky's great object at this time was to gain possession of Mortara. This is a small town six leagues dis-

* Ramorino, who was said to be a natural son of Marshal Lannes, was impressed with the idea that Radetsky would advance by the right bank of the Po, as Napoleon had done before the battle of Marengo, and that the point to guard was the defile of Stradella, where Marshal Lannes had sustained so rude a shock in advancing to that memorable field. — See *History of Europe*, c. xxxix §§ 79, 80. But he had to deal with a general who adopted the spirit of Napoleon's generalship, not copied his footsteps; and Ramorino was severely blamed for this deviation from orders. It does not appear, however, that, had his instructions been implicitly carried out, the result would have been materially different, or that the Austrians would have been delayed more than half a day longer than they actually were.

tant from Vercelli, which latter lies on the great road from Turin to Novara, and about the same distance from Novara. The Austrians, therefore, once established in Mortara, the Piedmontese were cut off both from Turin and Alessandria. It was eight o'clock in the evening when the news of these events reached Chrzanowski near Novara. Abandoning his offensive movement on Milan, he immediately ordered Bes to hasten down the right bank of the Ticino to Vigevano with his division, and Durando to march on Mortara, the rest of the army to follow early the next morning (21st); Perrone and the Duke of Genoa to Vigevano, the Duke of Savoy to Mortara. His plan was therefore distinct. While with two divisions 26,000 strong, with 48 guns, he intended to head the enemy at Mortara, and stop their march on the capital, with three divisions, numbering 38,000 men and 68 guns, he was to throw himself on their flank by Vigevano and Gambolo. On the morning of the 21st the Austrian army set out for Mortara. Asprè, followed by Appel and supported by Woher, advanced along the main road from Pavia in the centre; Thurn with his corps, following a circuitous route towards the Po, flanked the left; Wratislaw, marching through Gambolo on the right, covered the flank of the army on the side of Vigevano.

33. It was five o'clock in the evening when Asprè approached Mortara. He there found Durando's division posted in front of the town behind a low ridge of sand, with that of the Duke of Savoy to his right rear leaning its left upon the town. Throwing his leading division under the Archduke Albert into columns of attack, hurrying 30 guns to the front, and bringing up Schaffgotche's division in support, Asprè threw the whole in one mass upon Durando. After a severe contest of four hours the Archduke broke Durando's men, carried Mortara, and utterly repulsed the Duke of Savoy. He took 1700 prisoners and five guns, and sustained a loss only of 60 killed and 240 wounded. Such was the consternation produced by this de-

feat, that several battalions of newly-raised Italian troops fled in disorder to Vercelli and Casal, where they disbanded, spreading the report that all was lost. While this took place at Mortara, a detached Austrian column under Colonel Scharitz, supported by Strassoldo's brigade of Wratislaw's corps, and ultimately by part of Wolegmuth's brigade, sustained to the right, near Gambolo, a very severe action with the Piedmontese division of General Bes advancing from Vigevano, ultimately reinforced by half of Perrone's division. The hardest fighting occurred at La Sforzesca, where all the efforts of the Austrians were shat-tered against the superior number of the Piedmontese, and night alone saved them from a disastrous defeat. The general result of these actions was that a great advantage was gained by the Imperialists, for the centre, consisting of two brigades, was driven back in disorder towards Turin, while Ramorino, with 8000 men on the right bank of the Po, was entirely cut off from the remainder of the centre and left, which fell back to Novara. Sensible of these advantages gained by his opponent, Chrzanowski, on hearing of the loss of Mortara, fell back from Vigevano, collected his troops with the utmost expedition in the plain around Novara during the 22d, and made preparations for battle on the following day. By great exertions his forces were all collected, except Ramorino's division and the other troops beyond the Po, and they amounted to fifty-four thousand; but they were sadly deficient in the spirit and enthusiasm by which their antagonists were animated. The issue of the combat at Mortara had spread universal discouragement, while the Austrians were proportionally elated by their early and brilliant success. Add to this, that, by his march against the Piedmontese rear, Radetsky had cut them off from their base of operations at Turin and Alessandria, and left them no retreat, in the event of disaster, but the Lago Maggiore and the Alpine valley of the Ticino. It was the exact counterpart of the advantage gained

by Napoleon's march across the St Bernard in 1800, which compelled the Austrians to fight at Marengo with their faces towards Vienna and their backs to the Maritime Alps.

34. NOVARA, where the decisive battle for Italian independence was to be fought, is an old town, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants, half a league from the left bank of the Agogna stream. To the south of the town, where the attack was to be expected, the ground was eminently favourable for defence, being intersected by water-courses, lines of trees, garden-walls and villas, which afforded at every step the means of checking an assailant. A great rise of the ground to the north from the south also presented an advantageous position for the action of the artillery of the defending party. A broad and deep canal, which runs from the right along the front of the position about a cannon-shot from the Cittadella Villa, and bends to the east, also impeded the access to the position in front. Charles Albert drew up his army on this ground on the morning of the 23d, with as much skill and in as advantageous a manner as the circumstances would admit. His line extended from the road of Mortara to that of Vercelli, its left resting on a strong eminence on which the village of Bicocca was built, and over which the main road from Mortara passed, his right on a level plateau and the canal, and his centre covered for the most part by the canal, and occupying in strength the Cittadella Villa. Perrone's division held the Bicocca hill on the left, with its advanced posts in Olengo; that of Bes was in the centre; that of Durando on the right and in garrison in the Cittadella Villa; those of the Dukes of Genoa and Savoy were in reserve in the second line. Here were collected, on the morning of the 23d, 54,000 men of all arms, including 3000 horse, with 110 guns. On the Austrian side it was imagined, not without reason, that the principal effort of the enemy would be directed to his right, to regain the communication with Turin and Alessandria, which the field-mar-

shal had cut off, and accordingly on the night of the 22d the corps of Thurn and Wratislaw were directed towards Vercelli. This misconception had wellnigh lost them the battle; for it brought a comparatively small part of the Imperialists in contact with the whole of the enemy's army, concentrated in a position eminently advantageous for defence.

35. Baron d'Aspre, with his corps, first encountered the enemy at Olengo about eleven o'clock on the 23d. General Appel followed him in support, and behind him came the reserve corps of Wocher. The Archduke Albert's division headed the attack. The village of Olengo was speedily carried, and then the assault on the Bicocca hill began. After a long and severe struggle two villas in its front were forced, and the attacking columns crowned the summit. The Piedmontese Bersaglieri, great part of whom were now under fire for the first time, were driven back in disorder, and many of them dispersed; but the advance of the pursuers was checked by the veteran 2d Regiment of Savoy, which came up singing the Marseillaise and shouting vivats. So impetuous was their onset that the Hungarians, whom the Archduke led, were driven back, and lost all the ground they had won, while their flank was torn by a cross fire of artillery from the Piedmontese batteries. Upon this the Archduke brought up four more Hungarian battalions, the very flower of the army, supported by the 2d Vienna Volunteers and the 1st Kinsky of Schaffgotche's division; but so violent was the cross fire from the Piedmontese batteries, that they also were repulsed with heavy loss. On the right of the road, however, Count Kollorath, with three battalions, had won, after a hard struggle, several villas; and Aspre, bringing up his last reserves, again threw himself on the Bicocca hill and again won it. But the Duke of Genoa, advancing the brigade Piedmont of his reserve, recovered the lost ground, turned the Austrian right flank, and forced them back to Olengo, which was stormed,

with great slaughter, by the Duke with the brigade Pignerol. Between three and four P.M. the whole corps of Baron d'Aspré had been brought into action, had been warmly engaged, and lost great numbers of its bravest soldiers, besides several hundred prisoners, without having won any ground. They were overmatched, for an Austrian corps had been engaged with the greater part of the Piedmontese army. The moment was critical in the extreme: if the Imperialists could hold out another half-hour, their remaining divisions would come up, and the battle was gained: if they were driven back, the advantageous ground, the key of the position, was lost, and the utmost they could hope for would be to renew the action on the following day, before which the Piedmontese might retire behind the Sesia, and recover their lost communication with Turin.*

36. In these momentous circumstances the conduct of the leaders on both sides was worthy of their high descent, and the important duties with which they were intrusted. Emulating the example of his great father, the Archduke Charles, at the battle of Aspern, forty years before, the Archduke Albert put himself at the head of the Hungarian Grenadiers, reanimated their sinking spirits, and, under circumstances which seemed all but desperate, prolonged the defence. The Duke of Genoa did the same: his valour and conduct were worthy of the heroic house of Savoy. Again and again he led his troops to the attack, and exhibited alike the skill of an experienced general and the courage of an indomitable leader. At four o'clock the German corps of General Appel came up, and its leading division, consisting of seven fresh battalions, was immediately led into action; but such was the weight of the Piedmontese fire from two-and-thirty heavy field-guns, massed on the summit of the Bicocca hill, that even this formidable

reinforcement failed in turning the scale in favour of the Austrians. The Duke of Genoa in person brought up the reserve, and by their aid succeeded in repelling the fierce onset of the Imperialists. At this moment General Chrzanowski ordered General Bes, whose division had as yet suffered little, to wheel to the left and attack the Austrian centre, supported by General Durando. But this able movement, which at an earlier period of the battle might have been decisive, came too late. Wocher's reserve corps came up, and the field-marshal, on the other side, appeared on the field followed by six choice battalions, preceded by twenty-four guns, which opened a tremendous fire on the Piedmontese centre. The cannon smoke hung like a colossal canopy over the town of Novara. Against the dark grey sky every volley rose white and clear. Masses of black vapour, cast forth by the flames of some burning houses, deepened this shroud of battle with yet dusker tints. Through the lurid glare the dense columns of Appel and of Aspré converged with swift steps upon the blood-stained hill. Their shock was irresistible, and decided the day. Perone's division broke up, the whole Piedmontese left yielded, and many regiments disbanded and fled to Novara. The reserve, under the Duke of Genoa, performed prodigies of valour, and did all that men could do to arrest the disorder and cover the retreat of the army; but in vain. As the head of Thurn's corps, attracted by the firing from the side of Vercelli, had now come into action on the Imperial left, four Austrian corps were on the field, and the combat had become as unequal against the Piedmontese as it formerly was against the Imperialists. The day was lost, and a general retreat had become unavoidable. Twelve guns were taken by the Austrians in the pursuit, but only a few prisoners. The Piedmontese old soldiers retired, firing at intervals, and in admirable order: the Genoese and Lombard volunteers and new levies fled in utter confusion, and for the most part disbanded, and were no more heard of.

* Chrzanowski committed a fatal mistake in arresting the victorious advance of the Duke of Genoa, and even ordering him to fall back from Olengo. This threw away his only chance of success.—See ULLOA, i. 394.

37. Such was the battle of Novara, which decided the war, and has determined, probably for long, the cause of Italian independence; for it has proved the inability of united Italy, *single-handed*, to withstand the transmontane forces. For victory she requires the aid of France or Austria, and that can only be purchased by the sacrifice of her independence. The loss on either side was considerable, but by no means so great as might have been expected in a shock between such hosts, attended with such important results. The Austrians lost 14 officers and 396 men killed; 42 officers and 1992 men wounded; and 1 officer and 1070 men missing, either prisoners or dispersed—in all 57 officers and 3456 soldiers. Five-sevenths of this loss fell on Aspre's corps, which, with heroic constancy, had maintained the conflict against two-thirds of the whole Piedmontese army. The Piedmontese had 31 officers and 374 men killed, 70 officers and 2026 men wounded, and 3000 made prisoners. In the town of Novara, into which their army poured during the night, the most dreadful confusion prevailed. Plundering immediately began; the cavalry charged the fugitive crowds through the streets, and they were soon seen streaming in wild confusion over the roads to Duomo d'Ossola and Arona, the only ones left open to them. All retreat to Turin or Piedmont was cut off: they had nowhere to retire to but the inhospitable barrier of the Alps, where no supplies could be obtained for the army, and the passage of the artillery and waggons through the narrow valleys would soon have become impossible. It was this which rendered the defeat so decisive: the army was severed from its base,* and driven up against an impassable barrier of mountains. The next day would have seen 30,000 prisoners and 150 guns brought into the Austrian headquarters. Nothing could save the army but an armistice concluded before the pursuit of the morrow commenced.

38. Charles Albert, who throughout the day had discharged all the duties both of a skilful general and a gallant

soldier, understood the state of affairs in this light. About seven in the evening, when the battle was evidently and irrecoverably lost, he suffered himself to be led away by General Durando, but still lingered under the walls of Novara, under a storm of bullets, saying, "General, this is my last day; let me die." About nine o'clock, having been at length prevailed on to withdraw, he called his generals and principal officers around him, and declared his unalterable resolution to resign the crown in favour of the Duke of Savoy. He then repeatedly announced to those around him, that from that moment Victor Emmanuel was their sovereign. "I have sacrificed myself," said he, "to the Italian cause. For it I have exposed my life, that of my children, my throne. I have failed in my object. I am aware that I am individually the sole obstacle to a peace now become necessary to the State. I could not bring myself to sign it. Since I in vain sought death, I will give myself up as a last sacrifice to my country. I lay down the crown, and abdicate in favour of my son, the Duke of Savoy." Having said these words, he dismissed his attendants, sat down, and wrote a farewell letter to his wife; and at one in the morning made his appearance unannounced at the Austrian outposts, where he narrowly escaped being saluted by a discharge of grape. He gave his name as a Piedmontese officer, the Count de Barge, stated that he was on leave to proceed to Nice, and was conducted to Count Taurin, to whom he announced the abdication of the King of Sardinia, and with whom he had a long conference. He was allowed a passage through the Austrian lines, and pursued his journey to Nice, and thence to Portugal, where, before long, his eventful life came to a termination.*

39. Immense was the sensation which the intelligence of these events, and, above all, of the abdication of the

* The preceding account of the campaign of Novara is mainly taken from SCHOENHAUS, p. 315-373; ULION, p. 357-403; ELLESMERE, p. 236-278, and the very interesting narratives of eyewitnesses on both sides in the *Soldier on Active Service*.

King, produced on the National Assembly at Turin. They had been deceived, as is usual in such cases, by false reports, which represented the unopposed concentration at Pavia and passage of the Ticino as part of a deep-laid plan, which was to draw the Austrians into Piedmont in order to destroy them. When, in the midst of these delusions, intelligence arrived of the disasters of Mortara and Novara, the agitation in the Assembly was extreme, and the most absurd plans were proposed and carried by acclamation, as that a levy *en masse* should be ordered, and they should all march against the enemy. But these transports gave place to more sober and worthy sentiments when M. Buffa, one of the ministers, read the abdication of Charles Albert, announced in a letter of the Duke of Savoy. M. Josti then rose and pronounced these just and noble words: "Shall we sink from want of resolution? Is it always to be matter of reproach to Italy that she wants energy in her own cause? For myself, when I consider the littlenesses with which I am surrounded, I see only one great and noble figure raise itself above its contemporaries, and that figure is that of Charles Albert." At these words all the deputies rose and exclaimed, "Honour to Charles Albert! long live the champion of Italy!" The enthusiasm was intense and universal: there was scarce a dry eye in the whole Assembly. Pointing to the picture of Charles Albert, which hung in the hall, the orator continued: "There is the image of the martyr of Italy! Your acclamations will be re-echoed through the entire peninsula. History will do him justice—posterity will recompense him; and at last, when the hour of Italy's deliverance shall have struck, it will avenge his memory, it will crown with immortality the King who has so valiantly drawn the sword for its deliverance."

40. Electrified by these eloquent words, and feeling the justice of this eulogium, the Assembly voted by acclamation several decrees, of no practical use in the circumstances, but characteristic of the spirit by which

they were animated. The whole national guards were put on permanent duty from eighteen to thirty-five years of age; they voted by anticipation a great addition to the taxes, and issued proclamations calling on the peasants to rise *en masse*—an invitation with which they were by no means disposed to comply. But meanwhile the fate of the kingdom was determined by cooler heads, which appreciated justly the real state of affairs. The young King, Victor Emmanuel, met Radetsky at Vignale, a small village three miles to the north of Novara, at eleven o'clock on the forenoon of the 24th, and concluded verbally the terms of an armistice which was formally signed two days afterwards. The fortress of Alesandria was to be jointly occupied by an Austrian and Piedmontese force. The Sesia was to be the line of demarcation between the two armies. Eighteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were to be stationed by the Austrians between the Sesia and the Ticino; ten regiments of Hungarians, Poles, and Lombards, in the Piedmontese service, were to be disbanded; all the places occupied by them in Lombardy, Parma, Placentia, and Modena evacuated, and the fleet withdrawn from the Adriatic. At the first intelligence of the disasters of the army, the minister besought the ambassadors of France and England to intercede, in order to obtain an armistice on the most favourable terms possible—an invitation to which they immediately and cordially acceded. On their arrival at headquarters they found the armistice concluded, but proceeded at once to the more difficult task of ascertaining the terms for a permanent peace. The chief difficulty was the financial part of the arrangement; for the demands of Austria, pressed as she was by almost hopeless embarrassments at home, were at first immense. Radetsky was instructed to demand 200,000,000 francs as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. The impossibility of raising such a sum in the little kingdom of Piedmont was so evident, that the field-marshal himself represented to his government the

necessity of modifying their demands. At length, by the strenuous intervention of the French and English ministers, negotiations commenced on the basis of Piedmont paying to Austria the expenses of the war, without specifying their amount, which was to be left for future consideration.

41. When this convention was read aloud in the Piedmontese Chamber, which was done after an entire change of Ministry had taken place, the most violent agitation prevailed. A resolution, proposed by M. Lanza, to the effect that the armistice was unconstitutional, and that the Ministry which had concluded it had violated the social contract, was carried by a majority, as also that the Chamber should declare its sittings permanent; and that if the Ministry permitted the entrance of Austrian troops into Alessandria, or withdrew their fleet from the Adriatic, before the convention was approved by Parliament, they should be held guilty of high treason. These, however, were vain words merely; the Chamber had no means of arresting the march of the Imperialists; and but for the powerful intervention of the French and English ministers, the field-marshal would in a few days have planted his victorious standards on the walls both of Turin and Genoa. But the Austrians, fearing the addition of these two formidable powers to the league of their enemies, wisely stopped short in the career of conquest; and the new King of Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel, finding the Chamber utterly unmanageable, and set on war to the last extremity, prorogued it on the 30th of March, and dissolved it by proclamation a few days after.

42. The armistice was received and obeyed in peace in many places; with thankfulness in every part of Lombardy, except Milan and Brescia. In the former, the excitement was extreme, and the depression of the people very great; but the presence of a powerful Austrian garrison, and the speedy arrival of General Appel with his corps, detached by Radetsky on the conclusion of the armistice, ren-

dered any outbreak impossible. The latter, however, not being equally overawed, became the theatre of a serious revolt, the more to be lamented that it was alike aimless and hopeless. No sooner did the news of the battle of Novara and the armistice arrive within its walls than the people rose, made prisoner the quartermaster-general of the 3d corps, who was in the town, and shut the garrison up in the castle. Upon this General Nugent approached with a small column 900 strong, which could do nothing; but Haynau himself soon arrived with reinforcements, which raised the whole force to 2500 men and 4 guns. He immediately summoned the town, which contained 50,000 inhabitants, to surrender. The time allowed having more than elapsed, the troops on the outside advanced (March 31) to the assault of the walls in five different columns, while the garrison of the castle commenced a bombardment from thirty pieces of heavy artillery. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides for two entire days; and such was the exasperation of the combatants that some of the Austrian officers who fell wounded were literally hewn in pieces by the insurgents. Thereafter the Imperialists gave no quarter in any house from which a shot had issued.* At length the resistance was overcome, and the town subdued. The Austrian loss was very severe, the regiment of Baden alone having lost two hundred men, and on the side of the insurgents above two thousand fell. The field-marshal gave the command of the town after the victory to General Haynau, who contented himself with executing a few guilty of sanguinary acts, and mulcted the citizens only by a heavy contribution. On the 28th March the field-marshal entered Milan in great pomp at the head of his grenadiers, thus bringing the reality of conquest before the eyes of the Milanese.

43. Genoa ere long became the theatre of an effort at revolution still more serious. No sooner did intelligence of the armistice arrive, than

* SCHÖENHAUS, p. 379.

Avezzana, the commander of the National Guard, summoned the citizens to arms. The gates of the city were closed, and the tocsin sounded. General Azarta, the commander of the garrison, thinking that the only object of the people was to make a stand against the Austrians, allowed them to occupy the forts Della Sperone and Del Begato. It soon became evident, however, that the movement was directed more against the Piedmontese Government than the German. Barricades were erected in the streets, and a provisional government proclaimed, at the head of which was Avezzana, Mocchio, an advocate, and Reta, an ex-deputy. This Government called upon General Azarta to surrender the whole place to the insurgents, and he having refused, a severe conflict took place in the streets. The arrival of 15,000 muskets from France at this critical juncture, intended for the Piedmontese Government, which fell into the hands of the insurgents, gave them such a superiority that Azarta was obliged to capitulate, and left the city at the head of 5000 men.

44. As soon as the Piedmontese Government received intelligence of this revolt, they took the most vigorous steps to suppress it. Troops, now happily disengaged by the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, were hastily assembled, and directed with the utmost expedition against the insurgent city. General La Marmora, with his division, broke up from Parma on the 28th March; and with the force he commanded, which rapidly swelled as he advanced, arrived before Genoa on the 4th April at the head of 12,000 men, with a considerable artillery. Unable to resist forces so formidable, the insurgent leaders proposed to enter into a capitulation, and meanwhile an armistice was agreed to, in pursuance of the arrangements made by the Earl of Hardwicke, who commanded an English ship of the line in the bay, and La Marmora occupied the suburb of Saint Pietro d'Arena. The terms of a surrender were fixed, but the revolutionists in the city, composed in great part of strangers

and desperadoes from all countries, suddenly broke the armistice and opened fire at all points. Upon this La Marmora brought up his forces, carried the forts of Sperone and Begato, occupied with little resistance the outer walls, from them opened a heavy fire upon the town, and carried by storm the Doria palace. A second armistice was now concluded, but it too was broken by the insurgents, headed by Avezzana, who set free and armed all the prisoners in the jails, and recommenced the fight.

45. Their object was, by a sudden attack on the King's troops and the guards of the municipality, to make themselves masters of the naval arsenal and batteries, liberate the galley slaves, and commence a general pillage. Fortunately an English vessel of war, the *Vengeance*, lay off the harbour, having been stationed there by Admiral Parker, the commander on the Mediterranean station, to protect the lives and property of British subjects in the event of a crisis. So persuaded were the democrats by the general policy pursued by the British Government in relation to the Italian revolution, that they in reality favoured the movement, that they could not at first be brought to believe that it had not been stationed there to afford succour to the insurgents; and they accordingly gave hints of such being their understanding to the British commander, the Earl of Hardwicke. But they soon found they had to deal with a man of a very different stamp from what they supposed. Being made aware by the municipal authorities of the danger which was impending, and the urgent necessity for succour, the *Vengeance* was anchored under the mole, with springs on her cables, and cleared for action, in such a position as to command the batteries and overawe the insurgents. Such was the effect of this vigorous act, and such the influence of the flag of England when waved by a commander with moral courage equal to the crisis, that the conflict which had already begun a second time, both inside and outside

of the town, between the King's troops and the insurgents, was quelled, and Genoa saved from probably the greatest calamities ever endured in its long and glorious annals. On the 11th April the town was wholly occupied by the Piedmontese troops. The rage of the disappointed democrats had previously exhaled in an insolent letter to the Earl of Hardwicke, which, of course, met with the contempt it merited, but which deserves to be recorded as a specimen of the braggadocio style of the Italian Liberals of the day, and strikingly contrasts with the temperate and dignified letter of the British commander.*

46. Driven from Lombardy and Genoa, the extreme democrats took refuge, some in Rome, others in the mountains which lie between Piedmont and Tuscany, where they remained for some time uncertain whither to direct their steps, and the Austrian troops were restrained from following them by the apprehension of incurring the hostility of France and England. But meanwhile a revolution of an unexpected and reactionary character broke out at Florence. On the 10th April the citizens of that city, who were sincerely attached to the Grand-Duke their sovereign, rose in a body, and displaced the revolutionary authorities. Guer-

razzi, the dictator, was shut up in the fort of Belvidere, the old constitution restored, the National Guard remodelled, and the clubs closed. All the other towns of Tuscany, except Leghorn, immediately followed the example of Florence. But the revolutionary party in that great seaport were too strong to yield without a struggle; and it was fortunate that it took place, because it opened the eyes of the world to what might be expected if that faction generally got the ascendancy. The extreme democrats, chased from Florence, took refuge in Leghorn, and immediately adopted the most vigorous measures for their defence. On the 23d April a mob broke into and plundered the custom-house and municipal buildings, carrying off all the money that they found, and the arms, even those reserved for the guard of the galley slaves. Next they levied a contribution of 300,000 francs (£12,000) on the city: a burden at least equal to £24,000 in Great Britain, and which fell with extreme severity on a place not containing 100,000 inhabitants. The Revolutionary Government at Rome cordially supported this movement at Leghorn, and took into its pay a body of 7000 refugees from Lombardy, who had assembled in La Spezzia. It was necessary to bring this state of anarchy to a termination,

* "In the struggle for liberty you have taken part against the people: you have been active in your unasked-for advice: you have personally thrown the shots overboard from the battery of the people. You have threatened to fire on said battery; you have hauled your ship into the mole, and placed her in a situation for action; in fact, your ship is now ready for fight, with springs on, tampions out, hammocks in your tops, and has the appearance of an enemy, contrary to the wish of the English people.

"Now, Sir, by such conduct you have shown yourself and the ship under your command without the pale of honour. Circumstances would warrant me to fire on you instantly; but as I wish to take no unfair advantage of your *imprudence*, I hereby inform you that I will grant you till six o'clock to consider your course; and if your ship is not then in a peaceful attitude, the battery of the people will be turned on you, and I will sink your ship at her anchor; a circumstance that will teach your Government that when they give the command of their national vessels to *men of rank, they should be*

also men of sense"—GENERAL AVEZZANA to LORD HARDWICKE, commanding *Her Majesty's ship Vengeance*, Genoa.

To this insolent letter Lord Hardwicke replied: "Sir,—This is to acknowledge the receipt of your most extraordinary and most insolent letter. The only answer I can make to such a communication is to let you know that I have received and carefully considered its contents, and for your satisfaction I now enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to Her Britannic Majesty's allies in the port of Genoa. —HARDWICKE, Captain."—The French captain's answer was strongly approving of Lord Hardwicke's conduct; Admiral Parker's was more guarded, rejoicing at the termination of the crisis, but strongly recommending strict neutrality, and no co-operation with the Royal forces of Sardinia, except in defence or protection of British lives or property —ADMIRAL PARKER to the EARL OF HARDWICKE, 16th April 1849.

The Author is indebted for these valuable and instructive papers to his friend the Earl of Hardwicke, to whom he is happy to make this public acknowledgment.

and this was done by the joint interposition of France and Austria. The French frigate the *Magellan*, which lay in the Gulf of La Spezia, hindered the embarkation of the refugees in that town, while the Austrian corps of d'Asprè crossed the frontier at the earnest request of the Government of Florence, and advanced to Leghorn, and soon forced the revolutionists to submit. The town, attacked on the 10th, was carried by storm on the 11th May. The most decided of the insurgents embarked for Rome, without any opposition from the English cruisers, whither they had been already preceded by General Avezzana, with 450 of those engaged in the insurrection in Genoa.

47. But Bologna, Venice, Rome, and Sicily still held out, and, under circumstances which all well-informed persons saw to be desperate, still maintained the war of independence. The resolution of the insurgents in Bologna led to a prolonged conflict, though it was apparent that successful resistance was out of the question. Count Wimpfen, at the head of a division of Asprè's corps, summoned the town (May 8th) to surrender, but this was indignantly refused by the ruling triumvirate, at the head of which was Alessandrini, a literary professor, and General Bellini, the military commandant. The garrison consisted only of three thousand men; but with them were incorporated some hundreds of the Swiss in the Papal service, and they made a stout resistance. An attempt made by the Austrians to blow open the Porta Galliera, by bringing up their guns, was defeated with the loss of fifty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded, and the guns themselves narrowly escaped capture. A similar attack on the Porta Castiglione was repulsed with heavy loss by the Swiss, who left the gate open, but kept up a murderous fire from the walls and houses, shouting out at the same time, "Come on, this is no Vicenza." The Austrians then contented themselves with blockading the place till reinforcements with the heavy artillery arrived from Mantua on the 12th May. The town was

then again summoned, but the Government returned for answer, "that the *Madonna was all for resistance*, and had repeatedly turned aside the Austrian rockets"! They soon, however, had convincing proof that the Madonna was either powerless, or had deserted them on this occasion. A sally (13th May) to aid the entrance of a body of insurgents approaching from eastern Romagna, was defeated, with the loss of one hundred Swiss; and a heavy bombardment having commenced (May 15th), in an hour the white flag was hoisted, and the town capitulated. The insurgents surrendered their arms, but were allowed to retire whither they pleased: the barricades were removed, the trees of liberty cut down, and the Austrians entered on the following day. At the same time Ferrara was occupied by Count Thurn without resistance, with four thousand men. After this success, Ancona was besieged by Count Wimpfen, and being a strong place, required approaches in form; but they were made, and the place capitulated on the 19th June.

48. "Radetsky has drawn a bill upon us, which we must discharge." So said the veteran Neapolitan General Filangieri, commander of the army, to his staff officers at Taormina, when the news of the battle of Novara arrived. He was as good as his word. Yet was the task one of great difficulty; for not only were the Sicilians ardent, and possessed of numerous troops and strongholds, but England and France had been prodigal of aid, not only in diplomatic protection, but in warlike stores and assistance. Great Britain had furnished arms and ammunition to the insurgents of the value of £420,000, and French officers had superintended the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns in their hands. The Sicilian troops amounted to 20,000 men, who were certainly a match for as many Neapolitans; and they had a foreign legion in their service, composed of Poles, Swiss, French, and Germans, who might measure swords with the redoubtable Helvetic Guard which had put down the insurrection in Naples

in the preceding year. Above all, it was certain that in the event of the royal arms being attended with success, Great Britain and France would immediately interpose in behalf of the discomfited insurgents, and arrest the march of the victorious party. Thus the contest was by no means so unequal as it might at first sight appear, and it required vigorous and decided action on the part of the Government to bring it to an early and successful issue.

49. During the lull of active hostilities which followed the reduction of Messina, in the preceding year, negotiations were set on foot, under the auspices of the English and French ministers, to effect an accommodation between the contending parties. The demands of the King of Naples were moderate in the extreme, and indicated the terror which the recent moral earthquake in the Italian peninsula still excited. His ultimatum was that the two Sicilies were to have one sovereign, one army, one fleet, and one administration of foreign affairs; but Sicily was to have a separate parliament, finances, tribunals, and municipalities, with the constitution of 1812, under certain modifications. Four millions of francs of taxes in arrears, with one million as the expenses of the war, were to be paid by the Sicilians, who, in return, were to obtain an unqualified amnesty. This was as near an approach to a federal union as was in the circumstances practicable; but, though strongly recommended by the English and French ministers, it was rejected by the Sicilian leaders, and both sides prepared to decide the contest by the sword.*

• 50. The troops embarked from Messina on the 31st March, and in the afternoon of the 2d April were in sight

of Taormina. A feeble attempt to defend a strong mountain-pass near the ruins of that ancient city was defeated, and the royal troops appeared before Catania. Twenty thousand armed men, of whom eight thousand were real soldiers, were within the town, commanded by a Polish general named Mieroslawski. Notwithstanding this formidable body of opponents, the Neapolitan Rifles advanced with vigour over the lava at the foot of Mount *Ætna*, and soon reached the barricades at the entrance of the town. Here a desperate strife ensued. The barricade in the *Ætna Street* was first carried by a sudden rush by the riflemen, again recovered by the insurgents, and only in the end carried by a Swiss regiment from Berne, the advance of which excited the admiration of all who witnessed it. This body reached the barricade at half-past seven P.M. Colonel von Muralt, who commanded the regiment, conducted the attack with skill and judgment. He made his men advance in the rosy light of evening, in single file close to the wall on either side, with orders to fire at the opposite windows whenever a light or living object showed itself. Two howitzers moved up the middle of the street, followed by two more in reserve, which fired alternately with those in front, so as to render the discharge of artillery incessant. Behind them came the column of grenadiers, which, at every fifty paces, moved to the front, halted, and fired. Every house from whence a shot issued was broken into and set on fire. In this manner the great street was carried, and three guns taken—the officers leading their men with the utmost courage. The “*Piazza del Cathedral*” was next carried by a simultaneous

* The following proclamation announced the resumption of hostilities to the Sicilians:—“Sicilians! The shout of war to you is a cry of delight. The 29th March, when hostilities with the despot of Naples are to recommence, will be hailed by you with the same welcome as that of the 12th January, and with good reason, for liberty can only be gained at the price of blood. The peace you were offered was ignominious. It destroyed at one blow every interest created by the revolution. Even though victory be not cer-

tain, when honour is at stake, a nation, like an individual, has the superior right to immolate himself. Better to be consumed in the flaming ruins of our country than to exhibit to Europe the spectacle of vile cowardice. Death is preferable to slavery. But no, we shall conquer. Look at the flaming desolation of Messina! War is to us the symbol of vengeance and of love. One city of Sicily alone remains under the yoke of the enemy of liberty. To arms! To arms! We must conquer or die.”—*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 312.

attack up two streets leading to it by the Swiss Guard. Two batteries, one of three, one of four guns, were then stormcd, and by midnight Catania was entirely in the hands of the victors.

51. The insurgents had cruelly tortured and cut into pieces a Swiss officer who fell into their hands early in the action, which exasperated his comrades to such a degree that thereafter they gave no quarter. The success was gained by the royal troops with the loss of 38 officers and 340 men—a most unusual proportion, being 1 to 9, and proving how gallantly they had led their troops. On the side of the insurgents, 352 were buried, and 215 prisoners made, mostly wounded. Dear-bought as this success was, it was attended with most important consequences: it terminated the war in Sicily. A few days after, a defensive position taken up by the Sicilians at Adorno was forced, and next day Syracuse and Augusta surrendered. Continuing his march towards Palermo, Filangieri was met by a deputation from the city, with the archbishop at its head, to propose a capitulation. The moderate party, however, from whom this proposal came, soon lost their ascendancy; the National Guard, assailed by the populace, was obliged to take refuge on board the royal fleet; and when the king's army (May 5th) descended the hill towards the city, their advanced-guard were assailed by the armed multitude, and repulsed. The arrival of the Swiss restored the combat, and the insurgents were driven back into the city. Negotiations were now resumed, and soon came to a successful issue. Filangieri had the good sense, as well as humanity, to award an amnesty, which, at the earnest request of the revolutionists, was made to include offences of every description. The chiefs of the insurrection, who had already escaped, were alone excluded; they had disappeared, despite their appeals to the people to conquer or die, the moment danger approached. On the 15th May, the anniversary of the victory of the royalists in Naples the year preceding, the royal army entered Palermo. Girgenti and

Trapani also surrendered, and peace was restored in the whole of the island.

52. The overthrow of the insurrection in Genoa, Leghorn, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the capture of Ancona and Brescia, and counter-revolution in Florence, caused the revolutionists, closely followed by the Austrians, to recoil from all quarters to Rome. Venice still hoisted the colours of independence, but it was strictly blockaded; the Eternal City alone presented an accessible rallying point to the discomfited insurgents, and it was in consequence rapidly filled by them. It was under the command of the most noted leaders from all parts of Italy—Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Avezzana. The first brought to the cause the aid of unbounded revolutionary enthusiasm, devout trust in human perfectibility, considerable powers of eloquence, and unscrupulous ambition; the second, who was possessed of great energy of character, brilliant military talents, and of an antique disinterested turn of mind, led under his standard all the ardent spirits and refugees who had been expelled from Lombardy and Tuscany by the Austrian arms; while the third, who had come from Genoa with five hundred followers, and been created Minister at War, imported the knowledge of command which he had acquired when at the head of the National Guard of that city. But though the real powers of government were shared among these three persons, the triumvirate in whom they were formally vested were, Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi; the first of whom was a Lombard, the two last Romans, by birth. Avezzana, when called before the Constituent Assembly at Rome to state what forces he had at his disposal, declared they did not exceed ten thousand men, for the most part young troops; the remainder, eight thousand in number, were on the Neapolitan frontier. But the arrival of Garibaldi in Rome, with some thousand refugees from the combats in the north of Italy, inspired such terror or confidence, that all thoughts of an accommodation were laid aside, and the most determined resistance was resolved on.

53. The resolution of the Romans to

resist brought a strange and unexpected champion on the field, and opened a new phase in the history of modern Italy. It has been seen that Great Britain and France had throughout the contest covertly but very effectively aided the insurgents; in one case by actually supplying them with arms and ammunition, and elsewhere by throwing the shield of diplomatic interference over them the moment they experienced a reverse, and the Austrians threatened to drive them into an ignominious peace. In pursuing this conduct the British Government appear to have been actuated by the vague and popular feeling, that the British empire was interested in the establishment of constitutional monarchies and democratic ascendancy in every part of Europe. But the French rulers were less influenced by this cosmopolitan principle than by a material consideration, which acquired additional weight as the war rolled on. They contemplated with secret uneasiness the progress of the Austrian arms in Northern and Central Italy, and were seized with serious alarm when they beheld Piedmont vanquished, and the fortresses of Romagna and Tuscany occupied by the Imperial forces. Influenced by these considerations, Louis Napoleon gladly availed himself of an invitation addressed to the cabinets of Paris, St Petersburg, Naples, and Berlin, to co-operate for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. It was part of this plan that a French expedition, with troops on board, should appear off Civita Vecchia, at the mouth of the Tiber, and the Neapolitan forces cross the frontier of the Abruzzi, and invade the Papal territories from the south, while the Austrians passed the Po at all points, and occupied the northern part of the same dominions. In conformity with these proposals a joint military and naval expedition was with the utmost haste collected at Toulon. The land forces of this armament consisted of two brigades, mustering six thousand combatants, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, under the command of General Oudinot, son of the

celebrated marshal of the same name in the Empire. They embarked at Toulon on the 22d April, and appeared off Civita Vecchia on the 25th of the same month.

54. So completely had the Italian Liberals been misled by the diplomatic interferences of France, along with England, in their favour, that when the French armament first appeared off their shores, they never doubted that they were coming as friends. Accordingly, they allowed the troops to land without opposition; and for some days the French and Roman soldiers mounted guard side by side. They were soon, however, undeceived. The French disarmed the Papal troops in Civita Vecchia, seized the town, and advanced steadily towards Rome, without paying any regard to the protests of the Triumvirate there, or the indignant proclamations calling upon the people to resist. On the 29th of April they were before the walls of the Eternal City, and Oudinot replied to a deputation sent out to warn him that if he attempted to enter the city he would be resisted, "Take care how you oppose me, for my troops are good." The advanced-guard incantiously approached the walls, near the salient angle of the Vatican, and was received with cannon-shots. Oudinot upon this brought up reinforcements, and the French, hearing the *Marseillaise* sung in the streets, thought the town was taken from the Portesi Gate, which also was attacked, and advanced, so as to get close to the gate of San Pancrazio. Here, however, they were received with a discharge of grape, from two guns placed under the archway, and driven back. In the retreat they were surrounded by the Lombard legion of Garibaldi, aided by a battalion of regular troops, and 200 men were made prisoners. At the same time the attack on the Porta-Portesi was also repulsed with heavy loss, a body on the left got entangled under fire in a defile, and Oudinot, convinced that the town was not to be taken without regular approaches, sounded a retreat. In this untoward affair the French lost 4 officers and 180 men killed, 11

officers and 400 men wounded, and 11 officers and 560 men made prisoners, while the entire loss on the side of the Romans was only 320.

55. Had this bloody repulse not been sustained, the French general would have had some difficulty to explain the conduct of his government, or find a decent pretext for the siege and military occupation of a city heretofore in alliance with France, and over which she had recently thrown the shield of diplomatic protection. But after this reverse there was no longer any difficulty experienced by the French Government in recognising the national feelings in regard to the war. The French army had sustained a serious reverse; nothing but victory and the capture of Rome could wash out the stain. Oudinot retired to Palo, and ultimately to Civita Vecchia, to await reinforcements, which, on the first receipt of the disastrous intelligence by the Government at Paris, were despatched from Toulon in great numbers. In the course of May and the first week of June eight additional regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a considerable train of siege artillery, were sent. Meanwhile the Neapolitan army, consisting of seven thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, and fifty-two guns, under General Casella, crossed the southern frontier of the Papal States, and advanced slowly towards Rome. But the French general refused to admit of any co-operation of the Neapolitans with him, which enabled the Roman chiefs to send out Garibaldi, with the Lombard legion, against the latter. The Neapolitans advanced without much resistance to Albano, and their advanced-guard attempted, but unsuccessfully, to dislodge Garibaldi from Palestrina (May 9th); when, finding that the French "reserved the occupation of Rome for their own troops," and that 12,000 men from Rome were advancing against them, they retired to their own frontier, sustaining during the retreat a sharp attack at Velletri. Meanwhile a Spanish auxiliary corps of six thousand men, which had disembarked at Gaeta, to aid in the

restoration of his Holiness, advanced to Terracina, and occupied without resistance the southern parts of the Papal dominions.

56. The proceedings of the French led to more decisive results. In order if possible to attain their object of occupying Rome to the exclusion of the Austrians, the Cabinet of Paris sent out M. Lesseps as a diplomatic agent, to mediate between the Roman triumvirate and the enraged army, panting for revenge, encamped without the walls. The views of the pacific negotiator and the military commander were soon found to be irreconcilably at variance. By the middle of May the French army, 30,000 strong, had advanced to the immediate vicinity of Rome. On the 31st, M. de Lesseps entered into a convention, in virtue of which the French troops were not to enter Rome, but to take up quarters outside the walls; and the restoration of the Pope, or the choice of another form of government, was to be left to the unbiassed determination of the inhabitants. This convention, which was meant to throw a veil over the open attack of a revolutionary republic by the great parent democracy, was far from being satisfactory either to the French President or General Oudinot. Accordingly the latter refused to abide by it, and on 1st June he signified this to the Roman Triumvirate.

57. The military authorities in Rome had turned to good account the breathing-time afforded them since their brilliant success at San Pancrazio. The walls were repaired and strengthened, additional heavy artillery placed on the ramparts, and the barricades inside brought to an unprecedented state of perfection. They had even established a defence of the latter description capable of being moved from place to place, which was very much admired. Their hope was to prolong the defence by these means till the autumn, when the pestilential air of the Campagna might be expected to destroy the besiegers, as it had so often done in former days. Their hopes in this respect were not so illusive as might be imagined; for they had 20,000 armed men and 200 pieces

of artillery within the town, with ample supplies of ammunition; and not only had the spirits of the troops been much elevated by their success, and by the subsequent retreat of the Neapolitan army, but their real efficiency had been materially improved during the interval of rest thus procured for them. Garibaldi in particular, and the officers of his Lombard legion, were intoxicated with their triumphs, which they ascribed entirely to their own prowess, without any reference to the French jealousy of Neapolitan interference. They anticipated from this commencement a long train of glories equal to those which had immortalised the Roman Republic in ancient story. But if the means of defence had increased, those of attack had augmented in a still greater proportion. Oudinot had under his command, in the beginning of June, 30,000 men, with a train of 90 pieces of artillery: and the troops, besides being in the highest state of discipline and equipment, were burning with anxiety to wipe out the affront which they had recently experienced.

58. The armistice having been denounced, the French general commenced operations by an advance of his left to the Ponte Molle, which was occupied without resistance on the 2d June. Having secured his communications, and established his troops on the Monte Mario, which overlooks the walls on their western extremity, he began regular approaches. The Roman Triumvirate meanwhile issued a proclamation, in which they declared their resolution to discharge to the last extremity the duty intrusted to them of defending the standard of the Republic, and the capital of the Christian world.* The first serious attack was made on the 3d June on the Villa Pamphildoria, which was carried after a sharp

encounter. The Villa Corsini was then assailed. It was three times taken and retaken, but finally remained in the hands of the French. In this obstinate encounter the Romans lost nearly 300 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners. On the side of the assailants about 250 fell. Thereafter the siege was conducted in a regular manner, by pushing forward the sap and forming trenches. The attack was directed against the front of the Janiculum, and the utmost care was taken to avoid injuring private houses, or any of the stately monuments of antiquity with which the city abounded. It would have been an easy matter to have stormed the salient angle, on which St Peter's and the Vatican stood; but this was not attempted, from a laudable desire to preserve the inestimable treasures of art which they contained. The approaches were now pushed with vigour. Though the progress of the besiegers was steady, the besieged made an honourable defence, being supported by the hopes of a democratic revolution overturning the government of Paris, and converting formidable enemies into powerful friends. The sap having been pushed close to the walls of the Janiculum, and a practicable breach formed, two bastions in the outer line of defence were carried with little resistance on the night of the 21st. The attack was now directed against a commanding bastion close to the gate of San Pancrazio. The wall soon crumbled beneath the breaching-fire, and it was stormed at three in the morning of the 30th June. The defenders, four hundred in number, were precipitated over the walls, or put to the sword.*

* Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, the Triumvirate addressed the following proclamation to the Roman people: "Romans! In the darkness of the night, by means of treason, the enemy has set foot on the breach! Arise, ye people, in your might! Destroy him, fill the breach with his carcasses! Blast the enemy, the accursed of God, who dare touch the sacred walls of Rome. While Oudinot resorts to this infamous act, France rises up and recalls its troops from this work of invasion. One more effort, Romans, and your country is saved for ever. Rome, by its constancy, regenerates all Eu-

* "We never betray our engagements. In the execution of the orders of the Assembly, and of the Roman people, we have undertaken the engagement of defending the standard of the Republic, the honour of the country, and the capital of the Christian world. We will keep our word."—*The Roman Government to GENERAL OUDINOT, 14th June 1849; Ann. Reg 1849, p 363.*

59. By this success the French were established in a solid manner within the walls, and as the guns of the bastion of which they had got possession commanded the inside of the gate of San Pancrazio, it was no longer tenable. Further resistance was impossible; at six in the morning the entire Janiculum was evacuated by the besieged, and their troops brought back to the Strada Longa, the principal street of the Transtevere suburb. In the forenoon of the same day the Assembly met, and after discussing several extravagant propositions for defence brought forward by Garibaldi, it was agreed that a surrender was unavoidable. At four o'clock the white flag was hoisted on the Castle of St Angelo, and the triumvirs resigned. At midnight on the 1st July, Garibaldi marched out of the city with 3400 men, chiefly of the Lombard legion: at noon on the 3d, Oudinot entered at the head of his troops, and on the 8th he heard high mass in the Church of Saint Louis, the patron of France. The city was immediately declared in a state of siege; all the Papal troops who were in it were placed under the command of French officers, and the others disarmed. In the first instance the French colours were hoisted on the Castle of St Angelo and the walls; but after a week they were replaced by those of the Pope, in whose name the government was carried on. The Supreme Pontiff remained at Gaeta, being unwilling, after Rossi's murder, to intrust his person to his rebellious subjects; but later in the year he issued a *Motu Proprio*, establishing a council of state to carry on the government, confirming the provincial councils and municipal

rope. In the name of your fathers, in the name of your future hopes, arise and give battle. Arise and conquer! One prayer to the God of battles, one thought to your faithful brethren, one hand to your arms. Every man becomes a hero! This day decides the fate of Rome, and of the Republic. —MAZZINI, ANSELLINI, SAFFI. —It was hardly to be expected, after issuing this high-sounding proclamation, that the authors of it dared steal out of Rome in the following night, with Garibaldi, the general, and 3400 men, leaving the city and their fellow-citizens to their fate. —*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 305.

corporations, and promising further administrative reforms. An amnesty was afterwards published, but containing so many exceptions that it rather retarded than promoted the reconciliation of the Pontiff with his subjects.

60. After leaving Rome on the night of the 1st July with 3400 men, Garibaldi took the road to Naples. Finding, however, that the approach to that capital by Terracina was shut by Marshal Nunziante with a large force, while another was moving on his flank through the Abruzzi, he altered his course, taking a cross road to Terni. On the 16th July he reached Orvieto, whither the Neapolitans could not pursue him, as it would have brought them in contact with the French troops. His followers, destitute of everything, committed so many acts of violence that the peasantry fled on their approach, and they were soon reduced to the greatest straits from want of provisions. Two days after he entered Tuscany, still keeping in the mountains. Several Austrian columns, however, were now on his track, and it was impossible he could long escape. Crossing the Apennines by by-paths from San Sepulchro, on the 31st his band, reduced by fatigue and desertion to 1000 men, encountered at St Leo, near San Marino, the brigade of the Archduke Ernest, and 900 surrendered at the first summons. Garibaldi himself, with 100 desperate adherents, escaped to Cesenatico, where they seized some fishing-boats and put to sea. The greater part were captured by the Austrian cruisers; but Garibaldi himself again contrived to escape almost alone; traversed Italy after a series of hairbreadth escapes; lost his young wife from fatigue and exposure; embarked at Genoa, and became a wanderer in the wide world till he reappeared on the political horizon and overturned the Neapolitan Government in 1860. Most of his followers found their way back to their homes. Some took to the mountains, and, in bands of twenty and thirty, swelled the troops of robbers who have so long infested the Papal and Neapolitan frontiers.

61. Of all the states in Italy which had taken part in the revolutions of 1848, none was now in arms but Venice; and its inhabitants owed this distinction, not so much to their superior courage or constancy, as to their insular situation, and the powerful flotilla at the disposal of the insurgent Government, which kept the Austrian vessels at a distance. In addition to these natural advantages, the Venetians had formidable forces at their command: the regular soldiers were 15,000, and 2500 marines, without including the burgher guard; 350 guns were mounted on the defences, with a strong outwork at Malghera, the *l'île-de-pont* of the railway bridge of 222 arches, 4000 yards long, which connected the mainland with the city; and the whole was under the command of General Pepe, an officer of skill and determination, who was supported by Manin, a man much beloved by the people, who had been invested since March 1849 with the powers of dictator. After the Milan armistice the defence was prolonged, in the hope of a favourable diversion from the side of Hungary, Piedmont, or Paris; and the operations of the Austrians were limited to a strict blockade both at sea and along the shores of the Lagunes. A diversion in favour of the Piedmontese, attempted when the armistice was denounced by Charles Albert on the 20th March, on the side of Chioggia, at the southern extremity of the Laguna, which at first was attended with some success, was in the end repulsed just as news arrived of the battle of Novara; and as soon as the second armistice was concluded between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, General Haynau, who commanded the blockading force, received orders to undertake the siege of Fort Malghera.

62. This small fortress, constructed by the French in 1807, situated on the mainland on the edge of the Lagunes directly west of Venice, was a pentagon, with earth walls and wet ditches, bomb-proof barracks, and regular outworks. It was intended to cover the bridge-head which connected the city with the mainland, and therefore its

reduction was an essential preliminary to its being attacked. Thirty thousand men being assembled by the Imperialists, trenches were opened against it on the 29th April, at first armed with a very insufficient artillery, which opened fire on the 4th May, but was entirely overmatched by the enemy's guns, admirably served by their cannoners. The Austrians, whose operations were much impeded by heavy rains, were obliged to send to Mantua for a larger siege-train, which arrived on the 20th May. On the 24th the bombardment was renewed, and this time with such effect that on the night of the 26th, the ramparts being untenable and the breach ready for an assault, the place was evacuated by the garrison, who withdrew into the city after a most honourable defence. Notwithstanding this disaster, the insurgents prolonged their resistance, though even the English agents earnestly counselled a surrender, being buoyed up with hopes of a decisive intervention by the efforts of the Hungarian insurrection. Batteries were meanwhile constructed by the Austrians along the nearest points of the Lagunes, which opened a fire on the city; but the distance was so great that very few of the shot took effect, though from the 29th July to the 22d August the average number discharged was four hundred and fifty 24-pound shot and four hundred shells daily. An attempt made to surprise the Venetian battery on the broken railway bridge, on the 7th July, failed. But the Hungarian insurrection having been suppressed by the Russian intervention, and the war in Italy terminated by the capture of Rome, the contest had evidently become hopeless, and the struggle had no longer a legitimate object. On the 22d August a deputation from the Venetian chiefs arrived at the Austrian headquarters, and a capitulation was speedily concluded on the most liberal and humane terms on the part of the conquerors. Excepting a few of the Imperial officers who, having deserted their colours and gone over to the insurgents, were sent into exile with some of the popular leaders, a univer-

sal amnesty was accorded to the people, and all duties on imports were immediately removed to assuage the sufferings of the labouring classes, who had become much straitened for the necessities of life. On the 28th August the Austrian colours were again hoisted on all the forts, batteries, and islands of Venice, amidst cheers as loud, if not so sincere, as had resounded when they were lowered on the 23d March in the preceding year.

63. To complete the picture of the Italian revolution, it only remains to add that the Grand-Duke of Tuscany resumed possession of his states, where he was received with unanimous demonstrations of joy, and that a definitive treaty of peace between Austria and Piedmont was, after many difficulties, signed on the 6th and ratified on the 17th August. The terms were moderate in the extreme. No concessions of territory were exacted; an amnesty was accorded; and the only difficulties experienced in conducting the negotiation related to the sum to be paid by Piedmont as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the number of exceptions from the amnesty which were to be admitted. At length the first was fixed at 75,000,000 francs (£3,000,000); and the last reduced to 86,—all from the Austrian provinces in Italy. Happily the greater part of the persons excepted had already escaped into Switzerland or elsewhere, and no great energy was shown in seeking them out, the Austrians being chiefly anxious to get the dangerous characters out of the country. Meanwhile Charles Albert died at Oporto on the 28th July; and the profound indifference of the rural population in Piedmont for their electoral rights acquired during the revolution, and still subsisting, having left the elections entirely in the hands of the urban Liberals, the Chamber returned was almost entirely democratic, of which they gave proof by electing, the moment they assembled, M. Pareto, one of the leaders of the Genoese insurrection, president. All efforts to render the Chamber manageable having failed, the King, in order to carry on the government, was

obliged to have recourse to a dissolution. He made a noble appeal to the country, without attempting any change on the representative system introduced, during the fervour of the revolution, by Charles Albert: the rural electors listened to his voice, and came forward to give their votes, and a Chamber was returned giving a majority of fifty to the friends of constitutional monarchy.

64. The conditions accorded by the treaty of the 6th August to Austria were much more favourable to that power than those which, at an earlier period, the Cabinet of Vienna would have been willing to accept; for such had been the exhaustion of the monarchy from the double war which was raging in its vitals, and such the straits to which the Government had been reduced by the successes of the Hungarian insurgents, that they had acceded to the proposal that a separation of the *Regno Lombardo-Veneto* from the Imperial dominions should take place. This the Cabinet of Vienna regarded as the only mode of preventing the armed intervention of France, which they were well aware would at once turn the balance against them in Italy. A long negotiation on this subject went on between the Cabinets of London and Vienna, by the former of whom it was warmly supported, in the hope of averting French intervention. The basis of the proposal (made to the English ambassador at Vienna on the 12th May 1848) was, that Austria should abandon the whole dominions which she held in Italy, and the inhabitants should elect a sovereign totally independent of that or any other power. The new kingdom was to have its own parliament, finances, and treasury, on condition only of paying 10,000,000 florins (£1,000,000) annually as their contribution to the debts of the Empire.* The Austrian minister declared, at the same time, that if the French troops crossed the

* See Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, Vienna, May 12, 1848; M. Hummelauer to Lord Palmerston, May 23, 24, 26, 1848; Baron Wissenberg to Count Casati, June 13, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 191-195, *Doc. Hist.*

Alps, and advanced into Lombardy, they would oppose no resistance to them, but retire first behind the Minicio, and then behind the mountains of Carinthia, leaving Italy to the full enjoyment of the blessings of French intervention. This arrangement, which was proposed and even urged upon Great Britain by the Austrian Government, proved abortive, partly from the disinclination of the Milanese to take upon themselves any part of the Austrian debt, partly because it did not meet the ambitious views of any of the parties who had instigated the insurrection.

65. The conduct of the British Cabinet, under the direction of Lord Palmerston, during the whole of the critical period which followed the Italian Revolution, was in many respects open to exception. Admitting that the circumstances were complicated and difficult, and that it was essential to leave no pretext for French interference, their conduct went much beyond the real neutrality which Great Britain should ever observe in regard to the intestine dissensions of other nations. She did not remain neutral; on the contrary, she interposed covertly, but most efficiently, in support of the insurgents. The language of her official agents and ministers, in urging organic changes upon the Italian governments, universally inspired the belief that they secretly favoured the Liberal cause, and that, in the last extremity, the insurgents might confidently rely on their interposition. Nor were they disappointed in these expectations, for more than once France and England interposed on their behalf, and arrested the arms of Austria when on the point of achieving decisive success. This was all done from a sincere, but, as it has now been proved, entirely delusive view of Italian affairs. The event has demonstrated that the dream of Italian unity and independence speedily terminates in the reality of French domination, which it can never be either for the good of mankind or the interests of Great Britain to extend over Italy. Incalculable were the evil consequences of this one-sided policy

both upon the internal concerns of Italy and the general interests of Europe, for it led the Italian Liberals to reject all terms of accommodation, and thus needlessly prolonged the war under circumstances evidently hopeless. It weakened the influence and damaged the character of England, by spreading the belief that she lacked the means or wanted the courage openly to support a cause which she had secretly fomented. Still more disastrous were the effects of this policy upon the general balance of power in Europe, for it led to the occupation of Rome by the French, and division of the Italian peninsula, in respect of influence, between them and the Austrians. And, by proving to Austria that she could not rely on the support of Great Britain, it threw her into the arms of Russia, induced the Muscovite intervention in Hungary, and brought about that vast increase of the Czar's influence in the East which led him to invade Turkey in 1854, and was only checked by the blood poured out at the Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol.

66. The conduct of the military commanders on both sides, in the memorable Italian campaigns of 1848 and 1849, is worthy of the highest praise, and must ever render their operations a subject of deep interest to the military student. Both stood up boldly and manfully for the cause with which they were intrusted; each struck redoubtable blows at his antagonist, and each showed the greatest military skill, both in following up a success and retrieving a disaster. Of the two commanders, the higher praise must be conceded—at least in the earlier part of the war—to Radetsky, for he was at the head of an army which was daily melting away from the insurrections in the provinces from which it was drawn, was greatly overmatched in point of numbers, and had to contend with a superior regular force in front, and an insurgent population, not merely among his enemies, but in the very provinces and cities which his men occupied, and which threatened his communications in the

most serious manner. He was enabled to contend against these disadvantages, and finally to rise victorious over them entirely, by the skilful use of the interior line of communication on the Adige which he possessed, and by such rapidity of movement as counterbalanced inferiority of force. Perhaps the most signal instance of that, the highest feat of strategy, was afforded by Lord Clyde in the relief of Lucknow and defeat of the Gwalior contingent at Cawnpore in 1857—an achievement the more memorable that it was effected by less than six thousand men against sixty thousand; that the troops defeated were inferior to none in the world in the defence of strongholds and fortifications; that among the garrison safely brought off were above two thousand sick, or women and children, not one of whom was lost.

67. Struck with astonishment at the wretched figure cut, with very few exceptions, by the Italian volunteers in this war, the nations of Northern Europe generally settled into the belief that the Italians were incapable of self-defence; that a double efflorescence of civilisation had emasculated their character; and that the independence of their beautiful country was hopeless, because the virtues had been lost which were necessary to assert it. It cannot be denied that the facts of the case, at first sight, seemed to warrant this conclusion. Never had a country such an opportunity for asserting its independence as Italy had in 1848; never were circumstances so favourable for maintaining it. An enthusiastic passion for liberty and independence animated the whole urban, and a considerable part of the rural population; and the regular army of Piedmont, superior in numbers at first to that of the Imperialists, was equal to it in valour and efficiency. Austria, on the other hand, was so distracted by the discordant passions of race, as well as the rising ones of civilisation, that the only army she could rely on was that which the veteran Radetsky commanded. The population of the Italian peninsula

exceeded twenty-five millions; and if the compactness of the territory, the extent of sea-coast, and the incomparable riches of the soil, are taken into consideration, its material resources greatly exceeded those of the Austrian Empire. It was no wonder then that, when all the efforts of the Italians to achieve their independence in these circumstances were unsuccessful, the opinion became general that they failed, either because they wanted the military virtues necessary to insure success, or because they were so torn by separate interests as to be incapable of united action.

68. It is hard to arrive at such a conclusion regarding the descendants of the ancient Romans; and events were not awaiting, in the course of the contest, which proved that, when properly disciplined and led, the modern Italians are capable of emulating the deeds of their forefathers. The soldiers of Charles Albert were equal to any in Europe, and they maintained this character in after-times in the great tournament of nations in the Crimea, and on the field of Solferino. Even the new levies and volunteers exhibited on some occasions—particularly in the defence of Rome and Messina—a courage worthy of a different fate. The real causes of the failure of the Italians were two, either of which is sufficient to account for it. The first of these was their own divisions. Their passion was for freedom and independence, and their rallying-cry "*Liberty and Unity!*" It was evident that the first could be won only by commencing with the last. How did they set about it? The Sicilians, in the very outset, revolted against the Neapolitans, and drew upon themselves the Swiss Guard, which might have turned the scale in the contest in Northern Italy; next the Romans rose up against the Pope, the first leader in Italian reform, and paralysed the Papal regular troops previously engaged on the side of Italy; the Lombards, on the first reverse, besieged Charles Albert in his hotel at Milan, and fired into his windows; the Venetians set up for themselves in

their islands on the Adriatic ; the inhabitants of Leghorn rose in insurrection against the authority of Florence ; the people of Tuscany expelled the Archduke from his dominions ; the Liberals of Genoa strove to shake off the rule of Piedmont, and yielded to the dream of a Ligurian Republic ; Rossi attempted, out of these discordant materials, to form a league for mutual defence, and they murdered him. Thus, at the moment when Charles Albert was nobly contending with one of the greatest military powers on the Continent, intestine division paralysed all the forces from which he should have derived support in his rear. It is in these lamentable divisions, the result of separate interests and selfish ambition in the leaders of the movement in the chief Italian cities, that the chief cause of their common subjugation is to be found. What would have been the fate of England, if, when contending for life or death with Napoleon, Scotland had risen up against England, Wales against Scotland, Cornwall against both, and all Ireland had universally followed the seductive voice of the great Liberator ?

69. But though these divisions were without doubt the main cause of the overthrow of the Italians in the war of independence, they were not the only ones. Another source of weakness, scarcely less powerful, was to be found in the almost entire want of any regular military force in the Italian states, with the exception of Piedmont, when the war broke out. Except the guards of Naples and the Pope—which, being for the most part composed of Swiss or German mercenaries, were admirable soldiers—the states of Central and Southern Italy had scarcely any military forces worthy of the name. This want of real troops was deemed of no importance by the enthusiastic Liberals ; they thought the ardour for freedom, the passion for independence, would soon produce invincible soldiers. They are long found out their mistake. Their military ardour was essentially operatic ; it evaporated in public meetings, speeches, and pro-

cessions. The volunteers of Lombardy and Rome soon disappeared from the ranks of war on the Adige ; the new levies of Central and Southern Italy are scarcely ever mentioned, except to record their defeats, in the subsequent annals of the contest. We should err if we ascribed this uniform want of success to any inherent want of courage in the Italian people. It was the absence of previous preparation and military organisation which was the chief cause of their overthrow. No opinion is so erroneous, however generally entertained, as that it is possible to *improvise* soldiers, and that long previous preparation is unnecessary, because it is expensive, and they can be raised when required. Three or four years' training is required to make a real soldier. A nation which disregards this truth is always on the verge of destruction, because, on the first breaking-out of hostilities, it is sure to be defeated.

70. Perhaps, however, the senseless retention of these political divisions, and this general want of previous military preparation, in the Italian states at the commencement of the struggle, is to be itself ascribed to another and a more general cause. Nature has not been lavish of *all* her gifts to any one people, and experience has abundantly proved that the passionate longing after the ideal, which is the main-spring of excellence in the fine arts, is inconsistent with the practical view of things and sound good sense which is essential in this world to the attainment of the real. The Italians had fixed their desires on a confederacy of little republics, like the Greeks in ancient and their forefathers in mediæval times ; and they shut their eyes to the evident truth, that such a league could not maintain its ground for a month against the assault of any of the great military monarchies of Europe. Separate interests, individual ambition, prevailed over all considerations of the general good. In works of genius and imagination, in all the fine arts save poetry, the Italians are as superior in modern, as the Greeks were in ancient times, to any other people : Great Bri-

tain or France can exhibit nothing to compare with their painters, sculptors, and musical composers. But while the modern Italians, like the ancient Etruscans, have been absorbed in the contemplation of the ideal in the fine arts, the inhabitants of England and France, like the Romans in former days, have been intent only on the means of subduing mankind. Great Britain has not produced a painter like Raphael, a sculptor like Michael Angelo, a composer like Mozart: but she has colonised America and Australia; she has conquered India; and her language will be spoken over half the globe.

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore
vultus;
Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent;

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:

Ille tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

Æneid, vi. 849.

71. Whatever may be thought on this point, one thing is perfectly clear, and that is, that the Italians, in sighing for a united Italy, were not only desiring an unattainable object, but one which, if attained, would little realise the bright hopes they had conceived. This has been now decisively proved by the event; that rude test which has dispelled so many illusions and reversed so many opinions in this age. Unity all but complete has been given to Italy by the victories of Magenta

and Solferino, the filibustering expedition of Garibaldi in 1859, and subsequent successful invasion of the Neapolitan state. Italy from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, with the exception of the cities of Rome and Venice, has been united into one kingdom under the sceptre of Piedmont. What has been the result? The former capitals of Italy—Milan, Turin, Naples, Rome—have been degraded to the rank of provincial cities, and now mourn their lessened consequence and diminished concourse of strangers; a lingering civil war has ever since existed between the adherents of the old Government in Naples and the modern conquerors, which has filled the Neapolitan prisons with captives and its villages with slaughter. Ninety battalions are required to keep the conquered provinces in subjection, and the united kingdom can only be held together by an enormous military establishment altogether disproportioned to its resources. Since the Piedmontese conquest of the south of Italy, under the auspices of France and England, the direct taxes have been everywhere doubled, and a regular debt of £14,000,000 yearly has been contracted, which has now (1864) swelled into a floating debt this year of £19,000,000! Italy has added another to the numerous proofs which history has furnished, that revolution is the most costly game that nations can play at; and that popular governments, so far from being the most just and pacific, are the most aggressive and warlike of all the rulers of mankind.

CHAPTER LXXI.

GERMANY, BELGIUM, AND DENMARK, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 TO THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTIONS IN FRANKFORT AND BERLIN.

1. MORE even than the imaginative people of the Italian peninsula were the inhabitants of Germany shaken by the moral earthquake which cast down the throne of Louis Philippe in France. Among the Germans were found united nearly all the qualities likely to render that event the parent of great results—the Teutonic love of freedom; a turn of mind eminently speculative; an ardour which mocked at difficulties; an enthusiasm which despised danger. Widespread and profound had been the discontent which pervaded the German mind, when the solemn promises of free institutions, which had been made by the sovereigns during the war of liberation, were either openly broken or kept only in name, and Germany remained subject to military and despotic government, at a time when its inhabitants were teeming with energy, its cities resplendent with genius, its fields overspread with labourers, its commerce whitening the ocean with its sails. Many and zealous had been the efforts made by the people in every part of Central and Northern Germany to obtain from their sovereigns the performance of their promises; but all their efforts had proved unsuccessful.

2. In addition to these vehement political and social passions, there were others, of yet deeper origin and more lasting endurance, which were adding to the convulsion. The religious division of the northern and southern states, which had formerly so violently agitated the country, was indeed in a great measure lulled; but the opposite turn of mind which the Protestant and Catholic creeds had produced, still retained its influence.

The free-thinking student of the universities in Hanover or Prussia, who had adopted the whole creed of Rationalism, and aspired to introduce its independence into political institutions, was as much divided from the devout Austrian or Tyrolese, who mingled in their prayers the names of the "Heilig Vater" and "Kaisar," as the Jacobin of Paris was from the peasant of La Vendée. But in addition to this, there had now sprung up, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire, a still more serious and enduring cause of discord, in the ancient and now revived passions of RACE. Exposed by their geographical situation on the eastern frontier of Europe to the perpetual inroad of the Asiatic hordes, the oriental states of Germany contained in their bosom, beyond any other recorded in history, various and antagonistic families of mankind. Numerous and opposite conquerors had at different times swept over the land, and left on its surface descendants animated by passions as warm, and hostility as implacable, as had impelled their fathers from their native seats. The firm hand of government and weight of military power, resting on the strong martial passions of the people, had hitherto restrained these discordant feelings, and turned them to national rivalry rather than intestine broils. But the passions of race were compressed, not extinguished, and, on the first removal of the superincumbent weight, were ready to flare up in fearful violence.

3. AUSTRIA was, from its local situation, the most exposed to those discordant passions, and at the same time, by its weight and power, the most important state in the German confeder-

acy. Beyond any other country in Europe it had been exposed from the most remote antiquity to the inroads of those barbarous nations which, impelled by hunger or the lust of conquest from the wilds of Tartary, sought in the southern and highly-cultivated countries of Europe at once the relief of their necessities and the gratification of their desires. Vienna was on the direct line from Scythia to Rome. Hungary was the great alluvial plain which, however, attracted the wandering tribes bent on the invasion of the Lower Empire. Wave after wave of these formidable invaders had rolled over the country, according as the accumulation of other barbarians in rear impelled them forward, or the decline of the Empire in front weakened the barriers which kept them back. The dark-haired Celts first appeared, and being the original invaders, for the most part passed on and settled in Gaul, Italy, and the British Isles. They were succeeded by the blue-eyed Goths, with their flowing yellow locks and sturdy feelings of independence, who, having rested on the banks of the Danube, formed the basis of the present population of Upper and Lower Austria and Tyrol. The Slavonians followed, during the declining days of the Roman Empire, and, spreading over Moravia, Bohemia, Gallicia, and the north of Hungary, have left in their descendants the half of the whole present inhabitants of the Austrian Empire. The Magyars, an entirely distinct race, pre-eminent for their courage and energy, next settled (in the year 889) in the great plains of Middle Hungary, and have ever since formed the ruling power over its whole surface,

while the Wallachians occupied Transylvania and the eastern parts of Hungary. Meanwhile the descendants of the original Celtic invaders, pushed forward by the pressure from behind, penetrated the valleys of the Alps, and overspread the beautiful plains of Lombardy. Some of these races, especially the Magyars in Hungary and the Germans in Austria Proper, held the Celts and Slavonians in subjection on the same territory, and thence a lasting source of mutual irritation and heartburning, which were the main cause, when the bonds of society were loosened, of the extreme violence of the revolution, which all but dissolved the Austrian Empire.*

4. PRUSSIA was not so much distracted by variety of race and the effects of successive conquests as its great southern neighbour, but it contained other elements of discord not less formidable. Its inhabitants, consisting of Goths from southern Scandinavia, were the descendants of a bold and intrepid race, which had maintained on the banks of the Elbe, and in the Hyrcanian Forest, a desperate conflict, in defence of the gods and the rites of their fathers, with Rome when its strength was greatest, and afterwards with Charlemagne in the plenitude of his power. Second to no people in the world in courage and martial zeal, they were distinguished by that ardent love of freedom, mingled with the reverence for antiquity, which in every age has distinguished the Teutonic race, and which, by separating the passion for liberty from the desire of headlong innovation, has rendered its progress slower but more certain, and its ulti-

* The inhabitants of the Austrian Empire at this period were classified, according to the best statistical authorities, as follows.—

	Souls.
I. Germans in Upper and Lower Austria, Tyrol, part of Styria and Carinthia,	7,285,000
II. Slavonians in Moravia, Bohemia, Gallicia, Illyria, Croatia, Servia, and Northern Hungary,	17,033,000
III. Magyars in Central Hungary,	4,800,000
IV. Italians in Lombardy, Venetian States, and Southern Tyrol,	5,183,000
V. Wallachians,	2,156,000
VI. Jews,	475,000
VII. Gypsies,	123,000
Total,	37,060,000

mate triumph secure. This peculiarity in their character had caused them to embrace with ardour the doctrines of the Reformation, when they made their appearance in the latter part of the sixteenth century, while the slower and less energetic inhabitants of Southern Germany slumbered on in subjection to the dictates of the Vatican. The prevalence of the Protestant doctrines, which are eminently favourable to variety and independence of thought, had reacted in its turn, in the most powerful manner, on the progress of liberal opinions; and the ardent soldiers who had taken up arms in 1813 in the great war of liberation, returned home, after their triumphs, chanting the odes of Korner, and dreaming of the freedom of the Fatherland. The passion for liberty, accordingly, was much more ardent and widespread in Prussia, Saxony, Westphalia, Hanover, and the lesser central states of the confederacy, than in Southern Germany, where knowledge was much less broadly diffused, and the people were in general ranged for or against the new opinions according as they inhabited the towns or the country. Prussia was not without the causes of discord which spring from diversity of race and the heartburnings of successive conquests, for Silesia and Old Prussia contained great numbers of Slavonians, and in the provinces which had fallen to the lot of Prussia in the recent partition of Poland that race formed a decided majority of the inhabitants. But the heartburnings inevitable on that iniquitous act had been almost obliterated in Prussian Poland by the wise legislative measures and paternal administration which, as already explained, had so greatly

improved the condition of the people, that they had ceased to sigh for the restoration of their stormy Comitia and the licence of a democratic noblesse.*

5. Two most important effects had followed the triumph of the German arms in the latter years of the revolutionary war, and the formation of the confederacy which had secured for them the inestimable blessings of internal peace for three-and-thirty years. The first of these was the great increase of wealth, industry, and population, which had taken place during that long period of repose. The benefit of this suspension of all strife was felt the more sensibly from the contrast which it had exhibited to the ceaseless wars which had watered the German fields with blood, almost from the foundation of the states of modern Europe. Immense was the change when, by the triumphs of 1813 and the establishment of the formidable German confederacy, the evils consequent on these desolating wars were terminated—when the Rhine or the Niemen were no longer crossed by hostile hosts, and the German disposition, eminently pacific and industrious, had free scope for its exercise within the protected limits of the confederacy. During the three-and-thirty years, accordingly, which elapsed from 1815 to 1848, Germany over its whole extent, but especially in the north, had made extraordinary advances both in wealth and population. The inhabitants of Prussia during this period had increased sixty per cent; they had swelled from ten to sixteen millions. Its industry and resources had advanced in a still greater proportion. The same was the case almost in the same measure with the lesser central

* Landed property in Prussia is very much subdivided, and the number of separate possessions has greatly increased since 1848—a sure proof, when coupled with simultaneous augmentation of industry, of general wellbeing. From a statistical table published in 1858 it appears that

In 1849 the landowners in Prussia were	.	.	.	1,790,869
In 1855,				2,040,543
Waste lands reclaimed since 1849,				7,782,932 acres.
Possessions from 5 to 30 acres—in 1849,				502,208
" " " " " in 1855,				587,914 "
Possessions below 5 acres—in 1849,				990,846 "
" " " " " in 1855,				1,040,547 "

states, and even the huge Austrian monarchy had felt in an extraordinary degree the vivifying influences of this long period of repose.* With the enjoyment of peace and prosperity had sprung up, as a natural consequence, a general desire for the free institutions enjoyed by other countries in a similar state of civilisation and advancement; and the long eluding of the promises

* POPULATION OF THE UNDER-MENTIONED STATES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AT THE UNDER MENTIONED PERIODS.

States.	Population in 1818.	Population afterwards.	Extent in German square miles.	Proportion to square mile.
1. German states of Austria,	9,496,753	11,725,540 in 1839	3580.5	3,325
2. " of Prussia,	8,187,220	11,388,168 " 1840	3365.94	3,689
3. " of Bavaria,	3,513,490	4,440,327 " 1843	1394.3	3,231
4. Saxony,	1,206,034	1,757,800 " 1843	271.83	6,755
5. Hanover,	1,314,490	1,755,592 " 1842	698.65	2,517
6. Wurtemberg,	1,397,451	1,701,726 " 1841	360.4	4,815
7. Baden,	1,001,630	1,335,200 " 1843	278.5	4,846
8. Hesse-Cassel,	545,208	732,073 " 1846	208.9	3,501
9. Hesse-Darmstadt,	633,626	852,679 " 1846	177.	5,409
10. Holstein and Lauenburg,	359,985	526,850 " 1845	175.5	3,002
11. Luxembourg,	214,058	389,319 " 1847	86.7	3,853
12. Nassau,	302,769	412,298 " 1843	82.27	5,082
13. Brunswick,	209,527	268,946 " 1843	72.68	3,731
14. Mecklenburg Schwerin,	351,908	528,163 " 1848	228	2,317
15. Oldenburg,	275,471	278,909 " 1846	113.95	2,448
16. Frankfurt-on-Maine,	47,372	68,240 " 1846	1.8	37,911
17. Hamburg,	129,739	188,054 " 1846	7.1	26,559

—*Gazetteer of World*, voce "Germany," p. 572 London, 1856

For the population of Germany in 1861, see *ante*, vol. iv., chap. xxvii. sec 7, note.

MEAN VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM AND IMPORTS INTO AUSTRIA, 1831-45.

Years	Imports Florins	Exports Florins	Custom Receipts
1831-35	80,641,128	87,605,000	11,940,022
1836-40	102,854,914	102,184,185	15,218,659
1841-45	115,455,000	111,854,587	16,282,945

—*Gazetteer of World*, voce "Austria," p. 466

In the Zollverein, in Northern Germany, the movement of industry since the peace may be judged of by the following figures —

Years	Zollverein Customs Thalers	Population.
1834.	14,515,000	23,478,000
1845.	27,422,532	28,498,000

VALUE OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS INTO ZOLLVEREIN

	Exports—Dollars	Imports—Dollars
1845.	178,035,000	219,603,000
1846.	170,764,000	221,488,000

—*Ibid.*, "Germany," p. 578.

Roman Catholics in Germany in 1846, exclusive of Hungary

and Poland,	18,016,000
Protestants,	12,030,000

POPULATION OF AUSTRIA IN

1818,	29,813,586
1837,	35,878,861
1848,	36,201,671

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 467

RELIGIOUS DIVISION OF AUSTRIAN EMPIRE IN 1841.

Catholics,	24,685,527
Greek Church,	6,450,396
Protestants,	3,287,575
Jews,	665,447
Other sects,	49,764

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 468.

made for their concession had at length inflamed this desire into a perfect passion.

6. The next circumstance which had generally prepared the German mind for revolutionary convulsion was the universal diffusion of education. The care of this important branch of public economy had not been left to individuals, but had been almost everywhere taken up by the Government; and the education by parents of their children was in many states not merely recommended as a duty, but enforced as an obligation by the executive. No less than 27,000 primary schools existed in Prussia, and 1000 colleges or academies, almost all maintained at the public expense. In all Germany there were at this time 6,000,000 children at school, being 1 in 7 of the entire population. Those in Prussia were 2,328,000, out of 15,473,000 inhabitants in 1843; in Saxony 303,506, out of 1,709,000 souls. The German rulers having great standing armies at their command, and, in the Catholic states at least, the entire control of the books which were to be read, both at school and for the most part after it, deemed it perfectly safe to give this vast extension to general education. Nay, they thought, with Napoleon and the Chinese emperor, that, by affording the means of regulating the *thoughts* of men, they would succeed in establishing government on a much stronger basis than could ever be done by means of material coercion, because they would take away from their subjects even the desire to revolt. They were yet to learn that, whatever may be the enervating effect of the universal power of reading, while coexisting with a despotic government, and a press enslaved either by the bayonets of soldiers or the precepts of a priesthood, nothing but tumult and dissension were to be anticipated from it when first introduced into a country where free discussion has become unavoidable, either from external influence or internal determination.

7. A third circumstance at this period rendered revolution in a peculiar manner formidable and hard to resist

in Germany, arising from the general arming of the people, which had been forced upon the country by the severities of the French invasion. It has been already explained how Baron Scharnhorst, when Prussia was constrained, by the treaty forced upon it by Napoleon in 1806, to have only forty thousand men under arms, contrived to elude it by keeping the soldiers only three years with their colours, and thereby training triple the number to the use of arms who at any one time were present with the standards. Beyond all doubt it was this admirable system which was the main cause of the successful resurrection of Prussia in 1813, and the glorious stand which she then made on behalf of the liberties of Europe. The perception of the advantages derived by the cabinet of Berlin from this system led to its general adoption by the lesser German states, and to its becoming in a manner a fundamental principle of government in the whole of northern and central Germany. Everywhere the whole male inhabitants, without distinction of social position, between eighteen and twenty, were liable to serve in the ranks of the regular army, in which they did duty for three years. They then retired into pacific life, to make way for others, who were to go through the same system of military training, discipline, and dismissal. In this way the whole male population was trained to the use of arms. Immense was the effect of this military organisation both in war and peace, but with directly opposite tendencies. As much as it multiplied the means of defence and national strength, in the event of foreign invasion or external warfare, did it augment the public danger when internal dissensions arose, and Government was called on to make a stand against internal revolt; for it brought them into contact, not with undisciplined mobs, but with experienced soldiers. Hence the common saying in Germany in 1848, that it was no wonder the sovereigns were overthrown, for their enemies were all old soldiers, and their defenders were young recruits.

8. To these observations on the tendency in periods of civil trouble of the military organisation of Germany, an exception, and a very important one, must be made of the Austrian army. The great military force of this vast monarchy, amounting on its peace establishment to 286,000 men, besides 54,000 in the military colonies, was raised on a different principle. The soldiers were there all enrolled for twenty-one years, whether raised by voluntary enrolment or conscription; and every regiment consisted of three battalions, two of which were on active service in any part of the monarchy, while the third remained as a depot in the circle to which it belonged, to train the recruits to their military duties. The early disasters which Radetsky sustained on the breaking out of the revolution in Lombardy, were, as already mentioned, mainly owing to this cause. The whole depot battalions in Lombardy, forming nearly a third of the effective military force to the south of the Alps, went over to the insurgents on the first raising of the standard of independence in Milan. But in other parts of the Empire the fidelity of the troops, owing chiefly to this peculiarity in their organisation, was attended with the most important effects. Generally speaking, with the exception of the Hungarians, with whom the war speedily assumed a national character, the troops remained loyal; and even these continued faithful to their colours in Radetsky's army. Beyond all doubt, it was this fidelity of the soldiers, in the midst of the defection of the greater part of the nation, which saved at its utmost need the Austrian monarchy.* The soldiers formed—as they generally come to do when long embodied, and especially after having gone through real service together—a body apart, with which military honour and fidelity to their colours were the ruling

motives to action. The citizen had come to be forgotten in the soldier. There is no doubt that the growth of such a military caste at the command of government may often be attended with danger to public liberty; but, situated as the Austrian Empire was, composed of various and hostile races, and surrounded by powerful military monarchies, it was the only force which could either defend or hold together the State.*

9. The great question at issue between the aristocratic and democratic party in Germany, as in Great Britain at the passing of the Reform Bill, was the principle on which the national representation should be founded. The former contended for a representation of "estates," that is, of *classes of society*; the latter for a simple representation of numbers, told by head, as in Spain by the constitution of 1812. The dispute on this subject was of very old standing, and had begun when the terms of the Federal Act first came under discussion. Baron Stein, the celebrated and able Prussian minister, then proposed that the famous 13th clause of that act, which embraced this subject, should run thus: "A popular representation shall be introduced into every state of the confederacy." This was strenuously opposed by Prince Metternich, who contended that it should be altered to this: "Assemblies of *estates* shall find a place in every state of the confederacy."† The difference here was more than verbal; it lay at the foundation of the whole question. Nearly all the German states already had a "Ständische Verfassung," or representation of the people in their several classes; and they were divided into four sec-

* This system has since been altered, and the soldiers in the Austrian army are now enrolled for a short period of service only—with what a fatal effect upon the efficiency of the army the Italian campaign of 1859 testifies. Drill is speedily acquired by young soldiers, but real efficiency in the field is the gift of old soldiers alone.

† Stein's article was,—"In jedem Bundesstaat soll eine Volksvertretung eingeführt werden;" Metternich's,—"In jedem Bundesstaat eine Ständische Verfassung wird Staat finden."—BAUER, WIEN, 1848.

* The soldiers of the Austrian army, when the insurrection broke out in 1848, were divided by race as follows.—"105,486 Germans; 104,000 Slavonians; 44,000 Hungarians; 60,000 Italians"—*Universal Gazetteer*, 473, "Austria." A proportion perilous in the extreme when a war of races begins.

tions—the clergy, or “Geistlichkeit;” the higher nobility, or “Herrenstand;” the common landowners, or “Ritterstand;” and the citizens of towns, or “Burgherstand.” In the Tyrol, as in Sweden, the peasants, or non-noble owners of land, formed an order by themselves, and the whole nobility, higher and lower, one only. All the members of the estates met in one house, and the votes were taken by head. They had no legislative power, their duties being chiefly to apportion the public burdens among the different classes of society, and to regulate matters of local interest. The influence of Austria prevailed in this dispute, and the 13th article was drawn as Metternich desired. This, however, was very far indeed from meeting the views of the Liberal party. They wished to have, as in Spain by the constitution of 1812, one deputy for every seventy thousand inhabitants. The parties, therefore, split upon a vital point, regarding which it was next to impossible to effect a compromise; for the concession of the demands of the Liberals would have vested the uncontrolled government of the country in the lowest class, because the most numerous; and the retention of the existing system would have continued it, without any effectual restraint, in the privileged ones.

10. The system of estates in Hungary differed essentially from that in the proper German states: it was purely aristocratic, without any intermixture of the other classes, or any semblance even of control over their proceedings. The legislature there consisted, as in Great Britain, of two chambers, but there the resemblance to the English constitution ceased. The House of Lords was composed of hereditary great magnates; the Elective, of deputies from the higher clergy, the free towns, the lesser landholders, and the widows of magnates. But of these the deputies from the country, who required to be themselves magnates, and elected by magnates, were alone entitled to vote; the deputies of the free towns were only entitled to sit and speak, without voting. The whole

legislature was thus in the hands of the magnates, who were, with very few exceptions, Magyars, and thus influenced not only by the interests and prejudices of rank, but by the still more inveterate and dangerous feelings of race. This difference rendered the revolution much more widespread and perilous in Hungary than in any other country of Europe; for there it was not so much the revolt of the people against the Government, as a great aristocratic movement of a third of the inhabitants, composing the dominant race, to secure their exclusive privileges alike against the sovereign above and the burghers and working class below them.

11. The exclusive privileges which, in this highly aristocratic state, the nobles had come to enjoy, far exceeded those in possession of the French nobility before the Revolution, and were such as would seem incredible, if not proved by authentic evidence. They are thus described by one of the latest authorities on the subject, whose testimony is the more valuable that he belongs to the aristocratic interest: “So great were the privileges of the Hungarian nobility, that the person of the noble and his property were alike inviolable: no creditor could either arrest the former or attach the latter. He and his servants were relieved from every impost, national or local. The charges of the State were borne exclusively by the *misera plebs contribuens*, as they were called. To such a length had the abuse of these privileges been carried, that the nobles and their servants paid no toll on passing the bridge of Pesth, though it constituted one of the principal sources of revenue enjoyed by the town. The peasants, bourgeoisie, and mechanics were alone burdened with it. The peasant alone was liable for the hearth-tax; he alone contributed to the expenses of the Diet and the county charges; he paid the dues of the schoolmasters, guards, notaries, clergy, and curates; he alone kept up the roads, the bridges, the churches, the public buildings, the dykes, and the canals; he alone was burdened with

the whole war-taxes, and furnished the recruits to the army; and in addition to all this, he was compelled to hand over a ninth of his income to his lord, and to give him fifty-two days' service in the year. In fine, besides the charge of transporting wood for his lord's family, he was burdened exclusively with the quartering of soldiers; and he was compelled at all times, and for a merely nominal remuneration, to furnish such to the county authorities or their attendants. The Spartan Helots were kings in comparison."* There are certainly sufficient causes here to account for a revolution, and probably render it inevitable; but the extraordinary thing is, that it began in, and was mainly supported by, not the *misera plebs contribuens*, but the haughty Magyar nobles, who lived upon these iniquitous exactions.

12. The demand for equal and uniform representation was not the only one which had arisen in Germany. Another cry had been heard, connected with the former, and deemed indispensable to secure its full and secure development; this was the wish in Germany, as in Italy, for **UNITY**. The inhabitants had felt so long and so bitterly the evils of divided government and the contests of sovereigns within the confederacy, that the first desire, when invested at all with the power of self-government, was to mould the confederacy into a real empire, ruled by one government, governed by one set of laws, and directed by one sovereign. Comparing the distracted state of Germany anterior to the formation of the confederacy in 1815, with the power and influence of France on the one side, and Russia on the other, they were impressed with the idea, which was undoubtedly in a great degree well founded, that the superior strength and weight of these powers were owing to their homogeneous character and unity of government. If Germany, with its forty millions of inhabitants and two thousand walled cities, were similarly united, it would,

from the advantages of its central situation, compact territory, fertile and yet varied surface, and numerous navigable rivers, soon acquire still greater influence, and become, beyond all question, the leading state in Europe, commanding at once internal peace and securing external respect.* Such was the dream of the patriots and Liberal leaders in Germany—a dream largely intermingled with truth, and rendered difficult of realisation only from the contending interests and separate jealousies of the various nations and chiefs composing the confederacy.

13. The jealousy of the Cabinet of Berlin of Austrian influence, and their desire to establish a preponderating ascendancy in the north of Germany, had led to another change in political institutions some time before, which powerfully contributed to swell the same cry for unity in the central government. The Prusso-Bavarian league which, under the name of **ZOLLVEREIN** (toll-alliance), was established at the time when the ferment of Liberal opinions was very strong in 1833, and came into full operation in 1834, had this effect in a remarkable degree. This league, as already mentioned, embraced Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, and a number of lesser states, including all Central and Northern Germany, and containing a population of twenty-four million souls.† Its object was twofold: 1. To establish a perfect freedom of commercial intercourse, and mutual abolition of all duties on import and export within the states of the union, and levy one uniform rate of impost on all foreign productions; the produce of the taxes being remitted to a common treasury, from whence it was proportionally divided between the states comprising the union. 2. To establish so considerable a tax on all imports as should effectually exclude

* By the census of 1861 the inhabitants of the Germanic Confederation have risen to 45,013,034.—*Almanach de Gotha* for 1864, p. 470.

† For an account of the origin and progress of the league, see *ante*, vol. iv. chap. xvii. § 63-66.

* BALLEVDIER, *Rev. d'Autriche*, i. 22, Introduction.

the competition of foreign industry. This last part of the system was specially levelled at the English manufactures. "We should not have complained," said the *German Künke*, in 1835, "that all our markets were overflowing with British manufactures—that Germany received in British cotton goods more than the whole British subjects in India—had not England, while she was inundating us with her productions, insisted on closing her markets to ours. Mr Robinson's resolutions in 1815 had in fact excluded our corn from the ports of Great Britain. She told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals. We vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity; but we were disappointed, and we were compelled to take care of ourselves." This is a manful statement of the principles of free trade; and if the Germans had acted accordingly, they would be entitled to credit for having thus early enunciated them. But they have not done so; their reciprocity has been all on one side. England took off the whole duties on grain in 1846, and materially lowered those on foreign animals and other rural productions; but the governments of the Zollverein made no advance towards a similar concession; and through all the states of the union the import duties, where not raised, continue at the original rate—nominally of ten per cent on the declared, in reality of from thirty to forty per cent on the real value. Nay, in 1845, the very year when free trade was in course of being carried in Great Britain, increased duties were introduced over the whole of the Zollverein on foreign iron and cotton yarns, the principal articles of British export.

14. The effects of this change have been very great, both upon the material prosperity and the moral feelings of the German people. Since it was introduced, the internal trade of the different states of the union with each other has very much increased, and their industry, being in a great measure shel-

tered from foreign, and especially British competition, has largely augmented. In 1834, when the population of the Zollverein states was 23,478,000, the custom-house receipts were 14,515,000 thalers; in 1845, when the population was 28,498,000, they had risen to 27,422,000 thalers; in 1850, when the population had swelled to 29,803,000, the receipts were still 22,144,000 thalers, notwithstanding the effects of the monetary crisis of 1847 and Revolution of 1848 in checking both consumption and industry; and in 1862, when the population was 34,670,000, they were 25,846,000 thalers. The industry of the union, as measured by its imports and exports, had increased in a similar proportion. Great as had been the effect of this expansion of domestic industry upon the material prosperity, it was still greater upon the moral and political feelings, of Central and Northern Germany. The influence of Prussia was greatly increased by the change, for the lesser states thereby found their own prosperity wound up with hers; and, by making the petty sovereigns chiefly dependent for their future revenues on the permanence of the union, she rendered their fidelity to her in peace and war the condition of their existence as independent princes.

15. While so many causes were conspiring to spread far and wide in Germany the passion for change, and longing after an undefined future, which is the first stage of the revolutionary fever, another circumstance, arising partly from the original character of the general mind, partly from their geographical and political circumstances, rendered the malady in its case peculiarly violent and dangerous. The situation of the empire in the heart of Europe having rendered the maintenance of great standing armies the condition of existence, the larger states had at their command huge bodies of armed men. Relying on the support of these formidable prætorians, the Governments everywhere thought there could be no danger, but rather the reverse, in permitting an unlimited freedom of writing

and publishing upon all subjects, excepting such as touched on the forbidden field of politics, or as concerned the actual administration of affairs. This state of things fell in singularly with the peculiar turn of the German mind, which, especially in the north, eminently imaginative and speculative, was by nature turned rather to the contemplation of the ideal than the improvement of the real. Thus the minds of men, in a country where education and the power of reading were universal, were habituated to the most perilous of all exercises in a political point of view—that of bringing to the solution of subjects of thought, not the powers of reason, but the flights of imagination; not the lessons of experience, but the visions of fancy.

16. So completely had the minds of men in Germany been prepared by these causes, and the skilful use which the Liberal leaders in Switzerland and Italy had made of them, for a great and general convulsion, that when the news arrived of the revolution in Paris and the fall of Louis Philippe, it seemed as if the match had been suddenly applied to a train previously laid, with branches in every direction. Unlike the first French revolution, during which the progress of the new opinions had been slow, and they had to surmount vigorous resistance from the privileged classes in every quarter and at every step, it was now immediate and almost universal. Instead of taking up arms, as they had done both in 1792 and 1830, in their own defence, the Governments of the adjoining states at once yielded to the tempest, and sought only, by immediately bending, to escape its fury. Great resistance was made in several quarters in the end, and the conservative cause was generally at last triumphant; but in the beginning nothing of the kind was thought of, and the annals of the German powers for some months are nothing but a series of encroachments imperiously made by the revolutionists, and concessions weakly, but generally unavoidably, yielded by the sovereigns.

17. BELGIUM was the country where,

from proximity of situation, and the news of the Paris convulsion being first received, the shock was earliest felt, and where at the same time, from the government being of a revolutionary character, it might be expected to be most violent. The effects of the blow, however, were lessened, and the throne of Leopold surmounted the concussion, partly by moderation on the part of the Liberal leaders, partly by wisdom and address on that of the sovereign. Knowing that he had no legal title to the throne, unless his election by the people could be esteemed such, Leopold most prudently took the initiative. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the fall of Louis Philippe, than he convoked (Feb. 26) the council of his ministers, and after reminding them that the throne of Belgium had been none of his seeking, offered to resign if they thought it would avert calamity, or conduce to the public welfare. The ministers replied that the form of a constitutional monarchy was the one best adapted to the wishes of the Belgian people; that the republican form of government was neither suited to their habits nor adapted to their wishes; and that the existing constitution, having been approved by a constituent assembly, the organ of the public will, and nominated by an immense majority of electors, might be considered as a fair index to the wishes of the people. The result proved that their opinion was well founded: the spirit of the nation was still, as in former days, religious and monarchical, not freethinking and revolutionary. The King retained the throne: the democratic societies in Brussels all met on the following evening (Feb. 27), and attempted a revolutionary movement; but although at their bidding some crowds assembled in the streets, there was no general movement, and a few of the leaders were arrested without difficulty. On the day following, the Minister of the Interior announced an electoral law, in virtue of which the franchise was fixed at the lowest point allowed by the constitution—viz. twenty florins yearly from real property (40s.), being nearly the same as the lowest point of the

county qualification in England. By this change the number of electors was at once doubled; and the liberal intentions of Government were soon after still further evinced by another law, which reduced the qualification for municipal councils to forty francs annually (36s.) These timely and wise concessions gave general satisfaction, and so completely disarmed the extreme democratic party, that when the French revolutionists, who were by no means satisfied with these temperate reforms, endeavoured to penetrate into the country, they were, as already mentioned, met and with ease defeated by the loyal troops of Leopold. The existing government was soon after still further strengthened by a document from the pen of M. Potter, who had taken so active a part in the revolution of 1830, in which he exhorted his countrymen to rest contented with the real freedom which they enjoyed under their constitutional monarch, and not to endanger it by aspiring after a perilous and impracticable republican regime.

18. But although Belgium thus avoided the great risk of a change of government on the occurrence of the French revolution, yet it could not escape the serious evils arising from the shock given to commercial credit, and through it to general industry. They fell with unmitigated severity in that great emporium of mercantile and manufacturing industry; England itself did not suffer more severely. The discounts at the Bank of Brussels, which in 1847 had been 164,200,000 francs, sank in 1848 to 87,900,000; and the current accounts fell from 183,000,000 to 96,000,000 francs. The general panic soon rendered the payment of notes in cash impossible. But the Government acted with equal energy and prudence on this trying occasion. By a law passed on 20th March 1848, cash payments were suspended, and the Bank was authorised to issue inconvertible notes to a limited extent. Under protection of this law, the notes of the Bank in circulation, which during the panic had fallen to 3,000,000 francs, rose before the end of the year to 10,300,000 francs. The other great

banking establishment, the "Société Générale de Bruxelles," was at the same time authorised to issue notes of 20 francs and 5 francs to support the circulation during the temporary absence of specie; and their circulation, also protected, rose from nineteen millions to thirty-two millions. The notes of neither establishment underwent any depreciation, notwithstanding the large increase in their paper circulation—a clear proof that it was issued in sufficient but not excessive quantities. The consequence was, that public credit was restored by this seasonable support to the banking establishments, and industry revived so quickly, that Government were enabled, before the end of the year, to surrender to the towns the tax on personal property and patents, in consideration of their giving up the *octroi* on articles of consumption imported into them, which had been loudly complained of. These changes, and the effects of the crisis, occasioned a deficit in the public accounts for the year of 9,000,000 francs, which in the next was more than compensated by a reduction in the army, the cost of which was lessened to the extent of nearly a half of what it had been ten years before. This mode of dealing with the monetary crisis of 1848, which was exactly the same as has been shown to have been adopted in France at the same period, is well worthy of observation, for both were diametrically the reverse of that followed in England during the corresponding time of suffering. France and Belgium sought to supply the want of a metallic currency, temporarily drawn away, and to support a credit for the time shaken, by a temporary issue of notes to a limited extent, to be withdrawn when no longer required, to supply the place of the former and uphold the latter; England was resolute to adhere to a system which forcibly contracted the notes when credit was all but ruined by the withdrawal of the gold. The former said, "If the beef is taken away, give the soldiers more bread;" the latter, "If the beef is taken away, *take away the bread also*, and all will soon be right."

19. HOLLAND also felt, though in a lesser degree, the shock of 1848, both in politics and commerce. Being the advanced post of the legitimate monarchies, it was sure to be exposed to the first blows of the revolutionary power, if hostilities broke out; and accordingly military preparations were made throughout the whole country on a very extensive scale. The whole militia or landwehr, for 1845, 1846, and 1847, were called out, and a considerable addition was made to the regular army. But these defensive preparations were accompanied by wise and timely concessions to public opinion, violently agitated there as elsewhere by the events which had taken place in France. On the 26th February, immediately on receipt of the news from Paris, a project for certain fundamental changes in the constitution was submitted to the King by the Council of State, and approved by him, after which the Chambers were convoked to take them into consideration. The result of their deliberations was a new constitution, which was formally promulgated on the 14th October. By it Holland received the whole immunities of a free government, and her inhabitants came to enjoy nearly the same rights and liberties as those of Great Britain. All traces of the aristocratic privileges retained by the constitution of 1815 were swept away. All citizens were, without distinction of rank or creed, made eligible to all employments; the King's person was declared inviolable, but his ministers responsible. He commanded the forces by sea and land, declared war and made peace, and nominated to all public offices with the advice of his ministers. The States-General were to be still divided into two chambers, but their composition and mode of appointment were changed. The members of the Upper House, who by the constitution of 1815 were all named by the King, were to be no longer appointed by him, but by the provincial estates, and to be taken from a roll of the persons paying the highest amount of direct taxes within their respective limits. They were to

be elected for nine years, and to receive an annual salary from Government of 3000 florins, or £300, a-year. The lower chamber was elected for four years, and to be chosen by all persons paying above 20 florins (£2) and below 160 florins (£16) a-year. A deputy was to be chosen for every 45,000 inhabitants; and, to be eligible for the second chamber, the candidates were required to be above 30 years of age. This chamber was exclusively invested with the right of voting taxes and supplies, which was to be done annually, and with that of proposing and moving amendments to laws. The debates in both chambers were to be open, and published in the newspapers; and the people enjoyed the right of petitioning either the local estates or the general legislature, as well as, under certain limitations, that of meeting in public to discuss their grievances or express their wishes. These provisions contained the whole elements of real freedom, and made as large concessions to democracy as were consistent with its existence.

20. While the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland were reaping in this manner the fruits of a sage administration on the part of their respective governments, and moderation on that of their people, the lesser states in Germany were falling one after another, with unheard-of rapidity, before the revolutionary tempest. Such was the swiftness with which the storm advanced, and the universality of the overthrow which it effected, that it could be compared to nothing but a tropical tornado sweeping over the land, and overturning in its fury, towers, churches, and palaces. Nothing like it had ever been witnessed in the civilised world before, and probably never will again. On the 29th February the Government at Carlsruhe, to allay the hourly-increasing effervescence, announced to the Chamber of Deputies that they were about to bring forward proposals for the liberty of the press, trial by jury, and the general arming of the people; and on the evening of the same day the citizens, already armed, thronged the

streets, and the rule had slipped out of the hands of the sovereign. At Stuttgart, on the 2d March, an assembly of bourgeois addressed to the monarch a petition, in which they demanded the immediate convocation of a German parliament, the institution of trial by jury, the entire liberty of the press, equality in taxes and privileges, the abolition of *corvées*, and general arming of the people. A decree, announcing the speedy convocation of the Estates, was the consequence of that petition. In the Duchy of Nassau, a similar petition, on the same day, led to a similar result. On the 3d March the German Diet sitting at Frankfort yielded to the loud and menacing demand of the public voice, passed a decree virtually abandoning all general control or right of direction over the confederacy, and permitting every separate state to regulate the liberty of the press within its dominions as it deemed expedient. On the 9th the same body adopted a tricolor flag—black, red, and gold being taken as the arms of the confederation. At Cologne a tumult got up, and a petition was largely signed and paraded through the streets, demanding universal suffrage and popular government, unrestricted liberty in speech and publishing, the abolition of the standing army, general arming of the people, security for employment to all by the Government, and education of all at the public expense.*

21. When such extravagant ideas were fermenting in the public mind, it was not to be expected that the sovereigns of the lesser German states could oppose any effectual resistance to the torrent. In truth, they were so thunderstruck by the Revolution at Paris, and so overawed by the great parent democracy on the other side of the Rhine, which they expected every moment to burst in armed bands of liberators upon them, that they nowhere attempted it. Concession to whatever was demanded was universal and immediate. At Munich public

discontent had been long excited by the avowed influence of Lola Montes, a celebrated dancer whom the King had created Countess of Landsfeld, over the royal mind, and the Revolution of Paris blew it into a flame. The Countess having taken a body of students, named *Allemanden*, under her protection, they were publicly insulted (Feb. 9) by the other students; and matters became so serious that, by a royal ordinance, the university was closed for a year. This strong step excited such indignation, that tumults arose, in the course of which death ensued, barricades were erected, the King himself was slightly wounded, and the Countess, after having had her hotel pillaged, was obliged to leave the country.* Matters being in this distracted state, the intelligence of the French Revolution, which immediately after arrived, brought matters to a crisis. On the 3d March the King dissolved the Lower Chamber, and announced the meeting of the new one for the 30th May; but this was far too long a delay for the movement party. On the next day a tumultuous mob passed the windows of the royal palace, and proceeded to pillage the arsenal, where they got arms in abundance; and the King, having no longer any means of resistance, two days after issued a decree convoking the Chamber for the 16th March, and at once abolishing the censorship of the press, and ordering the army to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution. On the 5th March the Grand-Duke of Baden, destitute of all means of resistance, convoked the Chambers, publicly acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, and established a National Guard; the King of Würtemberg engaged to establish civic guards and abolish feudal rights; at Weisbaden similar concessions were made by the reigning prince; while at Heidelberg a body of democrats, self-elected as rulers of the empire,

* Her subsequent history exceeded all that fiction had ever figured of the marvellous; and after displaying her charms and exhibiting the violence of her temper in California and the United States, she died at length in great poverty. She was of Scotch origin, and was born in Montrose.

* BALLEVD. *Rev. d'Autriche*, i. 13, 14; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 386, 387; GARNIER PAGES, *Hist. de la Rev.* de 1848, i. 361-364.

published a declaration, stating that the existing Diet at Frankfort did not possess the confidence of the nation, and appointing a standing committee to arrange the preliminaries for a real representation of the people over the whole confederacy. On the same day the King of Saxony issued an edict, making an entire change in the ministry in favour of the Liberals, and ordering the immediate convocation of a chamber to settle the basis of a new constitution.

22. It might have been expected that, though the lesser states of the confederacy were unable to resist the storm which set in with such violence from the left bank of the Rhine, the case would be different with the great military monarchies which were farther removed from the scene of danger, and possessed a powerful armed force to support authority and stifle insurrection. But it was just the reverse: the tornado fell with more violence, and speedily produced effects more important, at Vienna and Berlin than at Munich or Dresden. In the Prussian capital the panic was extreme when the intelligence from Paris first arrived; nothing less than an immediate invasion by the arms of France was anticipated. Meetings in consequence were held, at which petitions were agreed to, and straightway signed, especially at Coblenz, Dusseldorf, and the other cities in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, praying for a general arming of the people, and the immediate concession of all the points on which the two Chambers had agreed at their last sitting; and the King, to appease the public mind, had no alternative but to accede to the demand. On the 11th of the same month, a programme of the changes intended to be introduced was published by the Government, by which absolute liberty of the press was at once conceded in the mean time, and hopes were held out of a law for a common constitution of the whole confederacy. From the early and decided step thus taken by the Prussian Government, which in this manner put itself at the head of the *Liberal Unitarians* of Germany, it

was evident that they had in view a great augmentation of the ascendancy of Prussia in the revolutionised federation, and that visions were already entertained of an imperial crown, supported by the Liberal states, adding fresh lustre to the house of Brandenburg.

23. This was rendered still more apparent by a royal proclamation, issued on the 18th March, in which the King said, "Above all, we demand that Germany shall be transformed from a confederation of states *into one federal state*. We acknowledge that to effect this a temporal federal representation must be formed out of the chambers of all German states, and convoked immediately. We demand a general military system for Germany, and we will endeavour to form it after that model under which our Prussian armies reaped such unfading laurels in the war of independence. We demand that the German federal army be assembled under one single federal banner, and we hope to see a federal commander-in-chief at its head. We demand a German federal flag; and we expect that the period is not far remote when a German fleet shall cause the German name to be respected on the ocean. We demand a federal tribunal for the settlement of all differences between princes and their states, as between different German governments. We demand a common law of settlement for all Germany, and an absolute right of all Germans mutually to migrate to any part of the Fatherland. We demand the abolition of all custom-houses which shall impede the internal commerce of all German states; a general Zollverein for the whole of Germany, and an entire uniformity of weights, measures, and coins throughout the entire union. We propose the same liberty of the press throughout all Germany, with the same guarantees against its abuse. To accomplish these our intentions, we convoke the general Diet for the 2d April; and in the mean time the censorship of the press is abolished, all laws relating thereto abrogated, and offences of the press against the

government or individuals are sent to the ordinary tribunals."

24. From the terms of this very remarkable instrument, it was evident not only that the King of Prussia was disposed to put himself at the head of the large party professing Liberal opinions in Prussia, but that he had embraced the views of the still more numerous body in the whole confederacy which aspired to restore a German empire, no longer a disjointed confederacy of independent states, but one powerful and united monarchy. It was not difficult to see who was designed for its head; and as it was not to be supposed that Austria would yield the palm, the confederacy, at the very threshold of its liberal advances, and when panting for pacific union, was threatened with a serious war between the rival aspirants for its direction. But ere this inevitable jealousy could break out in open acts, the direction of affairs was taken out of the hands of the King, and the Prussian Government afforded another example of the eternal truth, that those who aspire to acquire or retain the lead in public affairs by the support of the democracy, end by becoming puppets in its hands. The King of Prussia was virtually dethroned the very day after this proclamation had been issued. On the evening of the same day an immense crowd assembled in the König-Strasse and in the square in front of the palace, to testify their gratitude to the monarch who had thus early made such concessions, and loud acclamations rent the sky when he appeared at the balcony to receive the grateful homage of his subjects. But the extreme liberals and revolutionists had no intention of allowing the direction of the movement to remain in the hands of the Government; and in order to wrest it from them, and excite the popular passions against the sovereign, they determined to provoke a collision between the citizens and the royal troops. For this purpose, in the midst of the tumult and rejoicings at the appearance of the King at the balcony, a few shots were fired from the König-Strasse on a

squadron of cavalry, which were drawn up under the windows of the palace. At the same time barricades began to be erected in that street, within sight of the royal dwelling.

25. Upon this the cavalry moved forward to clear the square, but at a walk only, and without unsheathing their swords. At the same time two muskets were discharged from the infantry ranks, whether by accident or command is unknown, which was immediately followed by a general discharge of firearms from the mob in the König-Strasse and along the square. The students at the University were at the head of the insurrection; but it was soon supported by a battalion of the Guard, the Chasseurs of Neufchâtel, which joined the popular side. The cavalry now drew their sabres, and charged the mob in good earnest. A sanguinary conflict ensued, for the insurgents had among them a great number of old soldiers as well trained to arms as the royal troops, and the students combated with the utmost resolution. The conflict continued till nightfall, and even long after it had become dark, by the light of the burning houses, several of which were broken into, and, after being sacked, set on fire by the combatants. Overwhelmed with terror at this calamitous event, which cost sixty persons their lives, besides four times that number wounded, the King issued a proclamation, addressed to "my beloved Berliners," in which he expressed the utmost regret at the events which had occurred, and declared that the conflict had arisen from accident, and the shots first fired from the König-Strasse. Next morning the King gave token of his submission by accepting the resignation of his whole ministers, who were immediately succeeded by a new cabinet composed of known Liberals, at the head of which was Count d'Arnim, and M. d'Auerswald was made Minister of the Interior. On the 20th a general amnesty was proclaimed; the whole persons in custody on account of the insurrection were liberated without bail, and two additional ministers were appointed, known to

belong to the most advanced Liberals. And on the 22d the bodies of the citizens who had been killed in the affray on the evening of the 18th were paraded with great pomp before the royal palace, and the King was obliged to submit to the humiliation of inclining his head before the lifeless remains of those who had perished under the sabres of his guards. At the same time the King published a decree appointing a national guard in the capital, and ordered the royal troops to leave the city; and after riding through the streets in the German uniform, in the course of which he made repeated protestations of his anxious desire for German freedom, he issued two proclamations, in which he openly announced his intention of putting himself at the head of the restored and united German nation.

26. While these events were passing in Prussia, Bavaria had become the theatre of a revolution less bloody, but still more strange. A report got up, whether well founded or not is unknown, that the favourite, Lola Montes, had returned from her banishment, and was in secret lodged in the palace. Upon this the populace (17th March), dreading the removal of the Prince of Wallerstein, who had been appointed prime-minister on occasion of the former disturbances, rose up, and several conflicts ensued between them and the royal troops, in which the insurgents were generally worsted. But the public discontents soon assumed a more pacific but not less formidable form. A petition to have the favourite dismissed, and the popular demands conceded, was presented to the King, who was constrained to yield, and withdraw from the Countess her patent of naturalisation. An order was even issued to arrest her if she returned to Bavaria. On the 20th March, the King, overwhelmed with vexation, and seeing himself deprived of all real power, resigned the crown in favour of his son Maximilian, a man of thirty years of age, who immediately ascended the throne. The accession of this prince, who was married to a sister of the King of Prussia, was the signal of

a speech by the new sovereign to the assembled Chambers, specially convoked, in which he announced a general amnesty, the responsibility of the King's ministers, the liberty of the press, the general election of the deputies to the Lower Chamber by the people, an immediate and complete representation of the Palatinate in the Chamber, the redemption of seigniorial rights, the introduction of trial by jury, laws against the Jews, a revision of the regulations regarding the landwehr, and the general arming of the people. This was immediately followed by a change of ministry—the new cabinet being entirely composed of men of the most Liberal principles—Baron Thon de Dittmar, a noted leader of that party, being at its head.

27. Rapid and decisive as had been the triumph of the Liberals, both at Berlin and Munich, it ere long appeared that the people, as a whole, in neither country were unanimous on the recent changes, and that the seeds of future and frightful divisions were already sown while the *Io Pæans* of victory were still resounding through the streets of the great towns. The provinces first hoisted the signal of resistance. Some of them, in assemblies as numerous as that which had effected the revolution in the capital, openly condemned the changes effected on the 18th March, and stigmatised them as concessions extorted from an unwilling sovereign by a rebellious capital. This was in particular done in Pomerania, the old marquisate of Brandenburg, and the circle of Westphalia. The Poles, too, emulous of the movements of their Liberal brethren in Berlin, were already preparing a formidable agitation in the Grand-Duchy of Posen, and demanding an extension to them of the privileges won by their German fellow-subjects. The movement of the Prussian monarch in favour of a new German empire, of which he was to be the head, was loudly condemned in Bavaria and all the Catholic states of the south. At Munich the portrait of Frederick William was publicly burnt in the midst of the cheers of an immense

concourse of spectators. Pressed by so many difficulties without and within, the Liberal Prussian Ministry, installed on the 19th March amidst the smoke of the barricades, found itself unable to carry on the government. Ten days after he was appointed minister, Count d'Arnim was compelled (April 2) to retire from the cabinet, which was remodelled by large concessions to M. Camphausen and the extreme Liberals; and the new cabinet with difficulty held its ground till the 16th June, when a third ministry was appointed under the pressure of a second popular insurrection. The Catholics in the monarchy all took part against the Protestants and the new order of things; the Poles were preparing a revolt against both; the inhabitants of the country generally stood aloof, or openly condemned the encroachments of the Liberals in the towns; and Germany, while still resounding with the cry for a great and united Fatherland, was in reality threatened with the horrors of a war of races and a religious strife, superadded to the distractions of a social revolution.

28. The Prussian Estates, convoked for the 2d April, found themselves suddenly invested with the powers and called to the duties of a constituent assembly. Upon them had devolved the duty of fixing the basis of the new and liberal constitution of Prussia in a manner suitable to the new-born lights of the age and conformable to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. The first thing to be done was to fix the principles on which the elections for the popular part of the legislature were to be conducted—the *Reform Bill* of Prussia—upon which, if it remained durable, its future would in a great measure depend. The King, in opening the Assembly, did not disguise his expectation that his country, in taking a lead on this occasion, was in effect laying the corner-stone of the edifice on which the whole fabric of German liberty and independence was to be reared. "His Majesty," said the ministerial address, "has promised a

real constitutional charter, and we are assembled to lay the foundation-stone of the enduring edifice. We hope that the work will proceed rapidly, and that it will perfect a great constitutional system for the whole German race. The Government recognises in its mission the invigorating power of the State closing again the broken bounds of order, the reviving of confidence and credit, and the giving an upward impulse to trade and labour. It will endeavour to maintain peace without as long as the honour of Germany will permit, and to the honour of Germany also restore peace within."

29. Proceeding on these principles, the basis of the new constitution proposed by the King, unanimously and enthusiastically agreed to by the Chamber, were as follows: 1. Every householder of twenty-four years of age, not convicted of a crime, or having received public or parochial relief, to have a vote for the representation in the Lower House. 2. Every five hundred of the primary voters to elect one elector, to be determined by the absolute majority of votes. 3. Every householder of thirty years complete, in possession of civil rights, to be eligible as an elector. 4. Two deputies to be chosen for every town or district with a population of sixty thousand inhabitants, according to the census of 1846, and for every forty thousand more one deputy in addition. 5. The investigation of the legality of elections to be conducted by the Assembly itself, and the elections to be determined by a majority of votes written by the electors themselves, and conducted by the magistrates or municipal authorities. 6. The deputies to vote according to their own opinions, not according to any written instructions from their constituents. In regard again to the general constitution of the kingdom, the monarch promised that proposals should be laid before them providing for the freedom of the press, personal liberty, the right of meeting and petitioning, the publicity of judicial proceedings and *viva voce* examination of witnesses; trial by jury, especially in political cases;

abolition of heritable jurisdictions; equality of civil and political rights and of all persuasions; a general arming of the people; a popular law of election thoroughly representing all interests; a decisive ascendancy of a simple majority of the popular assembly in the administration and legislation of the state; the responsibility of ministers; and swearing of the army to the constitution.

30. This regulation of Prussia as to the election of members for their own Diet, of course, could bind no other state, and it was even doubtful how far that Diet possessed the power of electing the representatives of that state itself for the General Diet of the confederacy. Thinking, however, that they possessed that power, the Prussian Diet elected these representatives. This gave great offence to the General Diet, which maintained, with truth, that, by the existing constitution of the confederacy, its members were to be chosen by direct election for itself, and not by the suffrages of any other body; and as the Prussian Diet insisted on their supposed right, the matter at first assumed a very serious aspect. At length, however, the Prussians gave way, annulled the first election, and agreed to send deputies chosen by direct election. The other states of the confederacy all sent deputies directly chosen, in terms of a resolution of the General Diet on 31st March; and such was the enthusiasm which universally prevailed, that they were practically selected by universal suffrage, and such only were chosen as were known from having adopted extreme opinions. One deputy was to be returned for every seventy thousand inhabitants; and the opening of the General Diet, which was to consist of five hundred members, was fixed to be at Frankfort-on-the-Maine on the 4th May, the anniversary of the opening of the States-General of France sixty years before.

31. On the 26th March a great meeting took place at Heidelberg, around the ruins of the magnificent castle which has there so long been the object of universal admiration, at

which speeches were made eminently descriptive of the German mind at that juncture. The assembly, which consisted of above thirty thousand persons, was addressed in heart-stirring strains by the leading Liberals of Central and Northern Germany. One of these, Welcher, spoke wisely as well as eloquently, and it would have been well for Germany if his counsels had been followed. "Do not," said he, "mistake licence for liberty, nor suppose that because much must be remodelled, all must be overturned. Far be such a thought from us! Let us progress, but steadily and thoughtfully. Let us lay the foundation of our freedom, a national parliament: let us be citizens of one united country; but do not imagine such an object can be attained by proclaiming a republic. Look at France. She now for the second time possesses that form of government in which alone, according to some, true freedom is to be found. What has she gained by it? What is her present condition?—what her future prospects? To say the least, they are not encouraging; and I am delighted that among my own countrymen no desire has been expressed to follow in her steps. But regard the present condition of England! (Thunders of applause.) Let her be our model. She has long enjoyed five institutions; she alone remains unshaken in the storm which is howling around. It is to her we must look to be our model and our guide."

32. A question both of delicacy and difficulty arose in the very outset as to the mode in which the Assembly was to be elected. It was universally felt that the existing Diet, returned under the old aristocratic regime, could not be maintained. Several meetings in various parts of the country had condemned it, and public opinion had loudly declared itself to the same effect. A self-convoked assembly of Liberal representatives from nearly every part of Germany had met at Heidelberg on the 2d March, and, after passing resolutions in favour of German unity, independence, and the

general representation of the people in one assembly, had appointed a committee of seven to draw up the plan of a general German representation. The old Diet, erected under the aristocratic regime, met at Frankfort on the 8th March; and feeling themselves not strong enough to resist the torrent, invited seventeen of the most popular of the Liberal leaders, including the seven appointed by the Radical assembly, to unite with them in framing a scheme for the general national representation; and this proposal was acceded to. A united assembly, accordingly, consisting of three hundred persons, met (March 31) to discuss the mode of election, and it soon appeared that the extreme Radicals had a decided majority. Resolutions were passed to the effect that a National Assembly for all Germany should be elected on the principle of one deputy for every seventy thousand persons, the lesser states of the confederacy being, however, entitled to a deputy, though containing a smaller number of inhabitants. M. Mittermayer was chosen president of this preliminary or Vor-Parliament, and M.M. Dahlmann, Blum, Itzstein, and Jordan, all decided Radicals, vice-presidents. Having decided the mode of election on this highly popular basis, the Vor-Parliament dissolved itself, having previously appointed a committee of fifty to watch over the public interest till the day of meeting of the new national representatives. Thus was the first great step in the career of revolution made, almost without resistance from any of the aristocratic classes—namely, the fixing of the general federal representation on the footing of the population *told by head*, after the model of the Spanish constitution of 1812, in direct opposition to the old system in every European state, which was the representation of classes.*

33. Such was the importance attached by all Germany to the idea of a united federal empire, that it soon came to supplant, in general estimation and interest, the proceedings of

the separate Diets in the different states. Even the greatest monarchs looked to this Assembly as the only remaining channel for influence and supremacy. Austria sent the Archduke John, the most Liberal of the Imperial family, as one of her representatives to the General Diet, and openly canvassed for the presidency. But although a prince of the house of Hapsburg was a member of the Diet, that gave no indication of the real inclinations of the Assembly. All the efforts of the princes, dukes, and potentates of the Confederacy could not prevent the representatives chosen being for the most part of the most violent character. In vain the chiefs yielded to the torrent, and everywhere put themselves at the head of the movement, in order to obtain its direction; in vain they brought forward the most celebrated persons in philosophy and literature as candidates for the suffrages. The Revolutionists were more than a match for them, and the choice of the newly-aroused German people fell on persons of a very different and far more dangerous character. M. Dahlmann, the celebrated professor of history in Göttingen, who had obtained additional celebrity by being removed from his chair by the King of Hanover, was rejected in Prussia; M. Albrecht, his colleague, was thrown out in Saxony; M. von Gagern in Hesse; M. Uhland, the beautiful and popular poet, and a distinguished Liberal leader, in Würtemberg; M. Welcher in Baden. It was already evident that these the first apostles of freedom, the original leaders of the movement, were passed in Germany, as they had been in France, in the race by bolder and more unscrupulous men, and that the lead in the German Revolution would fall into the hands of decided Republicans. From the very outset of their meetings extreme opinions were advocated by men destined to acquire a melancholy celebrity in future times; the word "Republic" was heard from the lips of M. Robert Blum, M. Struve, and M. Ronge, the revolutionary representative of Silesia.

* GARNIER PAGES, ii. 82-85.

34. So strong and general was the passion for German unity, as well as freedom, that before even the new National Assembly had met, and during the sitting of the Vor-Parliament, pretensions of the most iniquitous kind had been put forward by the German democracy, which, if persisted in, would, it was evident, lead to a general war, and could not be carried into effect without the most violent invasion of the rights of other states. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenberg contained a considerable proportion of inhabitants of German descent; but a great number of them were Slavonians or Celts, and for two centuries they had formed part of the Danish dominions.* Under the influence, however, of the events which had taken place in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, a great ferment got up in these provinces, especially among the inhabitants of German descent, and the cry was raised for a union with the Fatherland. The Government of Denmark had recently before sustained a serious loss by the death of the wise and popular King Christian VII., who had mounted the throne on 3d December 1839, and died on 20th January 1848. He was succeeded by his only son, Prince Frederick, who was born in 1808, and immediately ascended the throne by the title of Frederick VII. His first act was, in conformity with the general spirit of the age, to give a constitution to his subjects. By it a united parliament was constituted for the kingdom of Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. This parliament was to consist of fifty-two members in all, and to be invested with the powers of legislation and laying on taxes. It was to meet within two months of the promulgation of the decree constituting it. The number of deputies was to be one-half for

* The majority of the inhabitants in Holstein and Lauenberg were Germans, in Schleswig Danes. Holstein and Lauenberg were members of the Germanic Confederation as well as constituent parts of the Danish monarchy. The German claim upon Schleswig was founded on the assertion that Schleswig and Holstein were inseparably united and that therefore the former must follow the latter into the arms of the Confederation.

Jutland and the isles, and one-half for Schleswig and Holstein, so that they gained greatly, and obtained, in every respect, a suitable place in the united parliament. The constitution was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy in Denmark proper; but it was otherwise in the duchies, where opinion was much divided, from the desire generally felt for a separate legislature of their own. Matters were in this state when the news arrived in the end of February of the revolution in Paris. The cry immediately arose in the duchies that they should be detached from the Danish crown, and incorporated with the great German Confederacy. This was cordially supported by emissaries from Berlin and the leading German patriots, who encouraged the people to persevere in their demands, and promised them the support of the whole Confederacy in asserting them. The effervescence instantly became extreme over the duchies. Public meetings, very numerous attended, were held in all the great towns, in which a union with Germany was demanded; and the excitement was carried to the highest point by the arrival of summonses from the Vor-Parliament at Frankfort, which, treating them as already parts of the Confederacy, ordained them to send deputies to the approaching General Diet.

35. This step on the part of the German confederative assembly was a most important one, both in a social and political point of view. It was the first assumption of pretensions, altogether at variance with existing rights, and evinced a determination to disregard former treaties, how solemn or ancient soever. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had, from a very remote period, been, not a part of the kingdom of Denmark, but an appanage of the Danish crown. The right of the King of Denmark to these duchies was sold in the year 1326, when Waldemar, King of Denmark, gave the duchy of Schleswig or South Jutland to Count Gerhard de Holstein, as a hereditary fief, on condition, however, that it should never be united

with the kingdom of Denmark. The states of Schleswig-Holstein, in consequence of this limitation, claimed soon after the right to choose their own duke, and this was agreed to by Christian I., King of Denmark, who on 6th March 1540 acknowledged the right of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig to choose their duke from any son of *his family* that they chose. This right of election, however, remained in abeyance till 1588, when it was exercised by the Estates of the duchies with the sanction of the regnant Queen-mother of Denmark. Thereafter it became obsolete, and in 1608 the Duke of Schleswig executed an entail of the succession to the heir-male in the Gottorp portions of the duchies; and in 1650 a similar entail was made of the royal duchies; and the right of election in the Estates became again obsolete. In 1658 Christian IV., King of Denmark, was obliged to cede, by the treaty of Roskeld, the Gottorp portion of the duchy of Schleswig to the Duke of Gottorp, and various wars were waged between the King of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp until 1714, when the forces of the King of Denmark, having driven the Swedish troops, who took part with Holstein, out of the disputed territory of Gottorp, took possession of it for the crown of Denmark. This was followed, in 1720, by a treaty, under which France, England, Russia, and Prussia guaranteed to Denmark the perpetual and peaceable possession of the ducal part of the duchy of Holstein, while the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was declared to belong to the Duke of Holstein as a prince of the Empire. In 1767 the Empress Catherine of Russia, regent of the Gottorp portion of the duchy of Schleswig, exchanged it for the countries of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which belonged to Denmark. In 1773 the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was formally ceded to the King of Denmark, who thus became vested with the entire right to the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, which have formed part of the Danish dominions ever since.

36. There was ample room, in this long deduction of titles, for the industry of antiquarians and the ingenuity of lawyers to exercise their talents upon, and the Estates of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig had for several years before the French Revolution been engaged in a respectful and amicable contest with the Crown of Denmark, chiefly relating to the reunion of the duchies, for which they contended, and the claims they advanced to be considered as part of the German Confederacy. But, under the influence of the French and German Revolutions, they took higher ground, and, by a deputation of five of the chief leaders in the agitation, openly demanded of the King a formal recognition of the independence of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, and their forming part of the German Confederacy. The King replied with great judgment and moderation, that he was not opposed to a closer connection between Holstein and the German Confederacy, of which its inhabitants formed a part; but that, in that event, it must be separated from Schleswig, which had never formed part of the German Confederation, and which he neither had the legal power nor the inclination to compel its inhabitants now to enter. The Cabinet, though remodelled, and chiefly composed of Liberal men, inclined to the constitutional system, and cordially supported the King in this resolution; and it soon appeared that it was entirely in unison with the wishes of the people of Schleswig. As one man they rose to assert their independence of the Germanic Confederation, and maintain their connection with the paternal and much-loved Government of Denmark. The revolutionists of Holstein, in connection with the German emissaries, had already prepared a revolt; and so eager were they to commence it, that it broke out before the answer was received from Copenhagen to the demands of the Holstein deputies. It began in Kiel in Holstein, where Prince Frederick of Noor, a younger brother of the Duke of Augustenburg, who had joined the insurgents, hoisted

the standard of insurrection on the 23d March, and a provisional government was formed. Rendsburg, on the frontier of Schleswig, was next day summoned to surrender. Left without instructions, and told that their king was a prisoner in the hands of a revolutionary mob, the Danish garrison made no resistance; and this strong fortress, with a supply of arms and £300,000 in money, fell at once into the hands of the insurgents. No sooner was intelligence of this received at Copenhagen, than the enthusiasm rose to the highest point: a great meeting was held, at which all classes joined in the most earnest expression of loyalty and affection to the reigning family, and preparations were made to prosecute the war with the utmost activity both by sea and land.

37. Prussia, from its geographical position, was first implicated in these hostilities, as its territory adjoined that of the Danish duchies. On the 4th April the first meeting of the insurgent Estates took place at Rendsburg, on the Eider, at which the motion for an incorporation of both duchies with the Germanic Confederacy was carried with only two dissentient voices. This led to an immediate movement on the part of the German powers. On the 6th April a body of Prussian troops, under the command of General Von Wrangel, crossed the Holstein frontier, with the avowed object of supporting the insurgents, while, at the same time, the Cabinet of Berlin issued a hypocritical declaration that they entered the duchy with no intention of invading the rights of the King of Denmark. Meanwhile their troops immediately joined the insurgent bands; the Frankfort Diet, by a formal decree, acknowledged the provisional government of the duchies, and ordered forces from Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Oldenburg, to advance into them to support the Prussian army which had first entered. The King of Denmark, upon this, addressed, by means of his ambassador at Frankfort, a formal note protesting against any attempt on the part of

the German Confederacy to dismember his dominions, and a war immediately ensued between the two powers. It seemed hopeless on the part of Denmark, which was then brought into collision, with half its forces, with the vast strength of the German Confederacy. Nevertheless it came to a successful and glorious termination for the Danish crown—so great was the patriotic spirit of her people, and so indomitable the courage of the descendants of the old sea-kings of the north. It was a curious circumstance, that over the gate of the town of Rendsburg, on the Eider, which the troops of the Confederacy entered first on their invasion of Schleswig, and where the standard of revolt against Denmark was first hoisted, stood the old inscription, which had been there for centuries, "*Eidora Romani terminus Imperii*,"—thus affording a standing reproach against the aggression, and proof of the justice of the Danish claims.

38. The first operations of the war were eminently favourable to the Danes, and ominous of the ultimate issue of the contest. The Danish regular troops entered Schleswig on the 7th April, and on the 9th, by a skilful flank attack, completely routed the insurgents, 4000 strong, supported by 6000 regular troops of the Confederation, near Flensburg, with the loss of 1100 men, while the victors were weakened only by 250 *hors de combat*. On the same day the Danish fleet destroyed the batteries which had been erected by the enemy near Kiel, and a few days after the land forces, having recaptured the town of Schleswig, drove the Germans over the Eider, and regained the entire province of Schleswig. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, one unanimous cry of indignation arose in every part of the Confederacy; everywhere the Liberals preached a crusade against the audacious Danes, who had ventured to brave the German colours, and impede the resurrection of the Fatherland. The governments of the neighbouring states were swept away by the torrent; the Diet strongly supported the same

views; the principle was openly asserted, that wherever the German language was spoken, there were the bounds of the great Teutonic Confederacy. The fact was totally overlooked that the German population was little more than a *third* of the whole inhabitants of the disputed territory, and that a vast majority of the entire population was warmly attached to the Danish connection.* Indeed, the greatest difficulty which the Danish troops experienced was in restraining the furious indignation of the inhabitants, which broke out in acts of savage hostility against the retiring Germans. They had signalised their entry by blood and rapine, and the women, in return, poured boiling water upon them from the roofs of the houses as they withdrew. Inflamed beyond measure by the recital of these mutual atrocities, the Prussian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick Governments poured formidable armies into Holstein. Without any declaration of war, they invaded the duchy. On the 5th of April, the Prussian regular troops had taken possession of the fortress of Rendsburg, in which they placed a garrison of 5000 men; and an army of 40,000 men was now collected to carry the terrors of German vengeance over the whole Cimbric peninsula.

39. The forces of Denmark were unequal to the encounter of so large an armament, notwithstanding the gallant spirit with which they were animated.† She could not bring more than 12,000 regular troops into the field against 40,000 of the Confedera-

tion. They made, however, a noble defence. The King having refused to obey a peremptory order (April 11th) of the Diet at Frankfort to withdraw his forces from Schleswig, the Prussian army received orders to advance from Holstein, and enter at all points the Danish territories; and the Danish Government, in reply, laid an embargo on all German vessels in their harbours, and issued orders to their cruisers to capture all vessels bearing the Prussian flag. Each party was successful on the element on which its forces preponderated. The Danes reasserted their ancient maritime superiority on the Northern Ocean; the Prussian flag was swept from the ocean, their harbours blockaded, and their foreign trade nearly destroyed. But at land the Danes experienced in the outset very considerable reverses. On Easter Sunday, 23d April, the Danish troops, 10,000 strong, with 30 guns, under General Hedemann, were suddenly attacked on the Danewirke, near Schleswig, by General Von Wrangel, with 30,000 Prussians, and 72 guns. The Danes held the town of Schleswig, and the line of ancient fortifications called the Danewirke. This is a long earthen mound, grass-grown and interspersed with gaps, which runs from the top of the deep creek of the Baltic called the Schlei, to the marshy grounds on the headwaters of the Treen, a stream which flows into the North Sea. Along this line, about ten miles in length, and about the town of Schleswig, the fighting was most obstinate. But after a most heroic resistance of eight hours, the Danes were compelled to retire. They withdrew in the best order, however, without losing a single tumbril or piece of artillery; but the town of Schleswig fell into the hands of the enemy. Finding himself decidedly overmatched, the Danish general wisely withdrew from the mainland, and stationed his troops—except a rear-guard left in front of Alsen—on the islands of Alsen and Funen, lying on the east coast of Schleswig, where they could not be followed by the invaders, and maintained a secure and

Total inhabitants of Schleswig,	330,000
Of which—Danes, .	185,000
" Frisians, .	25,000
" Germans, .	120,000
	— 330,000

—*Ann. Hist.* 1848, p. 483.

† So anxious at this time was the Danish Government for peace, that they offered to accept the mediation of Prussia in respect to Holstein, provided Schleswig was not invaded; and, on the 15th April, actually proposed to give up the frontier of the Eider, and renounce the southern portion of Schleswig as far as the line of the Schlei; but it was all in vain. The Diet would listen to no compromise.

yet menacing position on their flank. Von Wrangel, upon this, having no longer an enemy in his front, divided his army into two columns, one of which entered Jutland, and carried the war into Denmark proper, where they levied a contribution of two million crowns, while the other occupied Schleswig.

40. The entrance of the German troops into Jutland, avowedly beyond the limits both of the Confederation and the duchies, brought new actors on the scene, and it was evident that, if persisted in, it would bring the whole of the north into the contest. As soon as it was known at Stockholm, the Cabinet of that place addressed a warm remonstrance to that of Berlin, in which they announced that, if the invasion of Denmark was persisted in, they would be under the necessity of sending a *corps d'armée* into Funen, or some of the other Danish islands, to resist the attack, and secure the safety of the Scandinavian kingdoms. The Prussian Government replied that they had no intention of permanently occupying any part of Jutland, but that the measure had been rendered necessary by the seizure of a number of Prussian ships by Danish cruisers, and as a means of compelling their restitution. The Prussian troops, however, continued to advance, and reached Kolding, upon which the Swedes landed a considerable body of troops in Funen to support the Danish forces there; while a Russian squadron set sail from Cronstadt under the Archduke Constantine, and began to cruise along the coast of Jutland to be ready for any emergency which might occur. Matters now began to look serious, and to threaten a general war in the north. To avert it, a conference was opened in London of the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and Denmark, and a Russian diplomatic agent was stationed in Hamburg to communicate the result of their deliberations to the belligerent parties. The Russian Government declared they would not tolerate any invasion of Denmark proper. By the intervention of these

powerful mediators the advance of the Prussian troops was at length arrested in Jutland, and they were withdrawn from that peninsula. Meanwhile a bloody combat took place with the Danish troops on the mainland, in advance of the island of Alsen, in which the invaders were worsted, and driven back to Gravenstein.

41. To avenge this affront, the Prussian and Hanoverian troops, notwithstanding the pending negotiations, made a combined attack, on the 5th June, on the Danish forces, who had taken up, and hastily intrenched, a position at Duppel, on the mainland immediately in front of Alsen. The superiority of numbers in the land forces was decidedly in favour of the Prussians; but, on the other hand, the Danes had the advantage of a strong position and of the support of a flotilla of gunboats in the strait between the mainland and the island of Alsen, which lay on their flank, and the guns of which reached the field of battle. General Hedemann commanded the Danes; and in order to throw no obstacle in the way of the mediation of the allied powers, his orders were to act strictly on the defensive. The forces under his command were only fourteen thousand; the Germans brought twenty-four thousand sabres and bayonets into the field. The first line of the Danes was carried after an obstinate struggle and great slaughter on both sides; but they retired to a still stronger position in their rear, which was commanded both by heavy artillery on the opposite heights in the island of Alsen, and the gunboats in the straits. The fire from these was so heavy upon the advancing columns of the Prussians, when they came within range, that they were driven back, and the Danes reoccupied the position which they had held in the earlier part of the day. The attack was resumed next morning; but though the Prussians gained some advantages, they made no material progress; and after a useless slaughter, both parties remained nearly in the same position as they had occupied in the commencement of the conflict.

Another combat, equally to the honour of the Danes as the weaker party, took place on the 29th June, when the Danish rearguard repulsed an attack by the insurgents, headed by the Prince de Noor.

42. Anxious to terminate a contest so unequal, though waged with so much honour to himself and his forces by sea and land, the King of Denmark addressed, on the 15th June, a note to the ambassadors of Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, at Copenhagen, requesting their mediation between him and the German Confederacy. The result of this was an interposition of these powers, which led to an armistice for seven months, concluded at Malmoe, on the 26th August. The conditions of this convention were, that both duchies should be evacuated alike by the Danish and German forces; that prisoners on both sides should be restored; all vessels captured, or on which an embargo had been laid since the commencement of the war, be restored; a garrison of two thousand men be allowed to be kept by the Danes in the island of Alsen, and one of equal strength by the Confederacy in the town of Altona; and the administration of the duchies in the mean time to be intrusted to a mixed commission of five persons—two chosen by the King of Denmark, two by the King of Prussia, in name of the German Confederation, and a fifth by the whole four, who was to have the president's chair. Both contracting parties claimed the guarantee of Great Britain for the faithful execution of this treaty. Thus were hostilities for the time stopped, and on the 23d October, the King, in opening the Chambers, announced the approaching concession of a constitution, and congratulated his subjects in deserved terms on the noble stand they had made against the unjust invasion by the German democracy, with which they had been visited. The conditions of the armistice, though in appearance fair, were however in reality eminently favourable to the Confederacy, for by it the Danish troops were compelled

to keep aloof from both duchies, which were in a manner sequestered and withdrawn from the Danish crown, to which they had so long belonged. It was as if an armistice were to be concluded between Great Britain and France, on condition of Scotland or Ireland being evacuated by the forces of both parties, and put under neutral government. The British Cabinet, enamoured of the Liberal cause throughout the world, however supported, looked on, a passive spectator of this oppression of the weaker state by the greater, and permitted an independent monarchy to be bereaved of half its dominions without either drawing the sword or exerting any effective diplomatic interposition in its behalf. Lord Palmerston proposed that Schleswig should be neither Danish nor German, but independent, connected with Denmark by a "political tie," forgetting that, under the appearance of impartiality, this was, in effect, deciding the question of aggression in favour of the Confederacy.

43. Meanwhile the commission of seventeen members of the Vor-Parliament, which had been charged with the preparation of a constitution, and the first German National Assembly, met at Frankfort on the 18th May. Much alarm was occasioned at this time by an insurrection which broke out in the southern provinces of Central Germany, under two democratic leaders, Hecker and Struve, who drew together some thousand lawless characters, and commenced levying contributions, during the suspension of authority, on their own account. They were pursued by the troops of the Confederation, and at length brought to bay (April 20) on the heights of Schlechtonau, when they were totally defeated by General Von Gagern. Von Gagern was perfidiously murdered by the insurgents, in a parley. This tumult being appeased, the Assembly commenced their labours, and elected Baron Von Gagern, brother of the general who had defeated Struve, President of the Assembly. It was quite distinct

from the German *Diet*, elected under the old constitution, which was sitting in Frankfort at the same time—a strange juxtaposition, somewhat similar to the Chartist conventions which have sometimes been assembled in London at the time when the British Parliament was sitting in Westminster. The respective situation and consideration of the two rival houses was very different from what they had been in the British capital, for the whole eyes of Germany were fixed on the new Assembly; and the Diet, when their sittings commenced, were glad to conceal their insignificance under a pacific message, expressive of a desire to act in friendly unison and co-operation with the newly-elected representatives.

44. The debates on the new constitution which had been prepared by the committee of seventeen commenced immediately after the Assembly met, and lasted till the 28th June, when it was finally adjusted, after repeated divisions. By this constitution it was provided that there should be a "Provisional Central Power" for the government of the entire Confederacy, which should exercise generally all the functions of the executive, direct the armed force, nominate cabinet ministers for the exercise of all the duties of government, appoint the commander-in-chief, ambassadors, and consuls to foreign powers, decide on peace and war, and conclude treaties with foreign states in connection with the Assembly. The provisional government was, by a majority of 378 to 176, to be centred in a single regent, who was himself irremovable; but the ministers whom he appointed were responsible, and were entitled to seats in the Assembly. The whole powers of the old German Diet were to cease the moment that the Provisional Government began to exercise its functions, and it in its turn to cease as soon as the permanent constitution was established. The constitution, as a whole, was approved finally by a majority of 450 to 100. These resolutions indicated clearly the revolutionary tendency of the Assembly, which had already, in effect, overturned the whole ancient Germanic

constitution. But a different result appeared in the choice of a regent, which demonstrated that the old traditions still lingered among them, and that the influence of Austria was rather for a time in abeyance, than permanently destroyed. Shortly after the approval of the constitution, the regent was (July 5) elected, and the Archduke John was chosen, the numbers being 436 for his Imperial Highness, and 52 for the President of the Assembly, Von Gagern. The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers in every part of the Assembly.* On the next day the German Diet, still sitting, like the ghost of its former self, at Frankfort, also elected the Archduke regent, who thus centred in his person all the authority which could be conferred both by the ancient and the revolutionary authorities in

* The representatives for the Assembly from each of the under-mentioned states were as follows:—

Prussia,	193
Austria,	110
Bavaria,	66
Wurtemberg,	26
Hanover,	24
Saxony,	21
Baden,	19
Hesse (Duchy),	12
Hesse (Electoral),	11
Schleswig,	11
Nassau,	6
Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	6
Luxemburg and Limburg,	6
Oldenburg,	5
Brunswick,	5
Saxe-Weimar,	4
Saxe-Coburg,	2
Saxe-Meiningen,	2
Altenburg,	2
Hamburg,	3
Lesser states, 18—1 each,	18

552

The Assembly contained, divided by classes,—

Professors,	95
Doctors of Philosophy, Law, and Physic,	81
Editors of newspapers,	14
Clergymen,	17
Civil functionaries, as Notaries, Attorneys,	200
Landowners,	93
Military officers,	13
Merchants,	23
Manufacturers,	16

552

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45. This anomalous and unexpected result in an Assembly elected under the first fervour of revolutionary passion, was a subject of extreme mortification to the King of Prussia and his Cabinet, which had expected a very different result from the votes, and confidently anticipated the establishment of an imperial throne for their own royal family from the changes in progress. This election, accordingly, is to be regarded as an important turning-point in the annals of the German Revolution, for it detached the Prussian Government from the cause of innovation. They now saw things in their true colours, and became alive to the dangers of the abyss on the edge of which they stood. From this period, accordingly, may be dated a decided change in the policy of the Cabinet of Berlin, which ere long brought them into open collision with the innovating party, and contributed more than any other circumstance to the deliverance of Government from the revolutionary fever, and the restoration of the royal authority over the whole of the Prussian dominions.

46. Meanwhile the installation of the Archduke as Regent of Germany took place with great pomp at Frankfurt, on the 21st July. He made his solemn entry into the town, and being nominated by both Assemblies, he united for a brief period all suffrages in his favour. The President of the Assembly, Von Gagern, addressed him in these terms: "At this moment, when all the authorities of Germany have united to cement their alliance, a new era commences for our common country. August Archduke, Vicar of the Empire, you are welcomed in the National Assembly, which has come

under the solemn engagement, in the face of the country, to assist your Imperial Highness, in the arduous task which you have undertaken, with all its strength. To accomplish that object, the Government of the Vicar of the Empire may rely on their support in contributing to whatever tends to strengthen the bonds of unity, to secure the liberty of the people, to re-establish public order, to restore confidence, to augment the common prosperity. The German people proclaim with gratitude the patriotism of your Highness; but it demands that all the energy and activity of the Archduke John should be consecrated, without division, to the general interests of the country." "In entering upon my functions," said the Archduke in reply, "I declare anew that I will maintain, and cause to be maintained, for the general glory and prosperity of Germany, the law which has placed me at the head of the central power. I declare at the same time, that I will devote my entire time to my functions; and I will pray the Emperor of Austria to charge me with the care of representing it at Vienna as soon as I have opened the Diet. That done, I shall devote myself without reserve to the discharge of my functions." The Archduke immediately constituted his ministry, which was finally arranged on the 9th August, the Prince Charles of Leiningen being President of the Council; M. Heckscher, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Pencker, of War; M. Schmerling, of the Interior.

47. The National Assembly of Germany, at Frankfurt, which had only sat since the 18th of May, a period of less than three months, had now made extraordinary advances to supreme power, and achieved what in the beginning of the year would have been deemed impossibilities. It had, by falling in with, and acquiring the direction of, the floodtide of enthusiasm which now swept away the German mind, succeeded in that short time in compelling all the separate states of the Confederacy to bow to its authority; dissolved the Germanic Diet, the work of the Congress of Vienna;

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under the solemn engagement, in the face of the country, to assist your Imperial Highness, in the arduous task which you have undertaken, with all its strength. To accomplish that object, the Government of the Vicar of the Empire may rely on their support in contributing to whatever tends to strengthen the bonds of unity, to secure the liberty of the people, to re-establish public order, to restore confidence, to augment the common prosperity. The German people proclaim with gratitude the patriotism of your Highness; but it demands that all the energy and activity of the Archduke John should be consecrated, without division, to the general interests of the country." "In entering upon my functions," said the Archduke in reply, "I declare anew that I will maintain, and cause to be maintained, for the general glory and prosperity of Germany, the law which has placed me at the head of the central power. I declare at the same time, that I will devote my entire time to my functions; and I will pray the Emperor of Austria to charge me with the care of representing it at Vienna as soon as I have opened the Diet. That done, I shall devote myself without reserve to the discharge of my functions." The Archduke immediately constituted his ministry, which was finally arranged on the 9th August, the Prince Charles of Leiningen being President of the Council; M. Heckscher, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Peucker, of War; M. Schmerling, of the Interior.

47. The National Assembly of Germany, at Frankfort, which had only sat since the 18th of May, a period of less than three months, had now made extraordinary advances to supreme power, and achieved what in the beginning of the year would have been deemed impossibilities. It had, by falling in with, and acquiring the direction of, the floodtide of enthusiasm which now swept away the German mind, succeeded in that short time in compelling all the separate states of the Confederacy to bow to its authority; dissolved the Germanic Diet, the work of the Congress of Vienna;

elected, by an immense majority, a Regent of the Empire, whose power was paramount to that of Austria and Prussia, and who wielded the military force of forty millions of men. All this had been done, too, with the cordial approbation of the most intelligent and highly educated classes, and amidst the loud applause of the multitude. The sovereigns who had been shorn of their lustre and cast down from their high estate by this vast usurpation, if not cordial in approving, were at least quiescent under it; they were overawed into submission, or hopeless of resistance, and the revolution seemed to be as cordially approved by the Emperor, Kings, and Princes, as by the burghers or students. So general was the concurrence, that the protest of Ernest, King of Hanover, asserting the independence of his dominions, was scarcely noticed amidst the general chorus of approbation.

48. The unanimity, however, as is usually the case where great changes are introduced under the influence of terror, was on the surface, and seeming only. Beneath it there lurked the seeds of divisions the most serious, and discord the most inveterate, which ere long distracted the apparently united society, and covered the fields of the Fatherland with mourning. The Polish provinces of Prussia were the quarter where the conflicting passions first broke out; for there the divisions of race, and the sore feeling arising from extinguished nationality, coincided with the revolutionary desires cherished there as elsewhere in the world. The Grand Duchy of Posen, from the very first, was violently agitated by the intelligence of the revolution at Paris; and the general discontents were brought to a crisis by a decree of the King of Prussia, which, on grounds, to say the least of them, questionable, made a new division of the Duchy, by which the whole western portion of the province, up to the very gates of its capital, was assigned to Germany. This division, which was intended to swell the deputies of Prussia in the National Assembly, and in reality had

that effect, at once blew into a flame over all the eastern frontier of Germany the hereditary animosity of the Slavonic and Teutonic races. The Germans in all the provinces on the frontier trampled under foot the Polish cockades; the Poles did the same to the Germans. Hostilities and mutual massacre soon ensued between the contending parties, and Prince Czatorinski set out from Paris to organise the movement, thinking that the hour of Polish deliverance had at length struck.

49. But he was soon miserably undeceived. The peasants in Lithuania and all Russian Poland *took part with the Russians*—a markworthy circumstance, indicating the commencement of a new era in Slavonic history, and bespeaking the practical benefits which the cultivators of the soil had obtained from their change of masters. Thus the collision was confined to the Polish provinces which had fallen to the lot of the German powers, and there it was for a short time very violent. The peasants reappeared, armed with scythes; the flame spread to the borders of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, and the revolt became general in Western Poland under Mieroslawski. The Poles immediately gave way to the most frightful atrocities. Hands and feet were cut off, eyes scooped out, and women, even in an advanced state of pregnancy, beaten to death, under circumstances of the most frightful cruelty. Murder, lust, and arson stalked triumphant through the land; neither age nor sex, church nor dwelling, was spared. Maddened by the sight of these enormities, the German troops retaliated in like manner, and the insurrection, from the very first, assumed on both sides a character of frightful atrocity. It was soon, however, suppressed. A bloody conflict, rather to the advantage of the insurgents, took place at Kozmin; but the little town of Xions, defended with obstinacy by the Poles, was stormed (April 30) by the Prussians, and great part of the defenders put to the sword. A desperate struggle, with various success, took place at Miloslaw (May 1), where

the Poles had established an intrenched camp, which, after being taken and retaken several times, finally remained in the power of the Prussians under General Blum. Several small corps of insurgents having united in the district of Schroda, they were surrounded and attacked on the 8th May by the Prussian troops under Generals Colomb, Pfuel, and Widel, and forced to capitulate, with their leader, Mieroslawski. This success terminated the insurrection in Poland, and extinguished there for a time the hostility of the German and Slavonic races. The revolt was the more easily suppressed, that it was only partially shared by the inhabitants of the country, thanks to the experienced beneficence of the Prussian rule. And being supported by the extreme revolutionary party in the towns, it shared in the obloquy into which that portion of the community, from the experience of their excesses, were beginning to fall in every country of Europe.

50. The new constitution which had been prepared by the Liberal ministry was at length announced at Berlin by the King; and it was calculated, if anything could, to satisfy the demands of the democratic party, for it contained all the elements of real freedom. It declared the equality of all citizens in the sight of the law, personal liberty in the highest degree, security of property, inviolability of private homes; freedom of religion, unless it endangered public tranquillity; the entire liberty of the press, the censorship being for ever abolished; the right of meeting and deliberating unarmed, the right of association and petition; the inviolability of the King's person, and responsibility of his ministers, who were liable to be impeached by the Lower House and tried by the Upper; the division of the legislature into two houses, the one elective, the other in part hereditary. The princes of the blood-royal had sixty peers, to be nominated by the King, to form part of the Upper House; the remainder, consisting of 180 members, to be chosen by the people: when once elected, the dignity to be hereditary in the first

sixty; but the seat to be for eight years for the latter portion. The former required a property qualification of 8000 dollars a-year; the latter, 2500. The members of the Lower House to be elected for four years, and subject to no property qualification; but they were to be above thirty years of age. The sittings of the courts of law to be public, and the facts in criminal cases ascertained by verdicts of juries.

51. This constitution, how great a concession soever to public freedom, was far from satisfying the democratic party. Debates immediately began upon its several articles, which were conducted with great acrimony, and continued through the whole summer and autumn. The Assembly being elected practically by universal suffrage, the speeches were extremely violent, and of interminable length. The chief trial of strength took place on a speculative question, "whether the events in March in Berlin were a transaction between the Crown and the people, or a revolution;" and it was carried, after a furious debate, by a small majority of 177 to 160, in favour of its being a transaction. This decision gave the utmost offence to the democratic party in the Assembly, as did several other votes at the same time, refusing to sanction the principle of revolution, and they were soon cordially supported by the mob in the streets, who proceeded to vent their rage against the obnoxious members. At length (June 14) they got worked up to such a pitch that they made an attack upon the Assembly and the arsenal, which immediately adjoined its hall, which they carried by storm, and pillaged—the Burgher Guard, intrusted with their defence, making very little resistance. This incursion on their part cost the State 500,000 dollars. The mob destroyed everything in the arsenal which they could not carry away. The arms were broken and thrown out of the window; antiquities of great value, rare pieces of artillery, arms inlaid with silver and ivory, were stolen or destroyed. This outrage immediately became the subject of a warm debate, the Minis-

try having brought forward a motion for the protection of the Assembly by an armed force; the Revolutionists meeting it with an amendment to the effect "that the Assembly needed no armed protection, but placed itself under the safeguard of the people of Berlin." So intimidated were the members by the recent outbreak that the amendment was carried by a large majority. Upon this the Ministry resigned, and no small difficulty was experienced in forming another. At length, however, a cabinet was arranged, with M. von Auerswald President of the Council; M. Schleinitz, Foreign Affairs; and M. Schreckenstein, War; and the mob of Berlin, satisfied with their victory, relapsed for a short period into quiet.

52. This lull was not of long duration. The Auerswald Ministry, which from the beginning was in a very tottering condition, fell under a hostile vote the 9th September. Still greater difficulty was experienced in now forming an administration, but one was at length constituted under the presidency of General Von Pfuel. These repeated changes in so short a time indicated unequivocally a lamentable weakness in the executive, which seemed to be approaching a state of complete prostration. On the 23d

September, General Pfuel issued a proclamation to the army, in which he stated, "According to the draft of the constitution which has been proposed by his Majesty to the Assembly, the officers of the army will be obliged to take an oath to the constitution, in the same manner as the civil officers are obliged to do, and no reactionary tendencies will clash with the duties of an officer in the army." The allusion here to "reactionary tendencies" was owing to the well-understood feelings of the army, which had become thoroughly ashamed of the events of March, and the inglorious part they had borne in them, and were panting for an opportunity to wipe out their disgrace in a more honourable conflict. The King, however, had now become alive to the extreme danger of putting himself at the head of the revolutionary movement, and the elevation of the Archduke John to the office of Regent had dispelled all the ambitious illusions which had formerly obscured his vision in regard to it. He determined accordingly on repressive measures, and the first step was the appointment of General Von Wrangel, on his return from the seat of war, now suspended by the armistice, to the command of the troops in Berlin and the Brandenburg Marches.

CHAPTER LXXII.

NORTHERN GERMANY, FROM THE ROYALIST REACTION IN SEPTEMBER 1848
TO THE TREATY OF OLMUTZ IN 1850.

1. THE accession to the command of this sturdy, plain-spoken soldier, was inaugurated by an address to the troops, of historic value, as indicating at once the altered policy of the King and the misery of the country. For some days before, a great concentration of forces had taken place by means of the railways, and fifty thousand troops

of the line were now assembled in and around Berlin. On the 22d September a review was held at Potsdam, and, in an order of the day addressed to them, the General said, "The King has honoured me with the highest proof of his confidence, in giving me the command of all the troops in the Marches. I will establish order when it is dis-

turbed, and support the laws when they are infringed. The Burgher Guard is primarily charged with this duty; but when I find it fail in discharging it, we shall advance, and we shall succeed. *The troops are staunch; their swords are sharpened, and their muskets are loaded.* It is not against you, men of Berlin, that this is done, but to protect you—to protect the liberty given us by the King, and to defend the laws. For you, and with you, we shall act. No reaction! but protection for order, for the laws, and for freedom. How melancholy does Berlin now appear to me! Grass is growing in your streets; your houses are empty; your shops are full of goods, but void of purchasers. Your industrious citizens are without work, without wages, without profits. This must be changed, *and it shall be changed.* I bring you order and its attendant blessings. Anarchy must cease, and it shall cease. I swear it to you; and a Wrangel never yet failed in keeping his word."

2. In truth, the disorders in the streets had reached such a height as to render these stern words absolutely necessary, and the conduct of the Burgher Guard had sufficiently proved that no reliance whatever was to be placed on them to avert these. On the 22d August a serious riot occurred at the hotel of M. Auerswald, where a diplomatic soiree was going on, when the populace threw stones at the windows, and nearly killed the Bavarian minister. They were not dispersed till several lives had been lost, and thirty of the policemen wounded. These violent demonstrations met with the greatest favour from the democratic clubs, several of which passed resolutions that the captain of the Burgher Guard who had deserted his post when the arsenal was attacked had deserved well of his country. So notorious had the vacillation of the Guard become, that, in answer to a deputation from their number promising fidelity to the constitution, the King replied, "It would be better to prove it by deeds than to make promises." The discussion of the articles

of the constitution, which began on the 11th October, still further augmented the public alarm and excitement; for every article became the subject of a trial of strength between the conservative and revolutionary parties, attended by a vehement agitation in the clubs, and terror in the city. The whole of the first day was taken up with a debate on the title the King was to assume; and it was decided, by 217 to 134, that the words, "by the grace of God," should be omitted. The object of this was to make it appear that his sole title to the throne was the will of the people. On the other hand, they decided that his title should be that of "King of Prussia," not the more popular one of "King of the Prussians." Meanwhile the capital was in a state bordering on distraction; for, in addition to the excitement arising from political changes, distress of the severest kind—their invariable concomitant—was setting in upon the people. The chief manufactories were closed; thousands of workmen were without bread, and added to the dangers arising from upwards of eight thousand convicts at large in Berlin, who were always ready to join in any popular explosion. Four thousand of this unruly rabble joined in an attack on the mills of Copenmichelfeld, to destroy the machinery erected there. They were at length beat off, but not until several lives had been lost and barricades erected in the streets. The Assembly, so far from discouraging, gave the greatest encouragement to the authors of these disorders, for, on the 31st October, they passed a resolution "that all Prussians are equal before the law; that neither privileges, titles, nor rank are to exist in the State; and that *the nobility are abolished.*" On the next day, Herr Wahlen moved a resolution pledging the Government to give assistance to the inhabitants of Vienna, then engaged in a contest with the Government.

3. This brought matters to a crisis. The King had for some time been only waiting for an opportunity to repress the anarchist faction without depart-

ing from the constitution, which he had sworn to respect, and the violence of the revolutionists now furnished it. Not content with the majority which they already possessed in the Assembly, the mob from without, with the avowed purpose of intimidating the conservative members, broke into its hall, amply provided with ropes, nails, and nooses, as a preparation for summary hanging. They even went so far as to assault their former leader Behrend, whom they accused of having become "lukewarm in the cause of the people," and singed his long red beard with their torches. After a violent struggle, the Burgher Guard (Oct. 30), which for once did its duty, succeeded in expelling the intruders. The Assembly had now evidently become altogether unmanageable, and a mere puppet in the hands of the mob. It was apparent that a new revolution was imminent, which would altogether overthrow both the throne and the constitution, and establish, like the 10th August in France, a republic on their ruins. Thus menaced, the King at once adopted a decided course, and threw himself without reserve into the hands of the conservative party. The Pfuel Ministry had all resigned immediately after this outrage, as they felt themselves altogether unable to carry on the government, and held office only till their successors were appointed. In the interim a deputation of the Assembly waited on the King at Potsdam, whither he had retired, to point out to him the danger of appointing a ministry not chosen from the majority, or of conservative principles. The King heard them, but refused to give an answer in the absence of his responsible ministers. "Will you not hear us on the state of the country?" said Herr Jacobi, the spokesman of the deputation. "No," replied the King. "It is the misfortune of kings that they will not hear the truth," rejoined Jacobi; and they separated. Soon after, on the 9th November, the *Royal Gazette* announced the formation of a new administration. Count de Brandenburg was at its head and Minister of For-

eign Affairs; M. Manteuffel, Interior; General de Stoosha, War; M. Ladenberg, Public Instruction; M. Kisker, Justice; M. Kuhne, Finance; M. Pommes Erche, Commerce.

4. As this ministry was all composed of men of decided conservative principles and known firmness of character, a collision between them and the Assembly was immediately anticipated. It was not long of occurring. On the very day on which the *Gazette* containing the new ministry appeared, Count Brandenburg rose in the Assembly to address the house, but was stopped by the President, as he was not a member of the Assembly, and could not speak but with its consent. Upon this the Count sat down, but handed in a royal decree, which, after mentioning the display of republican symbols in the streets, and the frequent attempts to overawe and intimidate the Assembly, transferred its sittings to Brandenburg, and appointed it to meet there on the 26th November, till which time its sittings were suspended. The reading of this decree was interrupted by repeated cries of "Never! never! we will not consent! Perish rather here. It is illegal, it is unconstitutional; we protest, we will remain here—we are masters." In the midst of this tumult, Count Brandenburg rose and calmly said: "In consequence of the decree which has just been read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its sittings forthwith, and to adjourn till the time specified. I at the same time declare all further prolongations of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the name of the Crown." Having said these words, he withdrew with the whole ministers.

5. A scene of the utmost violence ensued when the ministers had retired. It ended in the adoption of resolutions—1. That there are at present not sufficient grounds for removing the sittings of the Assembly to any other place; it will therefore remain at Berlin. 2. The Crown is not entitled to adjourn or displace the Chamber against its will. 3. The responsible functionaries who may have

advised the Crown to issue the above message, are not qualified to do so or to represent the government; on the contrary, they have thereby rendered themselves guilty of dereliction of duty towards the Crown, the country, and the Assembly. These three resolutions were put separately and carried almost unanimously, fifty-nine of the monarchical party having withdrawn along with the ministers and the diplomatic body. The Assembly resolved to sit in permanence, and thirty of the members remained in the House till next morning. The night passed off in a state of feverish excitement, but no actual outbreak took place. The ministers during the night intimated to the President the illegality of their persisting to meet at Berlin, and that he would be responsible for the consequences; and the minority of fifty-nine who had retired with Count Brandenburg, protested formally against its continued sitting at Berlin. Early next morning (Nov. 10) the Assembly was summoned to meet in its hall; but when the members began to arrive at five they found the building surrounded by troops, who had orders to allow any one to go out, but none to come in. The President then rose and said that the House was completely surrounded by the military. The commander of the Burgher Guard asked General Wrangel why he had assembled his troops. "To protect the Assembly," was the reply. "They would rather decline the honour of your protection," rejoined the commandant: "how long do you mean to keep your troops here?" "For a week if necessary; *my troops are accustomed to bivouac*. I shall be happy to allow any member to withdraw, but none shall enter." Upon this the President desired the members to retire under protest, and meet elsewhere on the following day. They accordingly withdrew in a body, attended by the Burgher Guard, which warmly espoused their cause. Early next morning they (Nov. 11) met by appointment in the hall of the Schützen-Gild, which, before daylight, was surrounded by the Burgher Guard in

great strength, where they remained all day to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, and received deputations expressing sympathy and condolence from the Municipal Council and most of the public bodies. The mob outside naturally and loudly expressed their concurrence, as they generally do in periods of excitement, with whoever resists legal authority. In the course of the day a royal proclamation appeared, dissolving the Burgher Guard, and requiring them to give up their arms. At the same time a proclamation was issued, assuring the people that the King would faithfully observe the constitution, and that no infringement of their liberties should take place.* No attention was paid to this order; on the contrary, the citizens met and agreed to refuse to deliver up their arms. Upon this it was renewed in still more peremptory terms on the day following; and as the aspect of public affairs had become in the highest degree menacing, troops in great numbers were marched in, the landwehr called out, and the capital was declared in a state of siege. Before midnight, thirty thousand soldiers, stanch and true, were concentrated in Berlin; a force nearly double of the Burgher Guard, and incomparably more disciplined and effective.†

* "I give you this inviolable assurance, that nothing shall be abrogated from your constitutional liberties; that it shall be my holiest endeavour to be unto you a good constitutional King; so that we may mutually erect a stately and tenable edifice, beneath whose roof, to the weal of our German Fatherland, our posterity may quickly and peaceably rejoice in the blessings of genuine and true liberty for centuries to come. May the blessing of God rest upon our work!"—CAYLEY, *ii* 90

† The Frankfurt Assembly sent Herr Bassermann, a leading Liberal on their side, to Berlin, at this period, to report on the crisis then pending in that capital, and his report is valuable as the testimony of an unwilling witness, and prejudiced, if anything, on the popular side. It was extremely unfavourable to the Berlin democrats. "The liberty of the press is atrociously abused; the most mischievous placards and flying sheets are printed and circulated; one representing a man asleep with a number of lamps around him, and a man hanging from a cock, is called 'The Republican's Dream.' The red flag has

6. To all appearance the contest could only be decided now by an appeal to arms ; but the crisis passed over without bloodshed, in consequence of the firmness of the Government, and the united gentleness and steadiness of the soldiers. On the 13th November the members again met in the Schützen-Gild-hall, and their proceedings were interrupted by the entry of an officer from General Wrangel, summoning it, as "an illegal assembly, to disperse." The Vice-President was in the chair, and refused to leave it unless forced to do so. The whole Assembly shouted, "Never, till forced by arms!" Upon this three officers entered the hall, attended by a body of soldiers, and, repeating the same summons, were received with the same answer. Thereupon the officers advanced, and quietly lifted up the chair on which the president sat, and carried it out with its occupant into the street. The members followed, loudly protesting against the violence, and the Assembly was adjourned to another time and place. The members separated and retired, attended by multitudes loudly cheering them ; but the military had orders to fire upon the people if they remained in crowds in the streets after being ordered to disperse. Subsequent to the declaration of a state of siege, there was no actual collision or lives lost. The disarming of the Burgher Guard immediately after commenced, and continued during the following day with nothing more than a passive inert resistance on the part of that body.

7. During this struggle, public opinion was daily more strongly declaring itself in favour of the Government.

been hoisted before the door of the Assembly, and the most violent threats are uttered against the unpopular members. Thrice have they petitioned the Assembly to pass laws to secure them from mob intimidation, and as often have they refused to do so. On the very staircase of the Assembly a mob orator has called on the people to come next time with pick-axes and knives, saying it is easier to find obnoxious members when so provided. The aspect of the streets is melancholy in the extreme; the Assembly is always surrounded by a frightful mob"—*HERR BARBERMANN'S Report, November 1848*—*CAYLEY*, ii. 97, 98.

But the Assembly were not discouraged, and, trusting to the unanimous fervour which had attended their election and first installation in power, firmly continued the contest. On the 15th they again met in the hall of the Town Council, but the military appeared, and the members withdrew under protest. In the evening of the same day, two hundred and twenty-six of the members assembled in a café in the Linden, and passed a decree refusing to grant any supplies to the Government. Another resolution was proposed, declaring that the Brandenburg Ministry were not authorised to levy taxes till the National Assembly shall resume its duties in safety at Berlin. When the discussion on this motion was just beginning, an officer of the line entered the room, with six grenadiers who were posted at the door, while a battalion was drawn up in the street opposite. The officer approached the President, and informed him that he had orders from General Wrangel to cause the chamber to be evacuated. Great agitation arose upon this being announced from the chair. "No, no! a thousand times no! we will not leave this room till compelled to do so by bayonets!" re-echoed from all sides of the hall, and sixty deputies rushed forward towards the officer and his escort, and by their gestures threatened to drive them from the hall ; while the remainder crowded in a state of extreme excitement round the President. The officer and his escort remained perfectly calm, but communicated with the battalion outside, and sent to headquarters for further instructions. Meanwhile the Assembly passed by acclamation the second resolution proposed, and then, on the motion of the President, M. Unruh, who had been informed by the officer that he had orders to employ force, and would do so if necessary, withdrew and dispersed, exulting in the belief that they had done as much mischief to the Ministry of Count Brandenburg as in the circumstances was practicable. No attempt was made to meet again.

8. During this critical time the

Brandenburg Ministry remained firm, and, by a happy union of decision with moderation, they prevailed in the contest. They were clearly right in the question at issue: the King, beyond all doubt, was entitled either to prorogue or dissolve the Assembly, and assign the place of its reassembling, and to dissolve the Burgher Guard. It might be a question, of course, whether it was wise or expedient, at any particular time, to resort to these extreme measures; but of the right of the King to do so when it became absolutely necessary, not a doubt could be entertained. The events, which were fresh in every one's recollection, had demonstrated that this necessity had now arisen. Accordingly, in the stand which he now made against the encroachments of the Assembly and of the Burgher Guard, the King had the support, not only of the army, but, in the end, of the great bulk of the respectable portion of the people. This could hardly have been expected in the earlier stages of these troubles; for in the outset of their career the National Assembly had the sympathy of a vast majority of the people in their favour. They had forfeited this good opinion by the violence of their language and acts, and, above all, by their evident want of business habits and acquaintance with the real wants of the nation. Accordingly, the King was generally supported by the nation in the measures by which he followed up his victory. Numerous arrests took place in Berlin of the leaders in the late tumults, which effectually broke the neck of popular insurrection. Circulars were at the same time sent to all the "royal governments" in the kingdom, warning them not to pay any regard to the illegal resolutions of the Assembly. These were everywhere obeyed, and the collection of the revenue went on without interruption. When the news of the stopping of the supplies by the Assembly at Berlin reached Frankfort, the National Assembly there (Nov. 21) passed a resolution, by a majority of 234 to 189, condemning the resolution of the Prussian Assembly in the strongest terms;

and the Archduke John, as Regent of Germany, immediately after issued a circular letter to all the states of the Confederacy in the same terms, and declaring that the Government of Germany would permit no such illegal proceedings as had disgraced the cause of liberty in Prussia, and endangered the prosperity of all Germany.*

9. This resolution of the Frankfort Assembly completed the defeat of the anarchical faction in Prussia, by depriving them of the moral sympathy and support of the great body of the Liberals in Germany. In his subsequent measures, accordingly, the King experienced no difficulty. The crisis was past; it only remained by vigour, combined with moderation and prudence, to follow up the victory. On the day appointed (Nov. 27), the monarchical deputies met at Brandenburg; but as the refractory members refused to join them, they could not at first make a house, as the legal number was wanting. At length (Dec. 1) Unruh, with the two hundred and twenty-five dissentients, made their appearance, in order to have a trial of strength; but being in a minority in one vote, they again withdrew, announcing their intention of returning on the 7th December, when it was expected Unruh would be re-elected President. To counteract this design, the Assembly was dissolved by royal proclamation on the 5th December; and as it had

* "A part of the Prussian deputies have resolved to withhold the taxes. By so doing they have loosened the bonds of political existence, deeply shaken the foundations of civil society, and brought Prussia, and with it the whole of Germany, to the verge of civil war. The Imperial Assembly has solemnly pledged itself to maintain the rights and liberties promised to you, and promised you protection against any who would violate them. It has, however, declared the resolution of the Prussian deputies to withhold the taxes, null and void. Prussians! the Imperial Assembly at Frankfort represents the German nation in the aggregate, and its decision is supreme law to all Germans! I will act in full accordance with the Imperial Assembly. I will not allow the resolution which, by preventing the levying of taxes in Prussia, endangers the prosperity of the whole of Germany, to be carried into effect."—ARCHDUKE JOHN to the *Kings and Princes of the Empire*, November 22, 1848: *Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 394.

not yet devised or agreed to any constitution, notwithstanding the interminable debates in which its members had indulged, the King accompanied the proclamation by the draft of a new constitution, which amply redeemed his pledge to secure all the rights of freemen to every class of his subjects. The dissolution took the revolutionary party quite by surprise, and they were unprepared with any counter-move to meet it. But their rage exhaled in several impotent riots and mobs in the streets, which, however, were not suppressed till the military had fired in several places, and seven lives had been lost.

10. By this constitution, which was in the main modelled on that of Belgium, of which an account has already been given, all the elements of real freedom were obtained. It declared the equality of all Prussians in the eye of the law, freedom of the person and of the press, and the right of all to emigrate. Letters going through the post-office were to be inviolable, and offences of the press judged of by the ordinary tribunals. The civil ceremony was to give validity to marriage. Feudal tenures, entails, and all exclusive privileges of rank, were abolished. The person of the King was inviolable, but his ministers were responsible for his acts. Judges, whether supreme or inferior, were to be irremovable, except by sentence of competent courts; the right of meeting and petitioning secured, and ample provision made by the state for universal education. The legislature was to consist of two chambers; the first or Upper House to contain 180 members, elected by the same delegates as those who chose the members for the Lower House, out of persons paying 300 florins of direct taxes or having an income of 2500 florins a-year; besides the princes of the blood-royal and 60 members nominated by the King. The Lower Chamber was to consist of 350 members, chosen by double election; the primary electors, or the persons choosing the delegates, to be the whole male inhabitants, and the members persons above twenty-

four years of age, who had resided six months in the place of voting, and received no parochial aid. A delegate was to be chosen for every 750 inhabitants. The members of the Upper Chamber required to be forty years of age, and to have resided five years in Prussia. All exemptions from taxation were abolished; laws and ordinances were to be valid only when passed in legal form; but on urgent occasions ordinances having the interim force of laws might be issued, to be sanctioned by the Chambers, however, on their next sitting. This programme gave general satisfaction, and even the revolutionists were abashed, as well they might be, for the King had conceded to his subjects all the guarantees of real freedom. Indeed, the only question was, whether he had not gone too far in yielding to the prevailing thirst for popular power; for here was a constitution, with both the Houses of Lords and Commons elective, and the latter elected by *universal suffrage*, guarded against only by the feeble barrier of a double election. This was the royal constitution published by the King in the moment of his triumph! It is doubtful whether the British people, with their business habits, practical turn of mind, and centuries of freedom, could stand the strain of such institutions three months.

11. On 1st January 1849, the King, deeming the danger at an end, published an address to the troops of the line and the landwehr,* in which he

* "I congratulate my brave army—the line and the landwehr—on the opening of the new year. At the close of the eventful year 1848, it is a heartfelt pleasure to me to express my acknowledgments for its unequalled conduct. When, without God's assistance, Prussia would have sunk under treason and deception, my army has preserved its old renown, and acquired fresh glory. Both King and people regard with pride the sons of our Fatherland! They remained faithful when events prevented the development of those free institutions which I had introduced to my people. When Germany required their arms in Schleswig, they covered our banners with fresh laurels. When the insurrection in Posen was to be suppressed, it underwent victoriously both toils and dangers; its co-operation in the task of preserving order in Southern Germany acquired a new tribute of

congratulated them in warm but not undeserved terms on their loyalty and steadiness, and expressed his gratitude for their unequalled conduct. He might well do so, for beyond all doubt the Prussian army, by its loyalty, had saved the Crown from destruction, the people from the extinction of liberty by democratic despotism. The constitution which their fidelity enabled the King to give them, contained, as the event proved, at least as much liberty as they could bear; anything beyond it would have been nothing but Republican tyranny. The evil effects of the troubles which had already been experienced from popular rule in Berlin, gave no inviting foretaste of its ultimate consequences. The appearance of the city was dreary in the extreme; the principal families had left it, the houses were empty, the streets deserted; no one was to be seen but a few workmen mournfully going to earn their diminished wages, or the patrols who traversed the streets to prevent insurrection. In the seven months immediately succeeding the insurrection, a twentieth of the shops in the capital were closed, from their tenants having become bankrupt; a serious diminution had taken place in the public revenue; the state of the treas-

acknowledgment to the Prussian name. Finally, when in Prussia itself the violation of the laws made necessary the interposition of the armed power and the calling out of the landwehr, the men of that force cheerfully abandoned hearth and home, wife and children, to discharge their duty, and both landwehr and troops of the line justified the confidence. I have always trusted in them, and proved how admirable is that organisation of the whole army which was established by the late King my father. Everywhere the troops have done their duty. But higher still than their achievements in the field do I value the conduct they have observed for months together under the most detestable attacks; under insults, slanders, and attempts to seduce them from their allegiance, against which they have opposed unshaken the spirit of loyalty and a noble self-command. I knew my army when I called them out; there they stood unshaken in unbroken fidelity and perfect discipline. In Prussia's most glorious epochs the army could have done no more. To the generals, officers, and soldiers of the troops of the line and landwehr I return thanks, both in my own name and in that of our common country.—FREDERICK WILLIAM.—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 344.

ury was so alarming that a voluntary loan to a considerable amount was unavoidably contracted: and the condition of the working classes had become so miserable that, on their own urgent petition, two preliminary decrees were of his own authority issued by the King for their relief.

12. The political storm which occasioned such dissensions in Prussia in the latter part of the year 1848, produced convulsions also at Frankfort, where the Diet was sitting, and in the south of Germany. Immediately after his installation as Regent, the Archduke John appointed his ministers, the Prince of Leiningen, one of the most Liberal of the German princes, being the President of the Council; M. Hekscher, of Hamburg, Foreign Affairs; M. Von Schmerling, of Vienna, the Interior; and General Von Peucker, War. One of the first steps of the Assembly, after a long and eloquent debate, was to decree the abolition of capital punishment over all Germany. This was carried by a majority of 288 to 146. The next important point which came under discussion was the armistice of Malmœ, between the Prussians and Danes; and as this involved the great object of extending the German name and influence, it was carried by a majority of 238 to 22 *not* to ratify the armistice, in consequence of which the Archduke's ministry resigned. Such a difficulty, however, was experienced in framing a cabinet to succeed them that they finally resumed office. But the conduct of the popular assemblies in the two duchies ere long became so violent, and the insubordination of their levies so excessive, that the sympathy of the majority in the Assembly at Frankfort was alienated from them, and some days after (Sept. 16) they passed a resolution virtually recalling the former. By this decree, which was carried by 257 to 236, it was declared—1. That nothing shall be done in the mean time to prevent the execution of the armistice; and, 2. That the Central Power of Germany be requested to come to an understanding

with Denmark, for the introduction of such terms into the armistice as that Power may deem admissible.

13. As this resolution indicated a desire to return to the paths of reason and moderation, instead of following the phantom of democratic ambition, it excited the utmost indignation in the extreme revolutionary party. The clubs were immediately put in motion, the streets were covered with threatening placards; crowds, with menacing cries and gestures, assembled in all the public places, and resolutions were passed by these self-constituted meetings, to the effect that "the members of the majority, who had ratified the infamous armistice of Malmœ, had been guilty of high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people." This resolution was without delay communicated to the Assembly, and they felt themselves so powerless that they officially intimated to the Regent that they were no longer able to preserve the peace of the town. The Regent's ministry, upon receiving this information, acted with promptitude and courage. The aspect of affairs was in the highest degree threatening, for the trades-unions and democratic societies of Mayence, Hanau, Offenbach, and all the towns in the vicinity, had sent bodies of armed men, marching under their respective banners, into Frankfort, who had joined the same classes in its streets; and twenty thousand men, under the orders of the extreme democrats of the Assembly, were drawn together to enforce the demands of the revolutionists. Their leaders made use of the most violent language, which, of course, was loudly applauded. It was notoriously a political revolution, or change of rulers, which they desired: the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the division of property, the extinction of monarchical government and the nobility, were loudly demanded; in a word, everything which the Parisian socialists had convulsed society in France to achieve. Orders were immediately despatched to the Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops in the neighbourhood, or in garrison at Mayence, to march in,

and on the evening of the 17th they began to arrive in great strength. The sight of uniforms coming to repress their violence only augmented the public frenzy; an immense crowd collected round the church of St Paul, where the Assembly held its sittings, to overawe the members; stones began to be thrown at those who had become unpopular; a committee of the revolutionists was appointed, which sat all night; and an insurrection was openly announced for the following day.

14. Early next morning the contest began, and with a degree of skill and method, on the part of the insurgents, which showed how large a proportion of old soldiers were to be found in their ranks. Detachments of Prussian and Austrian troops at daybreak occupied the principal streets; but the mob on their side had already, after the most recent Parisian fashion, erected barricades, the two strongest of which lay across the Döngerstrasse and Schnaugasse, near the Exchange. The latter was formed of large blocks of stone, with regular loopholes for musketry at the top, and a mass of omnibus and other vehicles below the range of the fire was placed in its front, to obstruct the approach of the soldiers. The combat commenced at three in the morning by a detachment of Austrian soldiers marching down upon the barricade in the Döngerstrasse, on the top of which a huge red flag waved in proud defiance. They were received by so heavy a fire from the barricade, and windows adjacent, that they fell back in disorder. Being reinforced, however, by a strong body of Prussians, they returned to the charge, carried the barricade, made themselves masters of the principal street of Frankfort, from whence they stormed a fortified guardhouse, the principal stronghold of the insurgents. The latter now petitioned for an armistice, which was accorded for an hour, during which they besought the Archduke to remove the troops from the city, promising submission when they were gone. His councillors, however, prevailed on the Regent to answer the petitions by declaring martial

law if immediate surrender were not made. This not being done, the conflict recommenced at six o'clock, and cannon having been brought up, the remaining barricades in possession of the insurgents were shattered and pierced through in every direction. By midnight the rebels were defeated in all quarters, and the city was in the entire possession of the military. The loss, however, had been severe on both sides, and the cause of the revolutionists had been disgraced by the treacherous murder of two distinguished men, when attempting to reason with the mob. The first was Prince Lechnowski, one of the most eloquent members of the Assembly, and the other M. d'Auerswald. The Prince dropped from his horse severely wounded, while in the act of addressing the people; M. d'Auerswald was pulled from his, and both, while lying on the ground, were immediately hacked at and beaten with savage ferocity with scythes, hatchets, and clubs by the infuriated mob. Death soon put a period to the sufferings of the last: the former was still breathing, though his arms were hacked to pieces, when he was carried to a field adjoining the town, where he was set up as a target, and fired at by the populace till some soldiers came up, attracted by the discharge of firearms, and carried off his mangled remains.

15. Scarcely was this hideous revolt quelled in Frankfort, when a fresh alarm, of a still more serious kind, was heard from the Upper Rhine. It arose from a democratic insurrection, headed by the notorious journalist Struve, who had escaped to Bâle, and remained there hatching plots since the failure of his former attempt. Deeming the present crisis favourable to the realisation of his long-cherished dreams, he got together a band of two thousand French, Polish, and Italian refugees, and invaded the territory of Baden, denouncing at the same time the Assembly at Frankfort as a mere mockery, which, under the name of legality, would lead to a slavery worse than could result from a bloody war. At the same time, the *Moniteur de Lor-*

rach, a journal in the hands of the revolutionists, published several decrees, professing to be in the name of the Provisional Government, which, besides abolishing tithes, crown and feudal rights, promised property, liberty, and instruction for all. At the same time martial law was proclaimed, a provisional government announced, and universal arming of the people enjoined. But these transports were of short duration. The troops stood firm; the insurgents, undisciplined, half-armed, and distrusting each other, were speedily overcome. Attacked on the 25th September by General Hoffman, at the head of the regular forces of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, the insurgents were totally routed near Staufsen, and the Provisional Government, which had not ventured far over the frontier, forced to take refuge in the neighbouring territory of Bâle. Struve, who had escaped from the field of battle, was taken the next day, and after being brought before successive tribunals at Fribourg, Carlstadt, and Rastadt, was sentenced to confinement for life. His partisans were, for the most part, either slain on the field of battle, or made prisoners in the flight, and the insurrection was entirely quelled. As, however, great agitation prevailed in all the towns along the Rhine, a considerable body of Prussian, Würtemberg, and Hessian troops were quartered in all the frontier cities, from Mannheim to Bâle, and in the former town four thousand Prussians took post, a corps of twenty thousand men was concentrated at Fribourg, while twelve thousand occupied Schweizingen, and a considerable body of Austrians and Bavarians were stationed in Constance.

16. These violent outbreaks excited serious attention at Frankfort, and a formal demand was made for a prosecution of such members of the Assembly as had been implicated in the late rebellion in the town. They were numerous, and of course great favourites with the people, and the motion excited an extraordinary degree of interest. M. Vogt pleaded the cause of the deputies implicated, and he rested

their defence on the alleged necessity of insurrection from the Assembly's neglect of the cause of the people. "If you have reaped the whirlwind," said he, "it is because you have begun by sowing the wind. There would have been no insurrections in the streets if there had been no deceitful ministers in the cabinets, and blind representatives in the Assembly—if Government, resting on vain parliamentary majorities, had not constantly refused to treat with the people assembled to conquer new institutions. It is thus that they are driven to fight: brutality against brutality; force against force." "Do you, then," said M. Bassermann in reply, "put in the same line, regard in the same light, force employed in support of the law, and violence committed in resistance to the law? There is but one authority and law in the land, and every other is usurpation and rebellion. Were it otherwise, the assassin on the high-road might say to me, 'I murder you in my right, as the gendarme who is pursuing me does in his.' But this is the grand error of the age: resistance is preached up everywhere, and against everything, without distinguishing against what or whom. Because a system which had stood for three-and-thirty years was overturned this spring by force, it is thought that force is for ever justifiable, and that it ends by justifying itself." There could be no doubt of the soundness of the answer, but it sounded strange in the mouth of M. Bassermann, the old leader of the Opposition in Baden, and who had by violence overturned the existing constitution in his own country. The Assembly, fearful of irritating the people, passed to the order of the day—a melancholy proof of weakness on the part of Government, too common in troubled times.

17. Although, however, the revolutionary party had been thus defeated in Berlin, Frankfort, and Baden, yet the difficulties of the National Assembly were by no means lessened by these victories; on the contrary, they were materially increased. A new element of discord sprang up from the success

of the conservatives, arising from the renewed pretensions of Austria. That power, which had held the first place in the former Germanic Confederacy, had bent before, but not been broken by, the storm. She was by no means inclined to submit to the government of any central authority, or merge her separate hereditary sovereignty in a great confederacy ruled by an elective chief. Even the choice of the Archduke John as regent had by no means reconciled her to the Frankfort Diet. It was well known that he had been elected in consequence of his Liberal principles, which were very far indeed from being those of his family, or the traditionary tenets of the Government of Vienna; and it was strongly surmised that, although the choice of a regent had fallen on a prince of the house of Hapsburg, that of an emperor would devolve on the King of Prussia. This idea could not for a moment be entertained, and accordingly the vision of German unity found few advocates at Vienna. On the contrary, the jealousy between the partisans of Austria and those of a central government became so violent at Frankfort, that the regent's administration was broken up by it. Von Schmerling, the Minister of the Interior, and Wurth, one of the under-secretaries of state, who were both deputies from Vienna, found their situation so irksome that they resigned office in the middle of December, and M. Von Gagern was sent for, who succeeded in re-forming the ministry, of course containing a majority of decided Liberals, with himself at its head.

18. The Prince of Leiningen, Prime Minister under the Archduke John, thus stated the requisites which were indispensable towards the formation of a united German Empire: "The nation must decide whether it will really have a united and powerful Germany; it is indispensable that it should elucidate this question to its own satisfaction, and thereafter act upon its will. As there is only one kind of real liberty which rests on law and order, so there is but one sort of unity—an actual union of the component parts as a

whole, and that too in such a manner as to remove the possibility of any dispute or contest between the whole and its parts. If any other course be pursued, not singleness or unity, but discord and separation, will be established. If the German nation, therefore, will have unity, it must not only adopt the means thereto, but accept the consequences thereof. There must be no more opposition of Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, or any other interests, to those of Germany, for the former must be absorbed in the latter. Jealousy between individual states, revilings of the northern against the southern parts of the empire, are therefore mischievous absurdities. But opposition or disobedience to the imperial authority in the National Assembly is a crime against the majesty of the nation itself, a treason against the Fatherland, which must speedily be followed by condign punishment. Dynastic interests, as far as they refer to the imperial power, cannot, if the nation wills unity, be taken into consideration; for princes are as much called on to conform to that will as any other German. If, therefore, the nation would convert words into deeds, it must admonish the imperial power—that is, the National Assembly and the Central Government—to adopt with rapidity and precision, and without regard to collateral interests, all such measures as correspond with the object of restoring a free and united Germany, and moreover lend its own hearty support in aid of the work. To retrograde to a confederation of states, or to establish a weak central government by a powerfully repressed independence of individual states, would only lead by a mournful transition to fresh catastrophes and revolutions.”*

* On the other hand, the views of Austria on this all-important subject were developed in a note addressed at this time by the Cabinet of Vienna to the Frankfort Assembly:—“The Imperial Government concurs with the German tribes next beyond the limits of the Austrian frontiers in their desire for a regeneration of Germany; the first condition of which, it apprehends, must be found in a closer union of the individual states. To promote this closer union ought to be the common task of the German princes and peo-

There can be no doubt that the general adoption of these magnanimous ideas was the only foundation on which German unity could be established. But alas for those who embraced that captivating illusion! they showed that it rested on the most hopeless of all foundations—a general negation of the selfish desires by all classes of the community.

19. A tragic event ere long occurred, which ulcerated in the highest degree the feelings of the National Assembly at Frankfort, and demonstrated how chimerical was the idea of fusing together Northern and Southern Germany in one united empire. When Vienna was reconquered from the insurgents on the 31st October by WINDISCHGRATZ, as will be immediately narrated, Robert Blum, the republican minister for Frankfort, and a man of ability and eloquence, fell into the hands of the victors. It appeared that he was in arms along with others when the city was taken, but not actually combating; they had retired to their hotel, when it was surrounded, and they were all made prisoners. Blum, who was

ple. Far from excluding itself, the Imperial Government is prepared for an earnest and candid co-operation, supposing always that the end to be attained is to be a union, not a total remodelling (*umschmelzung*) of existing institutions—that is, the maintenance (*wahrung*) of the various organic members of Germany, and not their abolition and annihilation. The formation of a unitarian state appears as little practicable for Austria as desirable for Germany. It is not expedient for us, for the position of Austria in the Confederacy ought not to cause us to forget our rights and duties to the non-German provinces of the monarchy. The Imperial Government cannot break the bonds which for centuries have joined the German and non-German countries of Austria, nor can it give its adhesion to a one-sided abolition of the German Confederation, which is an essential element of the European treaties. Indeed, such a unitarian state does not appear to be desirable for Germany; for not only would it oppose, in many ways, the various wants of the country, but it would stand in the way of its moral and material interests, destroy the traditions of the past and hopes of the future, and be a stumblingblock in the way of the much-longed-for and jealously-watched political and individual liberty of the Germans.”—*Note of AUSTRIA*, October 28, 1848; *Moniteur*, November 4, 1848.

well known as a republican leader, was taken before the Commander-in-chief, when he protested against the legality of his arrest upon the ground of a decree of the Frankfort Assembly, by which they had declared their own persons inviolable. The military commander was induced to sustain the plea, but he was overruled by the civil authorities, and Blum was immediately shot. It is scarcely possible to maintain that any assembly can, by voting itself inviolable, authorise its members to commit high treason in foreign states. But, be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the execution of Blum was a harsh and imprudent measure of the Austrian Government, adopted in the first transports of reactionary fervour, which finally dissevered Southern from Northern Germany, and blew to the winds the vision of a united central empire. It was intended as a defiance of Austria against Northern Germany—accepted and avenged as such. The Assembly at Frankfort solemnly protested against this execution as an invasion of their rights and privileges, and all hope of an accommodation between them was at an end.*

20. The principle of Von Gagern's ministry was to treat Austria as a member of the Germanic Confederacy, and maintain intercourse with her as such, but not to regard her as embraced in the new Federal Constitution, and therefore not entitled to be consulted in its construction. In effect, the high monarchical ideas of the Austrian Cabinet were so inconsistent with the democratic views of the great majority of the Frankfort Assembly, that it was plain no common measures could be pursued between them. It was by a radical revolution at Vienna alone that this could be effected, and such

* Impolitic as the execution of Blum undoubtedly was, there can be no doubt that, on the principles of public or international law, it was strictly legal as long as the punishment of death is affixed by nations to grave political offences. He was not tried for anything he had said or done at Frankfort, and as a member of the National Assembly there, but for taking part in arms in an insurrection in the streets of Vienna—a foreign country, so far as its domestic rule is concerned, to the Frankfort Assembly.

an event had been indefinitely postponed by the victory of Windischgratz and execution of Blum. Independent of this, the character of the Frankfort Assembly had become such that it was hopeless to expect anything rational or practical from its deliberations. The very first articles of the proposed constitution went to exclude Austria directly from any share in the united German nation; for they expressly declared "that no part of the empire could be united into a single state with countries not German; and if a German country has the same sovereign as a non-German country, the relations between the two countries are not to be regulated but on the principle of a purely personal union." The Austrian Cabinet, already distracted by internal broils, saw nothing but ruin in such propositions; and Prince Schwarzenberg accordingly, on hearing of these articles, sent an official note, in which he stated, "The complete, indissoluble unity of all the states which compose the Austrian monarchy is indispensable to Germany and to Europe; Austria will consider hereafter on what terms it is to unite with Germany." This was just the reverse of what the Frankfort Assembly intended, which was that the German provinces of Austria should form part of united Germany, and the Slavonic and Hungarian states another empire under the same head, just as they proposed for Schleswig and Holstein.

21. It would be inconceivable how conduct so senseless could have been pursued by the ardent apostles of unity, if it were not recollected how the Frankfort Assembly was composed, and under what influences it had fallen. Formed originally of a great majority of professors, doctors, and literary men, who had no practical acquaintance with affairs, but were enamoured of abstract principles, it had wasted the whole time that it had sat—above eight months—in debates upon words or general resolutions, without having advanced one step in real business, or adopted one single practical measure. It had not even

fixed the basis of the constitution. In consequence, it had become much discredited in the opinion of all sensible men in Germany; and serious doubts had come to be entertained of the practicability of governing a Confederacy consisting of such heterogeneous materials by an Assembly so composed. But in addition to these, the members, since they came to Frankfort, had become exposed to influences still more perilous. That city was filled with clubs, where the most reckless and ambitious from every part of Germany were congregated, to bring to bear on the Assembly the united force of their ambition, selfishness, and inexperience. Nearly every member of the Assembly belonged to more than one of these clubs, at which all the subjects coming before it were previously discussed, and instructions were given to the members how they were to vote, and even the order in which they were to speak. In a word, these clubs resembled so many *præ* and *post*-comitial Diets of Poland, at which pledges were imposed on the members of the Comitia before its meeting, and they were called to account after it was over for the manner in which they had conformed to them. It was melancholy to behold in an Assembly boasting its intelligence, and brought together expressly for the regeneration and improvement of society, a repetition of the very errors which had proved the ruin of the oldest republic in Christendom.

22. The open breach between Austria and the Frankfort Assembly led, in the beginning of 1849, to one decided step on the part of that body, which, if adopted at an earlier period, might have been attended with very important results. After several preliminary resolutions tending to the same end, the important question was submitted to the Assembly, whether the Sovereign of the new German Empire should be elective, excluding the head of any reigning family, or bestowed on one of the reigning German sovereigns; and it was carried by a majority of 339 to 122, that the reigning sovereigns should not be excluded;

and by 258 to 211, that the choice should be limited to one of the German sovereigns. This was a great point gained, and proved decisive; for it excluded a democratic president, and seemed to leave no choice, now that Austria was out of the field, but to bestow the Imperial Crown on the King of Prussia. The strength of the democratic element, however, appeared in the next vote, which was (Feb. 16) on the question whether the dignity thus conferred should be elective or hereditary; and in spite of the secret efforts of Prussia, the former was carried by a majority of 263 to 211. The next proposition submitted to the Assembly was, that the Crown should be tendered to the Prussian monarch. The debate on this subject commenced on the 17th March, and continued without intermission till the 28th. In the course of it the Prussian party offered the greatest concessions to secure the hereditary succession of the title. They consented that the new emperor should have only a suspensive *veto*; that the proposed council of princes should be abandoned; finally, that both chambers should be elected directly by universal suffrage. In return for these great concessions, the popular party agreed on the 27th that the dignity of emperor should be hereditary. On the 28th the decisive vote as to the choice of the emperor came on. The greatest anxiety prevailed as to the result: to the feverish tumult which had continued during the discussion succeeded a deathlike silence when the vote was taken, and at length, amidst intense excitement, the numbers were announced — for the King of Prussia, 290 out of 558 votes. It was immediately announced from the chair, that the choice had fallen on the King of Prussia, and a deputation of thirty-two members was appointed to tender him the Crown. Next day the Archduke John, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of his Council, resigned his office of Regent.

23. The time was when this flattering offer would have been joyfully accepted by the King of Prussia; for it

seemed to realise all the secret wishes and aspirations of his Cabinet, which had led them to embrace with so much warmth, in the outset, the principles of the German Revolution. But Time had worked many changes here, as it never fails to do elsewhere in human affairs. The Imperial Crown, as now tendered, was very different from the Imperial Crown as originally coveted. Being elective, in the first instance, it more nearly resembled the Presidency of America, or the Empire of Imperial Rome, than the old Germanic diadem. Moreover, it was accompanied by such restrictions as left little more than the shadow of power in the hands of the possessor. Austria had openly declared against the union of all the Confederacy under one head, and there could be little doubt that the acceptance of the Imperial Crown by Frederick William would at once bring on a war with that power, backed by Russia, with whom she was now in the closest alliance. France, torn by revolutionary passions, and England, paralysed by the economy of a citizen-ruled Government, were in no condition to give him any effectual support, and thus he would be left to make head against the two greatest military powers in Europe, with no other support but that of the lesser German states, who could not be expected to remain long united on such a crisis. Add to this, the party in the Frankfort Assembly which had tendered the Imperial Crown was the same as that from which he had recently made so narrow an escape in the streets of Berlin. Influenced by these considerations, the King determined to decline the proffered honour, prudently veiling, however, the refusal, under the pretext that the offer was "not as yet sanctioned by the sovereigns and free states of our Fatherland." It was well known that this sanction would never be got, at least from Austria, or the powers whom she influenced; so that this was in effect an absolute rejection. The deputation took it as such, and after remaining a few days in Berlin, to see whether the King would not re-

lent, took their departure in deep dejection for Frankfort.*

24. When such were the views of the Cabinet of Berlin upon this question, it may readily be believed that that of Vienna was still more decidedly of the same opinion. In a note addressed on 8th April to the Frankfort Assembly, the sentiments of the Austrian Cabinet on their assumption of power were openly expressed. It was there said, "The constitution of Frankfort is nothing but a project: that project can only become a law when it has received the sanction of the States of Germany. The Assembly has therefore exceeded its powers in publishing as a law, a constitution which is yet only a project. It has equally exceeded its powers when, without authority, it wished to give to Germany a hereditary Emperor. Thus, from henceforth, *Austria regards the National Assembly as no longer existing.*" At the same time (April 9), a note was sent to the King of Prussia, stating, "The King may, as member of the Germanic Confederacy, make any proposition which he pleases; but he should no longer rest on the wishes or resolutions of the Frankfort Assembly. That Assembly is not entitled to exercise an influence over measures tending to the formation of a new central power, nor take a part in deliberations having for their object to bring about a concurrence in a constitution which itself has declared to be completed." To these sentiments the Kings of Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony immediately acceded, which gave the monarchical party a decided majority in the states of the Confederacy.

* The King said to the Deputies, "I feel honoured by the confidence of the National Assembly, and I am ready to prove by deeds that this reliance on my fidelity, love, and devotion to the cause of the country has not been misplaced. But I should not justify that confidence, I should not answer to the expectations of the German people, I should not strengthen the unity of Germany, if, violating sacred rights and breaking my former explicit and solemn assurances, I were, without the voluntary assent of the crowned Princes and free States of our Fatherland, to take a resolution which must be of decisive importance to them and the States which they rule."—*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 343.

25. On the other hand, the whole lesser states of Central and Northern Germany, comprehending Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Lauenburg, Anhalt, Dessau, Brunswick, Saxe-Weimar, Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Meiningen, Schwartzburg, Sonderhausen, Hohenzollern, Waldeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort, agreed to accept the newly-created German constitution, and concurred in a collective note, to the King of Prussia, urging him to accept the proffered dignity of Emperor, and binding themselves to recognise him as such. In this note they declared that the constitution, as finally determined on by the Frankfort Assembly, did not in all its parts meet with their entire approbation, but that, adverting to the powers bestowed on the members by their constituents, and the extreme danger of any division or farther delay on the subject, they unanimously agreed to accept it as it stood. They added in the close of this note: "They permit themselves to hope that the Prussian Government, in consideration of the pressing motives, which apply equally to all parts of Germany, will adopt the same principle, and come to the conviction, that in this manner it will be placed in a position to fulfil the mission that the regeneration of Germany intrusts to her. They hope also that every German government, whose entrance into the federal union is not prevented for the present by its special relations, will, influenced by the same patriotic purpose, join itself to the united empire, and that, therefore, any arrangement with them out of the pale of the constitution will be unnecessary."

26. Thus the great monarchical and the lesser states of the Confederacy were brought into direct collision on the question of the adoption or rejection of the new constitution. What rendered this division the more fatal to the project of German unity, and had occasioned the hesitation even in the lesser states to acquiesce in its adoption, was the extremely democratic nature of its character. The Imperial

Legislature was to consist of two Houses, in the Upper of which, one half was to be named by the Emperor, and one half by the Lower House. The Lower House was to be elected by the *universal suffrage* of all the male inhabitants of Germany above twenty-one years of age, and not in receipt of parochial relief. The Emperor's power of refusing his consent to any measure which had passed both houses was to be suspensive only: if it lasted three successive sessions, it became law, whether he consented or not. Thus the Lower House, elected by universal suffrage, was to have the entire command of the State; for it nominated directly half the Upper House, and it could force the Emperor to adopt any measure by passing it in three successive sessions. This constitution, therefore, was a republic, veiled under monarchical forms; it had no resemblance whatever to the old Germanic or any ancient European constitution, but closely resembled those struck out for the emancipation of mankind during the fervour of the French Revolution, or that adopted in 1812 by the rump of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon, which had so long been the watchword of the extreme democratic party in the south of Europe.

27. The Archduke John, at the earnest solicitation of Austria, as well as of the Frankfort Assembly, had been prevailed on to withdraw his resignation, and he still nominally continued Regent. But he had no real power, and the proceedings of that body soon became so violent that it was evident that they were entirely in the hands of a republican faction, and that it was only a question of time when an open rupture should ensue between them and the monarchical states. In consequence of instructions from Vienna, dated the 5th April, the whole of the Austrian members, 121 in number, withdrew from the Assembly. On the 30th April the Republican majority published a resolution disapproving of the dissolution of the Assembly in Prussia, and of a similar one in Hanover, and ordering the Governments of these two countries to

direct a new election as soon as possible. On 4th May they voted another series of resolutions, requiring all the governments, legislatures, and municipal bodies of the different states, to acknowledge the general constitution promulgated on the 28th March, and appointed the elections to take place under it on 15th August. As Prussia was expected to dissent, it was provided that, in that event, the office of interim regent or stadtholder should devolve on the sovereign of the state in the Confederacy which should possess the next greatest number of inhabitants. The expectations entertained of the dissent of Prussia were soon realised; for in a few days after, the Government at Berlin published a declaration to the effect that the Frankfort Assembly had no right to fix the time and mode of the elections, and that they could not in any manner recognise or execute its decrees. This was immediately followed by a royal ordinance, declaring that the commission of the deputies at the Frankfort Assembly had expired, and enjoining them to take no part in any ulterior proceedings. In reply, the Frankfort Assembly published a resolution, "that the gross violation of the peace of the empire, of which the Prussian Government had been guilty, by its unauthorised interference in the kingdom of Saxony, shall be repressed by all available means."* The Regent was solicited to put this decisive resolution in execution, and to form a cabinet to do so. This the Archduke John refused to do, and upon this the matter was referred to a committee, which reported that the Regent's government should be summoned to take the oath to the empire, and that its armies should be placed at the disposal of the Assembly. Upon this the Prussian Government instructed its plenipotentiary at Frankfort to announce that it no longer recognised the right or ability of the Central Government to direct the negotiations with Denmark, that it would do so itself, and that it had directed the Prussian commander in Schleswig to take his orders from

Berlin alone. The Frankfort Assembly upon this, deeming themselves no longer in safety in Frankfort, which was considered too much under the influence of Prussia, resolved to transfer the place of their deliberations to Stuttgart in Würtemberg, and a great majority of the members removed thither accordingly; while the Regent's government, with a steady minority, remained at Frankfort.

28. The democratic portion of the German Assembly had now run themselves into a desperate and even ludicrous position. Assuming and professing to exercise imperial powers, it in reality possessed neither the moral influence nor the physical strength to enforce obedience to its decrees. Having come to an open rupture with Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony, it could rest only on the support of the lesser states, and their strength was wholly unequal to a contest with these great monarchies. Its moral influence was still more seriously weakened; for such had been the violence of the speeches made, and perilous nature of the resolutions brought forward by the members of the Assembly, as well as the trifling nature of many of the points discussed in the debates on which so much time had been lost, that they had irrevocably forfeited the confidence of all persons of sense or experience in Germany, and thrown the Assembly into the arms of an insane revolutionary party precisely similar to the Jacobins of Paris, equal to them in audacity and presumption, but very different in ability of conduct and political power. This soon appeared in their public acts. After the removal of the Assembly to Stuttgart, they openly attempted to bring about a new and more violent democratic revolution, which should be entirely free from the conservative influences that had come to moderate the first. On 6th June 1849 they published strong resolutions against a new imperial constitution, to be immediately noticed, which had been framed by the Governments of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony; appointed a new Provisional Government

* To understand this, see *post*, § 29.

of eight persons to conduct the affairs of Germany, all of the most revolutionary character; deposed the Archduke John from the regency, declared him guilty of illegal usurpation for having continued to carry on the powers originally conferred upon him; ordered a general arming of the people, and directed the Finance Committee to negotiate a loan of 5,000,000 florins (£500,000) for the expenses of the Central Government in the months of June and July. These proceedings on the part of the rump of a legislature possessed of no real power, indicated the having of a body of political fanatics whom no experience could teach, and no change of circumstances convince. They were deemed too dangerous to be permitted to continue sitting, and yet too contemptible to warrant the application of military force. They were therefore handed over to the police, which prohibited their meeting; and the famous Frankfort Assembly, which had been charged with the mission of regenerating Germany, and deemed itself equal to the task, universally distrusted and discredited, expired on the mandate of a sergeant of police of the little kingdom of Wurtemberg!

29. It was not, however, without a serious contest in the lesser states, and some lamentable bloodshed, that this new and more violent democratic movement was finally quelled. The revolutionists were resolved to fight for it; and fight they did, and were thoroughly beaten. The first outbreak occurred at Dresden on the 5th May, when the people rose in revolt, and after a serious conflict with the military, succeeded in erecting barricades in the streets, and compelling the royal family to take refuge in the adjoining fortress of Konigstein. A provisional government was immediately proclaimed in the capital, having at its head a Polish refugee, and several other decided republicans. Their power, however, was of short duration. On the 7th, large bodies of troops arrived by the railway, including a Prussian regiment, and a

combined attack was immediately made on the position occupied by the insurgents. They were in part soon carried, and additional reinforcements, both Prussian and Saxon, having arrived on the succeeding day, a bloody conflict ensued, in which, as in Paris in the preceding year, the contending forces combated not only in the streets and on the barricades, but in almost every house. At first half the city was in the hands of the insurgents, but they were gradually expelled, and by the evening of the 9th the whole streets were in the possession of the royal troops, and the provisional government had taken to flight. The King immediately returned to his capital, and his authority was re-established. At the same time disturbances broke out at Leipsic; but as the Burgher Guard there remained faithful, they were suppressed before they had made any great progress. In Hanover, things at first wore a still more serious aspect; for the King there, who, in imitation of the Prussian Government, had dissolved the Chamber, whose democratic tendencies had become apparent, was so besieged in his palace by deputations from the towns and boroughs in his dominions, requiring the immediate and unqualified acceptance of the Frankfort Constitution, that he was on the point of quitting his capital, and was only prevailed on to remain and await the course of events, by promises of immediate and powerful assistance from the Prussian forces.

30. A still more alarming outbreak, attended by a great effusion of blood, took place a few days after in Baden and the Palatinate. The object of it, as of all the other movements, at the same time in Germany, was to compel the Government by force to adopt the Constitution of Frankfort, which had now come to form the rallying-point of the whole discontented spirits in the Confederacy. On the 13th May an open-air assembly was held at Offenberg, in the Grand-Duchy of Baden, at which violent resolutions were proposed and agreed to, to the effect that the Chambers should be

dissolved, a constituent assembly convoked, and was immediately declared against Prussia. At Carlsruhe, on the same day, a mutinous spirit was evinced by the troops; and at Bruchsal a mob assembled, which liberated some democratic leaders who were in confinement, and paraded them in triumph through the streets. Next day, as the garrison of Rastadt had revolted, and the insubordination of the military seemed to increase, and the Grand-Duke had no means of resisting them, he withdrew from his capital, and took refuge in Alsace, while a provisional government was established in his stead. This example was soon imitated in the Palatinate. On the 17th May a provisional government was established by a sudden outbreak at Kaiserslautern, and a convention immediately entered into with the provisional government at Baden, to the effect that the two states should be formed into one united revolutionary State. And on the 19th the provisional government of Baden issued a proclamation breathing defiance to the government of the Regent, and declaring their readiness to march against those powers which had entered into a coalition to bring about a counter-revolution, and restore all the old abuses. The insurrection, in the first instance, met with great success. The ardent democrats and discontented republicans from all quarters flocked to the standard of revolt; and in a few days the two provisional governments had twenty thousand armed and disciplined men enrolled under their banners.

31. This insurrection might have been attended with very serious consequences, if it had been met with less vigour and decision by the constituted authorities. But, meanwhile, the Governments of Prussia and Bavaria made the most vigorous efforts to extinguish the flames which threatened to involve the whole of Central and Southern Germany in conflagration. On the 22d May they declared the whole Palatinate in a state of insurrection, and denounced the provisional government as guilty of high treason.

The Prussian King despatched a large body of troops under the command of General Weber to assist the forces of the Confederacy. The insurgents retired before their united forces, and abandoned the whole country between the Rhine and the mouth of the Neckar. The Prussian troops were divided into two columns, the first of which, in conjunction with the troops of the Confederacy, without experiencing any serious resistance, advanced into Baden as far as Weinheim (15th June), while the second, on the opposite (left) bank of the Rhine, moved through the Palatinate. The former encountered twelve thousand insurgents under the Polish General Mieroslawski, who now again appeared at the head of the rebels in Southern Germany. He commenced a vigorous attack on the Prussian troops in position near the village of Grossochen, but was repulsed with loss. A few days after, Mieroslawski sustained a severe defeat from a Prussian corps greatly inferior in number, near the village of Hannechen. Martial law was soon proclaimed in the whole of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, and the Prussian troops, who were now commanded by the Prince of Prussia, crossed the Neckar (June 21) after a severe combat, and occupied Heidelberg and Mannheim, and the discomfited bands were driven into the defiles of the Black Forest. Thither they were immediately followed by the victorious Prussians (now joined by the column from the Palatinate which passed the Rhine at Gernersheim), who came up with a considerable body of insurgents, whom they routed, on the 22d June, near Ettlingen. The principal remains of their broken bands now took refuge, to the number of five thousand, in the fortress of Rastadt, which was immediately invested, while Carlsruhe was occupied by the troops of the Confederacy. The insurrection was finally extinguished by the surrender (June 23) of the troops in Rastadt; but Mieroslawski escaped to carry into other lands the standard of insurrection.

32. Taught by these events the impracticable nature of the constitution

which the democrats of Frankfort had proposed, the Cabinets of Berlin, Hanover, and Dresden had for some time been engaged in the formation of an Imperial Federal Constitution, which was finally agreed to and published on the 30th May. By this remarkable instrument the three Powers entered into a union, the object of which was mutual protection against external and internal enemies. They declared "the above-named Governments did not recognise the constitution drawn up by the Frankfort Assembly, because it went beyond the true and wholesome requirements of a powerful federal state, and in the form it received from the conflict and concessions of political parties, it did not contain those essential guarantees on which the legal and regular existence of every system of government reposes. But the united governments have never for a moment forgotten, that even for these reasons it became their double duty to co-operate in framing a constitution that has become an indispensable necessity for the whole of Germany. Such a constitution will secure for the nation what, for a long period, it has been so painfully deprived of—unity and strength in relation to foreign powers, and in its internal affairs, with the secured existence of each member of the union, a common development of general interests and national necessities. It is the guarantee of just freedom and legal order, which the German Constitution will have to grant to the governments and the people."

33. The Constitution, which was drawn up with great minuteness and precision, contained one hundred and ninety articles. By it the general government of the empire was vested in a President of the Empire, and a Council of Princes. The dignity of President of the Empire was united to the Crown of Prussia. The Council of Princes consisted of six members, one chosen by Prussia, one by Bavaria, and the remaining four to be chosen by the lesser states of the Confederacy collectively, in certain assigned clusters. The President and this Council

were to have the power of declaring peace and war, to conduct all negotiations with foreign powers, and conclude treaties with them. The Council of Princes had alone the right of proposing laws, the Diet could only deliberate on them. This Diet was to consist of two houses;—a Senate, consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven members, of which Prussia sent forty, chosen one-half by the government, the other half by the legislature in each state: the Lower House to be chosen by universal suffrage, every German voting who had attained the age of twenty-five, and had not been convicted of crime, and its members to be at least thirty years of age; these were to be chosen by a double election, and there was to be a representative for every 100,000 inhabitants. A Supreme Court of Appeal, "*Bundeschieds Gericht*," consisting of seven members, of whom Prussia was to appoint three, Saxony two, and Hanover two, was to decide all disputed matters between any members of the union. Personal freedom, freedom of religious worship, a free press, and universal education, to be provided at the public expense for the poor, were guaranteed to all the members of the union, as well as the right of meeting and petitioning, and establishing clubs. From this sketch of the constitution, which was called in derision by the extreme Liberals "the constitution of the three kings," it is evident that it contained all the elements of real freedom, and all the guarantees for its endurance which could be obtained, when the power of taking the initiative in legislative matters was as yet withheld from the people. It was based on the principle, that as long as the supreme direction of affairs was intrusted to the "Council of Princes," it was safe to admit even the representatives of universal suffrage to the privilege of stating their wishes and interests. But the constitution laboured under one defect fatal to its endurance; it wanted the concurrence of Austria and Bavaria, and without their adhesion there could be no general government of Germany. Any

union of the other states could be nothing but an extended Zollverein, binding on such sovereigns only as agreed to enter it, and destitute of the whole weight and grandeur which would belong to a united and universal German Empire.

34. Though the Prussian monarchy was thus acquiring the lead in Central and Northern Germany, it was not without difficulty that its Government could maintain the ascendancy of conservative principles in its own dominions. The elections for the new Chamber had not proceeded so favourably for Government as had been hoped; nearly the whole members of the extreme democratic party were re-elected, and the executive experienced no slight difficulty in moderating their fervour. The Chamber met on the 26th February; and the session proved a short and stormy one. The house cordially approved of the determination of the Frankfort Assembly to offer the crown of Germany to the King of Prussia; and a motion, praying the King to accept it, was rejected only by a majority of five, the numbers being 156 to 151. Shortly after, the Chamber resolved, by a majority of 179 to 159, to adopt the Frankfort constitution which had been condemned by the Government; and their next step was to petition the King to terminate the state of siege in Berlin, which was carried by 177 to 152. The Chamber had now unequivocally declared itself against the Government, in consequence of which it was suddenly dissolved on the 27th April; and the reasons which induced the King to take this step were stated in an address presented by the Ministry, which appeared in the *Berlin Gazette* the same evening. Shortly after, the Prussian Cabinet presented a note, addressed to the several German governments, explaining the views it entertained on public affairs. In this important paper it was stated: "Prussia engages to oppose the revolutionary agitation of the time with the utmost energy, and endeavour to furnish other governments with timely assistance for the same purpose. The danger is a common one, and Prussia

will not betray its mission to interfere in the hour of peril wherever and in any manner it may deem necessary. It is convinced that a *limit must be put to the revolution of Germany*. This cannot be effected by mere passive resistance; it must be done by active interference." Following this example, the Bavarian Chambers also were dissolved on the 11th June.

35. On 31st May the new electoral law, intended to be more conservative than the preceding, was promulgated in Prussia. By it the election of deputies, who were to be 359 in number, was to take place by a double method. Every independent Prussian who had attained his twenty-fourth year, and was not in receipt of public alms, had a vote if he had resided six months in the district in which his vote was tendered. The primary electors were to be divided into three classes, and each class had a vote in the choice of the representative. The first class consisted of those who paid the highest amount of taxes; the second, the next; the third, the lowest. Each class was to choose one-third of the electors who were to choose the representative. Every Prussian who had attained his thirtieth year was eligible as a deputy. This electoral law was accompanied by a strong declaration against secret voting, which was no longer to be allowed. "It stands in contradiction," said the declaration, "to every other branch of the system of government, in which publicity is with justice demanded; it conceals the important act of election under a veil, under which all proceedings that will not stand the light of day may be hidden; while the public mode of voting has this result, that the vote given can be considered as the result of an independent conviction."

36. Towards the end of July the aspect of affairs was so much more favourable at Berlin, that the Government deemed it safe to terminate the state of siege, and the elections went on under the new law. They almost all terminated in favour of the moderate constitutional party; so great was the change which the new system of

VOTING BY CLASSES had introduced into an Assembly even elected by universal suffrage. The house met on the 7th August, and the triumph of the conservatives was assured from the very first. The King said in the royal speech: "We have conceived it our duty to oppose with strength and vigour that domination of terror which a misguided party began to exercise over Prussia and Germany. We have sought to re-establish order and tranquillity, which have been so much disturbed. But we have laboured, on the other hand, with the same resolution, through recognition of the true needs and just demands of the nation, to lay the foundation of a lasting quiet, and in this way to deprive new attempts at revolution of all foundation and pretext. If the attempts to arrive at an understanding with the German National Assembly failed, to our great regret, it was in consequence of the turn which things took at Frankfort. But the Government of his Majesty has not acknowledged with the less candour the labours of that Assembly, and used them as the groundwork of their earnest endeavour to form a federal constitution which may be compatible with the benefit of the whole, and the rights of single parties. The unity of Germany, with a single executive power at its head, secured by a popular representation with legislative powers, was and is the object of our endeavour."

37. This terminated the revolution in Prussia, and in a way far more felicitous than at one period could possibly have been anticipated. The lesser states, for the most part, followed the example of that leading Power, and the simultaneous extinction of the Hungarian revolt by the arms of Russia deprived the disaffected of all hopes of success. Matters accordingly returned to their old state, though not so rapidly as they had become revolutionary when the troubles first broke out. The Cabinet of Vienna influenced the states of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and this formed a counterpoise to the northern league between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, which

delayed the adjustment of a federal constitution for some time, by the jealousy of those opposite powers as to the presidency. A proposal made by the Imperial Government, that Austria and Prussia should each nominate two commissioners, who should jointly execute the duties of regent, was rejected by the latter, from an apprehension of the influence of the Cabinet of Vienna; but meanwhile matters became pressing, and it was indispensable to come to some arrangement as to the Central Government; and on the 30th September the Austrian proposal, as an *interim* arrangement to last until the 1st May 1850, was finally agreed to. On the 2d July the Archduke John left Frankfort, and went to the baths, professedly for the re-establishment of his health—really to get quit of his irksome position, where he had the responsibility, and was without the reality, of power. He finally resigned his office on the 20th December, and the representatives of Austria and Prussia were installed in his stead.

38. The affairs of Germany were now virtually settled; but a variety of minor questions remained in its lesser states and general relations, which involved it in turmoil during the whole of 1850, and at one period assumed so serious an aspect that a general war seemed inevitable. Würtemberg was the chief seat of the disturbances, and the last theatre of the philosophical delusions under which the Confederacy had so long suffered. The King of that little state had resisted the efforts of his Liberal Ministry, with M. Römer at its head, to sacrifice his dominions to the supremacy of Prussia, and he remained attached to the Austrian party; but in the course of the struggle the revolutionists had gained all their points, and universal suffrage, without a separation of classes, had worked out its usual result of rendering rational government impossible. The Diet of the kingdom was opened on the 15th March, and in his speech the King had the courage to denounce the vision of unity, which had so long produced division in Germany, as its most dan-

gerous enemy.* Prussia took high offence at this speech, inasmuch that the Prussian ambassador was recalled from Würtemberg, and things wore a very threatening aspect. The better to improve his influence, and put matters in a train for realising his favourite project of becoming the head of the united German nation, the King of Prussia summoned a parliament of the princes to meet at Erfurth; but it was not attended so numerously as had been expected, and after sitting a short time it was adjourned, and a new congress of princes summoned to meet at Berlin on 9th May. This was at once throwing down the gauntlet to Austria; and accordingly, though twenty-two princes attended the summons, besides the representatives of the Hanse Towns, yet as Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony were not represented, their deliberations came to nothing, and the Assembly was dismissed after a few days' sitting. Austria, on its side, formed a confederacy which met at Munich (Feb. 14), and was soon joined by Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, and all the states of Southern Germany. Soon after the Cabinet of Vienna sent round a circular, calling on the different states to assemble at Frankfort on 6th May, to take into consideration a new organisation of the Diet, on a footing which, it was well understood, should give the house of Hapsburg the lead. Thus there were rival assemblies sitting at the same time in Germany, each summoned by a rival sovereign

* "Ever since March 1848 Germany has been a toy in the hands of party-spirit and ambition. The German unitarian state is a chimera, but the most dangerous of all chimeras for Germany, as well as for Europe. All the means which have been used for this end, all that are still likely to be used, produce an effect directly contrary to that which was intended—that is to say, a division and entire dissolution. The strength, harmony, civilisation, and liberty of the nation depend on our fostering and preserving the independence of its principal states. Their forcible fusion, any subjection of one state to another, must lead to internal dissolution, and annihilate our existence as a nation. For a lasting union of our common country, there is but one possible form—the federal."—*King of Würtemberg's Speech*, 15th March 1850; *Ann. Reg.* 1850, p. 315.

aiming at the exclusive supremacy of the empire—a mournful result to have followed the general and enthusiastic aspirations after unity of the preceding years, and illustrating the wisdom of the King of Würtemberg's words—"for a lasting union of our common country there is but one possible form—the federal."

39. The excitement in Germany was increased, shortly after, by an attempt, made by an assassin of unsound mind, to murder the King of Prussia, which, though it wounded the monarch, happily did not prove fatal. The interest excited by this barbarous attempt, however, was ere long superseded by a contest between the revolutionary and conservative parties in Hesse-Cassel, which rapidly assumed so serious a form as to threaten to involve all Germany in conflagration. This arose from a change of ministry by the Elector, who, finding himself hard pressed by the revolutionists in his dominions, had dismissed the Liberals, and appointed a new one—of which M. Hassonpflug was head—in their stead. This appointment was very unpopular, as, independent of his known leaning to monarchical principles and the Austrian alliance, he was a man of bad character. The consequence was, that, the Ministry having called on the Chambers (Aug. 23) to vote supplies before a regular budget was laid before them, they threw such obstacles in the way as amounted to a refusal, or at least was construed as such by the Government. The Chamber was immediately (Sept. 4) dissolved, and a proclamation issued, to the effect that, in the mean time, and until further notice, taxes would be levied by the sole authority of the Elector. This excited such a ferment that a decree was issued (Sept. 7) proclaiming martial law, and establishing a surveillance over the press. But the soldiers, as well as citizens, nearly all sympathised with the Liberals; the courts of law declared the proclamation of martial law illegal; an impeachment was preferred by the public prosecutor against M. Hassonpflug; and at last (Sept. 13) the Elector and

his Ministry were obliged to fly from Cassel, and take up their abode in Wilhelmsbad, a suburb of Hanau, from whence a decree against the courts of law and other functionaries was issued. On their side, the standing committee of the Cassel Assembly issued an address to the Elector, condemning in the strongest terms the conduct of the Ministry, "who are so many serpents in your bosom." The German Diet, which was sitting at Frankfort at the time, resolved to support the Elector, and passed a decree (Sept. 18) directing him to be reinstated in his dominions, and pledging themselves to take all necessary steps for that purpose; and the Austrian Cabinet gave orders to move troops to the southern frontier of Cassel to enforce the resolution of the Diet. On the other hand, the Prussian Government took part with the Cassel Chamber, and, deeming the decree of the Frankfort Diet and the measures of Austria an infringement of the rights of the "Bund" to which Cassel belonged, and of which Prussia was the head, rapidly advanced troops on the opposite side, and took military possession of all the roads leading from Prussia into Hesse-Cassel. The Austrian Government, hearing of this, advanced troops with the utmost expedition to support the other side, deeming the time arrived when the supremacy in Germany was to be decided by force of arms. Matters looked to the last degree threatening: fifty thousand Austrians and as many Prussians were speedily in presence of each other on or near the Cassel territory; the military enthusiasm, both at Berlin and Vienna, rose to the highest pitch; and, to all appearance, a war as terrible as that between Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus, or Daun and the King of Prussia, was to form the last act of the drama of German unity.

40. War, indeed, would undoubtedly have ensued, had it not been for the intervention of that great power which had now become almost omnipotent in the east of Europe, and whose influence has as often been exerted to avert as to provoke hostilities in the adjoining states. Russia, flushed with

confidence from the success of her intervention in Hungary in the preceding year, to be immediately noticed, was no indifferent spectator of the approaching contest for supremacy in the great German Empire. Her Cabinet accordingly proposed a conference at Warsaw to settle the whole German question, and it was agreed to by both Austria and Prussia. The views of Russia, in this intervention, are fully developed in a treaty which was at the same time (Oct. 7) entered into at Bregentz between the Czar, the Emperor of Austria, and the Kings of Würtemberg and Bavaria. By this treaty the contracting parties mutually bound themselves to bring 200,000 men into the field to resist the demands of Prussia, and reinstate the Elector of Cassel in his dominions; and the Czar further agreed to move a large force into Galicia and Hungary, in order to insure the tranquillity of these provinces, and set free the Austrian armies for operations in Central Germany. In the conferences which were immediately opened at Warsaw, the demands of Prussia, which were supported by Count Brandenburg, were,—the consent of Austria to free conferences for the remodelling of the German constitution; the admission of Prussia to an equal share with Austria in the future government of the Confederacy; the assent of Austria to a special commission, to meet at Hamburg or elsewhere, to settle the affairs of the Danish duchies. On the other hand, he offered to consent, on the part of Prussia, to postpone indefinitely any further meetings of the Erfurth Union; to consent that Austria should be ranked in the German Confederacy for her *whole dominions*, including Hungary and Lombardy, as well as her German provinces; and to exclude from the future Diet *all representation of the German people*. To these terms, with the exception of that regarding the equal authority in the Confederacy, the Austrians, after some hesitation, agreed. The better to favour a reconciliation between the contending parties, the Emperor Nicholas suggested a compromise, which was,

that the forces of Austria and Bavaria should enter Cassel, to reinstate the Elector in his dominions, and enforce obedience to the decree of the Frankfort Diet; and the Prussian troops should retain possession of all the roads leading from thence into their widely-scattered dominions. These proposals induced a schism in the Cabinet of Berlin: Count Radowitz, supported by the King, the Prince of Prussia, and two of the ministers, declared for war and a total disregard of the Frankfort decree; while Count Brandenburg and Baron Von Manteuffel strongly supported a pacific policy, and adoption of the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. The latter prevailed, and in consequence Count Radowitz resigned, to the great grief of the King, who wrote him a letter strongly expressing his regret and esteem;* and the agitation consequent on the crisis proved fatal to Count Brandenburg, who died, after a short illness, three days after his return from the Warsaw conferences.

41. Meanwhile matters had been every day becoming more ominous, and had all but reached a collision in the field. The Austrian and Bavarian troops, on 1st November, marched into Hanau, situated in the electorate, and next day a large Prussian force occupied Cassel, where they were received with the loudest acclamations by the whole people. Hostilities, however, did not actually ensue, though they were on the very point of doing so; and happily, at this critical juncture, the retirement of Count Radowitz and the influence of Russia led to the ascendant of pacific counsels. A new conference was held at Olmutz, under the immediate auspices of the Emperor

of Russia; and, on the 29th November, terms were agreed to by the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, which averted the dire alternative of war. By this convention Prussia consented to the federal troops entering the territory of Cassel—the capital being occupied by a battalion of Austrians and another of Prussians. Commissioners were to be sent into Holstein to desire the insurgents to withdraw behind the Eider, and the Danes to occupy Schleswig with such a body of troops only as was necessary for the public tranquillity. A congress was to be held at Dresden to settle finally the affairs of Germany, and especially Holstein and Cassel. This congress was held accordingly, and opened with great solemnity on the 23d December, when Prince Schwartzberg, on the part of Austria, and Baron Manteuffel on that of Prussia, delivered speeches explaining the views of their respective governments. “The incontestable advantages of the Confederation,” said the former, “are apparent from a review of the great blessings which Germany enjoyed under its protection, and of the present state of things, of which the development is owing to a time in which that protection could no longer be effectual and sufficient. That time, also, has become a lesson to us, and it has again served to warn us to make use of our dearly-bought experience. That experience has shown us the futility of all attempts to create an absolute novelty. It has shown that the foundations on which the Confederation rests are not only good and serviceable, but that they are the ones suitable for a fabric in which a community of states, such as Germany includes, can be expected to live in harmony and in a state of general prosperity. If we wish to avoid a return to those sad experiences, we ought to prove to the countries of Germany that their governments do not want the will, the intelligence, and the energy to remove existing grievances, and to create things good, true, and stable.”

42. When such sentiments were expressed by the representatives of the

* “You have only just left me, my dearest friend; but I seize my pen to send after you a word of grief, of confidence, and of hope. I have signed your dismissal from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, God knows, with a heavy heart; but, as a faithful friend, I have been forced to do so: and still more, I praised you before my assembled Council for the wish you expressed to retire from office. This tells the whole tale, and describes my position more clearly than volumes could do.” —*KING OF PRUSSIA TO COUNT RADOWITZ, Sans Souci, Nov. 5, 1860; Ann. Hist. 1860, p. 323.*

great powers, the work of pacification seemed already done. But great difficulties were experienced in getting all differences smoothed over with the lesser powers; and after sitting some months, it was judged, and wisely, that without attempting to adjust all lesser points, the most advisable course was to adjourn the conferences *sine die*, and meanwhile to return to the whole arrangements as to mutual defence, and the quota of troops to be furnished by each state, which had been agreed to at the first confederation-treaty in 1815. This was accordingly done by a regular resolution on May 15, 1851; and the old Diet then met at Frankfurt precisely as it had done before the Revolution broke out. Thus, after three years of incessant riot, confusion, and bloodshed in Germany, and the endurance of a vast amount of public damage and private suffering, things returned to their old state, with no other lasting advantage but a general conviction that the new and much-desired state was, under existing circumstances, impossible.

43. To complete the picture of Central and Northern Germany during these eventful years, it only remains to notice the concluding events of the heroic contest which Denmark maintained, in defence of its just rights, against the encroachments of the Germanic Confederacy. The conditions of the armistice of Malmœ, already mentioned, which terminated the first act of that interesting drama, had been religiously observed by Denmark, which, as the weaker party, had no interest in violating them. But it was otherwise with the Germanic Confederacy, which, being impelled by the thirst for conquest and proselytism which is the invariable attendant on the extrication of the revolutionary passions, and not openly resisted by England, which sympathised with the advances of democracy in every part of the world, made such encroachments by advancing troops close to Jutland, the last refuge of Denmark on the continent, as rendered the resumption of hostilities on the part of its Government un-

avoidable. They commenced on the night of the 3d April 1849, when the Danish troops, advancing from Duppel towards Gravenstein, gained some success at land, and succeeded in driving back the nearest posts of the enemy; but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by a cruel catastrophe which at the same time (April 4) befell the Christian VIII., of seventy-four guns, and Gefion frigate, which, having imprudently advanced with two steamers too near the shore, in an attack on the batteries of Eckenfiørde, were unable to get back by a change of wind. The former in consequence blew up, while the latter was taken, with 640 men and 40 officers. No-wise discouraged by this disaster, the Danes laboured night and day to repair it, and fit out new vessels to support their troops in this amphibious warfare. But ere long the superior strength of the Confederation became apparent. On the 13th April their troops attacked Duppel, and, after a severe contest, carried the redoubts, and forced the Danes to retire into the island of Alsén. The next day they assailed the *île-du-pont* of Sundewitt, the only point in advance of Alsén, now held by the Danes on the mainland; but they were unsuccessful. But on the whole theatre of war their preponderance was decisive. The forces which the Germans brought into the field were nearly 100,000, of whom 5000 were cavalry, with 100 guns; while the Danes, at the very utmost, could only oppose to them 30,000, who had not the advantage of possessing any defensible military positions. The odds were too unequal. On the 20th April the Prussians invaded Jutland with 48 battalions, 48 guns, and 2000 horse; and the Danish generals, unable to make head against such a crusade, retired through the town of Kolding, which commanded an important bridge that was abandoned to the invaders. The Danes, however, returned on the 23d, and after a bloody combat dislodged the Prussians, but were finally obliged to evacuate it by the fire of the German mortars, which reduced the town to ashes.

44. On the 8d May the Danes had their revenge, in the defeat of a large body of the Schleswig insurgents by a Danish corps to the north of the fortress of Fredericia, near Aarhus, in Jutland, with the loss of 340 men. A more important advantage was gained by them on the 8th July over the German corps of General Bonin, 18,000 strong, which was besieging Fredericia. It was simultaneously attacked from within by a sally from the garrison, and from without by a large Danish force under General Rye, which, unknown to the enemy, had partly reinforced the garrison, and partly been concentrated in the adjacent forest by means of their superiority at sea. Both attacks, which were made at one in the morning, met with entire success. The surprise was complete, and after two hours of a confused nocturnal combat, the besiegers were routed at all points, driven from their intrenchments, and all their siege-artillery and equipage, with several of their field-guns, taken. While General Rye's corps was gaining these successes to the north and west of Fredericia, another Danish corps, under General Moltke, attacked and put to the rout 8000 Germans, to the south of the fortress, and drove them back through Kolding. The loss of the Germans in this disastrous affair was 96 officers and 3250 men killed and wounded, with their whole siege-artillery and stores. These great advantages were dearly purchased by the Danes with the loss of General Rye, who had so ably planned the attack, and was slain early in the action. This brilliant victory was immediately followed by the retreat of the Germans from a great part of Jutland. A convention was soon after concluded at Berlin (July 10), which established an armistice for six months, and provided for the entire evacuation of that province by the German forces. In the mean time, the disputed province of Schleswig was to be governed, in the name of the King of Denmark, by a commission composed of one person named by him, one by the King of Prussia, and an arbiter appointed by England. These terms were extremely

favourable to the Danes, for they provided a separate government for Schleswig, whereas the commission which governed both duchies during the former armistice had been mainly in the interest of the insurgents, and had arrayed all they could of the strength of the northern province against the Danish crown. But they could not array the whole, for the majority of the inhabitants were against them; and it was observed in these combats, that none of the Danish troops evinced such animosity as those which had been drawn from the province of Schleswig. By a secret treaty signed at the same time with the public convention, it was provided that, in the event of the Schleswig-Holstein army declining to accept the armistice, the Danish Government was to be at liberty to employ all its forces against them, but not to call in the assistance of any foreign power; and that in that event the Prussian Government was to withdraw its forces, and leave the insurgents to their own resources.

45. Negotiations for a final treaty of peace now ensued, between plenipotentiaries appointed on both sides; and the King of Denmark said, in his address to the Chambers at Copenhagen, on January 10, 1850, "The war is not ended, but it is interrupted, and I am in hopes this will lead to the desired result, if my deluded subjects are not misled by the encouragement of a *great power*." The Emperor of Russia warmly supported the demands of Denmark, by whom the conditions of the armistice were faithfully observed, and in an energetic note enumerated the many and serious breaches of it by the Schleswig insurgents and the Prussian Government, by whom, during its continuance, arms and ammunition had been secretly sent into the duchies. The terms of this note left little room for doubt that, in the event of Prussia continuing this insidious policy, the Cabinet of St Petersburg would take a part in the conflict. Lord Palmerston, seeing matters becoming so serious, departed from his system of veiled support of the Schleswig insurrection, and proposed a conference in London

to adjust the matters in dispute; but Austria and Prussia declined to accede to it, as derogatory to the dignity of the Germanic Confederacy. The negotiations between the belligerent powers accordingly went on at Berlin, and terminated on 2d July, in the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the King of Denmark on the one side, and the King of Prussia and Germanic Confederacy on the other. By this treaty all former ones between Denmark and the German Confederacy were renewed; their mutual rights were re-established on the footing on which they had been before the war. The King of Denmark undertook to ratify this treaty, the King of Prussia not only to ratify it, but to do his best to procure the ratification of the Germanic Confederacy. The King of Denmark was authorised to employ his own forces in re-establishing his authority in Schleswig. As Duke of Holstein he was authorised to claim the support of the Confederacy in re-establishing his authority in that duchy, and if it was not accorded he might employ his own forces in doing so; and commissioners were to be appointed on each side to ascertain the boundaries of such parts of the Danish dominions as belonged to the German Confederacy. Within eleven days of the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops were to withdraw from Schleswig, and in eleven days more from Holstein. A protocol was, two days after the signature of this treaty, signed in London by the plenipotentiaries who were parties to the conference there, which provided for the maintenance of the possessions of the Crown of Denmark in their entire integrity, and that the question of the *succession to the Crown* should be settled with the same view. Austria acceded some time after to this protocol, but Prussia never did so. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the King of Denmark issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Schleswig, guaranteeing to the Germans settled there the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Danes, and renouncing all idea of in-

corporating the duchy with the kingdom of Denmark.

46. To all appearance the war was now ended, and on terms highly honourable to the Danes. In truth, it would have been terminated at this period, had it not been for the discreditable breach of faith on the part of Prussia, which, chagrined at the untoward result of the battle of Fredericia, sought to continue the contest, not openly with its own forces, but secretly, by encouraging the insurgents to persevere. A diplomatic agent from the duchies was tolerated at Berlin; furloughs were openly given at Hamburg to the troops of the Confederacy to enter their service in Holstein; an office for enrolling recruits for them was publicly established in the capital; finally, General Willisen, who commanded the insurgent army, was a Prussian, and half its officers were of German origin. In these circumstances the armistice turned entirely to the advantage of the insurgents, whose army was daily increasing in efficiency. The King of Denmark, therefore, who knew he could rely on the countenance of Russia, wisely resolved to recommence hostilities, and they began on the 15th July 1850. The insurgent army, thirty-two thousand strong, then occupied IDSTEDT and Wedelspang, on which two points their whole force was concentrated. The Danish general, on the other hand, took possession of Flensburg on the 17th, a few miles distant, with twenty-eight thousand men—veterans inured to war, having confidence in their officers as their officers had in them, and animated with the very highest military and patriotic spirit. The insurgent force was not less brave, but it was by no means equally organised, for its officers were for the most part young men from the universities, who had no military experience, were unacquainted with the troops, to the command of which they had been despatched by the democratic committee, and were neither qualified to feel confidence themselves nor to inspire it in their followers.

47. The attack of the Danes was postponed till the 25th, in order to give time for their right wing, which was intended to turn the enemy's left, to make a circuit through bogs and marshes, which required to be passed before it could be reached; but in the mean time the measures of General Von Kragh, the Danish commander, were made with great ability. The position of the insurgents was very strong, their troops being arranged in the form of a semicircle, supported by redoubts, with its convex side in front of the town of Idstedt, its right, covered by the Schlei, resting on the Eck-enfiørde and the ground between it and Schleswig, and its left on the marshes, generally impassable, which adjoined the river Troen. The battlefield was a wild moor, covered with tumuli, and already celebrated in Danish story, for it was there that the Emperor Otto had defeated Harold Blad Zahn (Blue Tooth), grandfather to Canute the Great, and forced him to sue for peace, and be baptised by Bishop Boppo. It was here again, after the lapse of a thousand years, that the German and Scandinavian races met in hostile array, and engaged in mortal combat on the graves of their fathers.

48. At three in the morning of the 25th the whole Danish columns were in motion, and ready for the attack; but it was delayed for some hours in consequence of a thick fog which over-spread the plain, and prevented the movements on the flanks from being seen. At length, at half-past ten, the sound of the cannonade on the flanks was heard, and the main body of the army advanced to attack the enemy's centre. It was strongly fortified with redoubts, and the approach to them was through a narrow defile between the Arnholzsee and the Långsee. The fire here was extremely warm; the Danish troops, notwithstanding the utmost efforts, were unable to force the intrenchments, and they sustained a very severe loss in an ambuscade skilfully laid for them in the village of Oberstolcke. The Germans had strongly occupied the houses with

musketeers, who were kept concealed till three or four battalions were passed, when they suddenly showed themselves at the windows and on the roofs, and opened a most destructive fire on those who followed. Several staff officers, who rode back to ascertain the cause of the tumult in the rear, were slain on the spot, and the whole column thrown into disorder. Seeing this, the Danish general ordered a feigned retreat, and drew back his forces nearly a league from the position they had attained, stationing at the same time a large body of infantry and cavalry in a masked position behind the village, the scene of such slaughter. A thousand of the enemy, who had been placed in the ambuscade, were slain on this occasion; but the Danish army, with the exception of those placed behind the village, were in full retreat.*

49. The Germans, deceived by this retrograde movement, and deeming the battle gained, issued in haste and somewhat disorderly array from their intrenchments, and commenced the pursuit. Von Kragh allowed them to advance till they had passed the defile and debouched on the plains beyond, and then suddenly halted his troops and faced about, while those behind the village, in great strength, and with a large force in artillery and cavalry, attacked them in flank and rear. The superior discipline and warlike experience of the royal army now prevailed over the more desultory efforts of the insurgents; the left wing of the Germans was cut off from the centre, driven back, the line of the Troen forced, and their left entirely uncovered; while on the right the Danish

* This was one of the first actions in which the Prussian needle-gun was used. "The enemy," says General Von Kragh, "under cover of a bridge, fired with pointed balls at a distance of 100 and 150 yards. It was in vain that two guns shelled the skirmishers at short ranges; it was in vain that our cavalry charged, and our infantry attempted to advance. In less than an hour we suffered great loss. The general-in-chief was struck down; the chief of his staff was wounded; the commandant of artillery was taken prisoner, after losing two of his pieces, and several other officers were killed and wounded."

troops were making rapid progress, and the sound of their artillery was heard in the direct rear on that side of the German position. Threatened in this manner on both flanks at once, Willisen could no longer maintain his ground in the centre, where the redoubts were still held, and vomited forth a tremendous fire. They were abandoned accordingly; the defile, the theatre of so bloody a conflict in the earlier part of the day, was passed at a run and with very little loss; the whole redoubts in front of Idstedt and Wedelspang were stormed, and the German army, in deep dejection but good order, retreated to Rendsburg on the Eider, abandoning to the victors the whole territory of Schleswig. The town of the same name was occupied by the Danish general at five in the evening, and headquarters were established there at midnight. It was not the least gratifying circumstance to the Danes, that in the harbour of Eckenfiorde, which fell into their hands a day or two after, they regained the frigate *Gefion*, which had fallen into the enemy's hands in the preceding year.

50. This battle, which General Willisen in his official despatch characterised as "the hardest fought of the age," was at the same time one of the most bloody. The loss on both sides amounted to nearly 8000 men, or about one in eight of the troops engaged; a prodigious slaughter, unexampled in European war since the battle of Waterloo. Of these, nearly 3000, including 85 officers, were killed or wounded on the side of the Danes, and 5000 on that of the insurgents, whose loss in officers was peculiarly severe. Two thousand wounded Germans fell into the hands of the victors in the town of Schleswig, besides those who were carried off or abandoned on the field. The Danes immediately took possession of the whole disputed territory of Schleswig, proclaimed martial law, and commenced in good earnest the reorganisation of their government. The insurgents, meanwhile, retired into Holstein, where they made the utmost efforts to recruit their army.

But though the press was loud in their support, and represented the duchy as animated with the utmost enthusiasm, the fire was burnt out; only seven hundred recruits came forward to repair the losses which had been sustained, and they were got only by a forced conscription, and bounty of ten dollars a-man. Having at length reorganised his army, Willisen, on the 12th September, moved forward to attack the Danish forces now concentrated in the strong position of the Danewirke. He first endeavoured to turn the left flank of their position by gaining possession of the boat bridge of Missunde over the Schlei; but all his efforts to carry the *tête-du-pont* which covered it failed. In the course of his advance on the 12th, the German general attacked Eckenfiorde, and after having become master of it, he was driven out by the fire of the Danish gunboats, which destroyed great part of the town. He next endeavoured to force the formidable position of Danewirke, which covered the town of Schleswig, but it proved impregnable. Finding his advance barred in every quarter, he fell back to Rendsburg, and ultimately moved to his left to attack Frederickstadt, a fortified town situated at the junction of the Treen and the Eider, surrounded by canals and marshes, and garrisoned by nine weak companies. Having sat down before it, he bombarded it without intermission from the 30th September till the 5th October, with no other result but the destruction of a large part of the town and a great number of the inhabitants. Twelve hundred men were lost by the invader in this abortive expedition. Having failed in this *coup-de-main*, the Germans retreated into Holstein, and Schleswig finally remained to the King of Denmark. This was the last flicker of that terrible flame which, two years and a half before, had burst forth with such violence in every part of Germany, and threatened at one time to involve the whole world in conflagration.

51. The King of Denmark made a noble use of his victory. Though mil-

itary law was proclaimed in Schleswig, no trials by military tribunals took place, and no executions sullied his triumph. One of the most terrible rebellions recorded in modern times was extinguished without one drop of blood shed on the scaffold. The severest punishment inflicted on the insurgent leaders was banishment for a limited number of years from Denmark; and even this was softened by permission to the persons sentenced to sell their effects and take the proceeds with them to the place of their retreat. The final pacification of the duchies was virtually effected at the Olmutz conference. Prussia was in consequence obliged to withdraw the underhand and insidious support which she had so long given to the insurgents; and the decision of the sovereigns and Diet having been communicated to the insurgents, they laid down their arms, and the Danish authorities re-entered without opposition into possession of the whole dominions of the Danish crown.*

52. In the year 1852 a treaty was concluded between the principal European powers, which, although beyond the limits in point of date assigned to this history, deserves to be noticed, from the important consequences with which it was attended in after times. Owing to its geographical position at the mouth of the Baltic, and commanding there what may be called the front gate of Russia, Denmark has long possessed a political importance far beyond what would otherwise have arisen from its strength and resources. Like Turkey, whose command of the Dardanelles renders her capital so great an object of interest to the Western Powers, Denmark, with the keys of the Sound in her hand, can never be an object of indif-

ference either to Russia, England, or France. Add to this, that the Czar had claims, through hereditary descent, to that portion of Schleswig in which the harbour of Kiel is situated; and as the possession of that seaport would for the first time give her a communication with the ocean out of the Sound, it was of the greatest moment to Russia that it should fall, if not into her own, at least into neutral hands. Impressed with these views, the whole European Powers had a conference on the subject of the Danish succession, which ended in a treaty, signed in London on the 24th May 1852, under the auspices of Lord Palmerston, which settled the matter. By it Austria, Russia, Great Britain, France, Sweden, Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, recognised the integrity of the Danish dominions as they then stood, and acknowledged the present King of Denmark, father to the Princess of Wales, as heir to the whole possessions of the Danish crown. This treaty was not ratified by the Germanic Diet; and many of the lesser German powers never signed it. The treaty was unconditional, and the recognition absolute; but there had been prior engagements of Denmark as to giving constitutions to Holstein and Schleswig, which were parts of the German Confederation apart from Denmark proper, which were afterwards said by the German Diet, and Austria and Prussia, to give them a pretext for invading the Danish provinces, and threatening the entire destruction of Danish independence.*

* The obligations undertaken by Denmark at this time were never embodied in any formal treaty, but are to be found in three despatches—viz., one from the Danish Minister to Austria, on the 6th December 1851, containing the Danish proposals; another from the Austrian to the Danish Minister, on the 26th December 1851, giving the Austrian interpretation, in behalf of Germany, of these proposals; a third, containing the reply of Denmark accepting this interpretation, dated 29th January 1852.

In these, (1.) Denmark promises never to incorporate Schleswig, or take any steps to that end; (2.) Germany ceases to demand the reunion of Schleswig with Holstein; (3.) Denmark undertakes to establish a constitution for the whole monarchy, to be passed in

* The comparative value of Denmark Proper, Schleswig, and Holstein, is shown by the budget, 1st April 1858 to 1st April 1859—viz.:

	Income— Rix-dollars.	Expenditure— Rix-dollars.
Denmark Proper, . . .	6,043,800	5,518,847
Schleswig,	1,363,007	1,341,297
Holstein,	1,834,762	1,752,396
	<u>9,241,629</u>	<u>8,612,540</u>

53. Prince Leiningen, one of the ablest ministers of the Archduke John, and one of the most eloquent of the Liberal chiefs of Germany, published a memorial towards the end of the year, in which he admitted the total failure of the movement in favour of German liberty, and confesses that its only result had been, instead of one constitutional emperor, to give them two military despots. He ascribes this failure not to any external hostility or class resistance, but simply and exclusively to the inability of the German people to govern themselves. He confesses that the German people were unworthy of the freedom that they sought for; that the vision of unity was seen only by a comparatively few of the *illuminati*—kings, professors, and students—but that the bulk of the

a constitutional manner for common affairs, combined with "independent constitutional administrative institutions" in the different divisions of the kingdom—the whole to be so arranged that each division shall retain its position "as a member of the whole, in which no part is subordinated to another;" (4.) In the reorganisation of the monarchy Denmark is to abstain from an exclusive preference for her own existing democratic institutions.

The succession to the Danish monarchy was settled by the treaty of London, signed on the 24th May 1852. This stipulates that the Powers signing it will recognise Prince Christian of Glücksburg, and his male descendants, as successors, to succeed to the whole of the states then under the sceptre of the Danish king, in the event of that monarch having no direct heirs. This treaty was signed by the Emperor of Austria, Louis Napoleon, the Queen of England, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the King of Denmark. It was afterwards acceded to by Saxony and Hanover, but was not ratified by the German Diet, or agreed to by many of the lesser German powers.

Prince Christian was the heir by the female line, but the Duke of Augustenburg, being the nearest male heir, was, by the Salic law, entitled to succeed to the feudal duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. A part of these, however, was claimed, on similar grounds, by the reigning house of Russia, as descendants of the Dukes of Holstein Gottorp. But previous to this treaty being signed, renunciations in favour of Prince Christian and his descendants were obtained from the Emperor of Russia and the Duke of Augustenburg. The latter, in the most formal manner, renounced all claims for himself and his family, and received in consideration of so doing, and in lieu of his forfeited estates, a sum of £400,000.

nation was indifferent to their projects, and sought only after the repose which they had disturbed. Making every allowance for the ulcerated feelings of one of the chief apostles of German freedom and unity, it is impossible to deny that there is much truth in these observations. But without settling in the melancholy belief that the Teutonic race, pre-eminent above all others for their love of freedom, is incapable of bearing its excitements, and is doomed to drag on a weary existence through ages of impatient servitude, it is more consonant, both to political justice and the real merits of that noble race of men, to say that the movement failed, not because the Germans were unworthy of liberty, but because they were misled in the effort to attain it. They thought they could alter the character of men by merely changing their institutions; and they did this in so violent a way as necessarily rendered the whole effort abortive. They moved too fast; they established self-government before men were prepared for it. They gave to a people, wholly unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights, universal suffrage; they conferred unlimited powers on their representatives; and, departing altogether from the old European principle of the representation of classes, they founded government everywhere on that of numbers. The consequence was, that the passion for liberty generally ran into that for licence; the generous feelings were supplanted by the selfish in nearly all the leaders; and such crimes were "committed in the name of liberty," in Madame Roland's words, as detached every right-thinking man from its side.

54. Such was the extravagance of the measures pursued, and the magnitude of the crimes committed, in the course of this frantic and headlong chase, that the cause of freedom would have been really lost, and probably for ever, in Germany, had it not been for a very singular circumstance, springing from the inherent probity and good faith of the nation, and which honourably distinguishes their revolution

from those of France. The army, generally speaking, was faithful; it was their fidelity and adherence to duty which extricated the German people from their greatest dangers. It was that which terminated the anarchy of Frankfort, restored lawful authority in Prague and Vienna, saved Austria in Italy, and crushed the hydra of revolution in Berlin and Baden. But for it the Assemblies of Germany, elected by universal suffrage, would have torn society in pieces, as they had done in France; and the Fatherland, instead of advancing steadily and securely in the paths of self-control and real freedom, would have been lured by the fallacious light of democracy into the depths, first of revolutionary, and then of imperial despotism. Freedom, at least in the popular sense of the word, is not as yet established in Germany, for the people have little direct share in the management of affairs; but the foundations of it have been safely laid, because this was done without the destruction of any of the classes of society. Freedom has been permanently destroyed in France, because in its first excesses all classes between the throne and the peasant were ruined. Amidst the acclamations of the multitude and universal enthusiasm, the revolt of the French Guards in May 1789 occasioned the overthrow, first of the throne, next of the tribune, and, in the end, of anything like freedom in the land. Amidst universal maledictions and the execrations of the whole Liberals of Europe, the fidelity of the Prussian troops preserved the fabric of society in Northern Germany, and has thereby in the end opened the gates, without destroying the bulwarks, of Teutonic liberty.

55. But the fidelity of the soldiers

could only present a temporary barrier against the inroads of democracy, and curb or punish its first excesses. It is in political institutions, founded on wisdom and adapted to necessities, that in an age of advancing intelligence the only lasting security against these, the most formidable enemies of real freedom, is to be found. This barrier was erected by Count Brandenburg's Administration, when they changed the principle of representation in Prussia, without disfranchising a human being, from the *election by head to the election by classes*, and with that modification left every man a vote for the representation in the National Assembly. The adoption of the principle which Mr Burke long ago described as the true and only safe foundation for popular representation, at once established a barrier against democratic despotism in Prussia, and to the security which it afforded, the subsequent internal peace and general prosperity which that country has enjoyed are mainly to be ascribed. It is a curious circumstance, illustrating the almost superhuman wisdom of the ancient conquerors of the world, and the slow progress of political knowledge in the great body of mankind, that the remedy against the dangers of democracy, which reflection only revealed to the greatest political philosophers of modern times in the close of the eighteenth century, and experience taught the most generally educated nation of Europe in the middle of the nineteenth, had been established in the very earliest days of the Roman Republic; and that in their "*Centuries*" has been left to the imitation of all future times an institution which secures for freedom all its blessings, and takes from democracy the worst of its dangers.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

AUSTRIA, FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN MARCH 1848
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN WAR.

1. THE intelligence of the Revolution in Paris reached Vienna on the 1st March, and the sensation produced in all classes by that stupendous event was immense. In the court and aristocratic circles the prevailing feeling was one of consternation, and almost despair; in the literary and artistic society, of boundless enthusiasm; in the bourgeois, of satisfaction and hope. The throne of Charles, defended by a mere handful of heroes, had not fallen till after three days' severe fighting with fifty thousand insurgents; that of Louis Philippe had succumbed, almost without resistance, before a trifling band of desperadoes, though guarded by sixty thousand soldiers. There was enough here to appal the most courageous on the one side; to encourage, on the other, the most timid. The chiefs of the secret societies, which there, as elsewhere, existed in great numbers, hidden in the obscurity of a large metropolis, instantly put themselves in motion; and the general fervour enabled them to work upon public opinion with almost instantaneous effect. Swift as the electric telegraph, the exciting news flew from city to city, from burgh to burgh, from village to village. The intelligence received from Italy and Northern and Central Germany soon heightened the excitement produced by the catastrophe in Paris; and it was next to impossible for Vienna to remain tranquil when Milan had chased the Imperial eagles from its streets, and Dresden, Berlin, Stuttgart, Baden, and Munich, were in a state of approaching or open insurrection.

2. The movement in the Imperial city began on the 6th March, in one of the meetings of the Industrial As-

sociation, which, undismayed by the presence of the Archduke Charles and Count Kollowrat, voted *unanimously* an address to the Emperor, in which they set forth, in the strongest terms, the shock given to credit, the stagnation of industry, and the danger of any longer continuance of such a state of things, aggravated so seriously as it recently had been by the important intelligence from Western Europe. In their simplicity, the Liberals of Vienna thought that a revolution was the only remedy for their peculiar evils; that it would at once restore credit and extinguish discontent. For several days after, the excitement went on increasing, and at length reached such a height as to be altogether unbearable without a channel for its expansion. This channel was found in a petition, drawn up by the professors of the University of Vienna, and signed by all the students, and a great proportion of the householders in the metropolis, which, after setting forth in general terms the necessity which existed for an "immediate advance in the path of progress tempered by wisdom," especially in consequence of the events which had recently convulsed society in the West, went on specifically to demand the immediate publication of the budget; the periodical convocation of the representative bodies, comprehending all classes and interests, and invested with the right to vote and control the supplies; freedom to the press, publicity in criminal proceedings, the erection of municipal and communal laws, and the representation, in the provincial assemblies, of the agricultural, commercial, industrial, and scientific interests. It was not presented to the Emperor, but was

addressed to the Provincial Estates of Lower Austria, the meeting of which stood fixed for the 13th March.

3. To the inhabitants of a free country there appears little objectionable in these demands; but they became eminently perilous from the manner in which they were urged upon the Government of Austria at this time. It was soon apparent that their acceptance was to be won, not by solicitation or representation, but force. On the morning of the 12th, the students of the university, who, with the professors, had erected themselves the day before into a deliberative body, assembled tumultuously in their great hall, and adopted a petition to the Emperor, containing the usual demands of the Liberal party. They next proceeded, followed by an immense mob in the highest state of excitement, and singing revolutionary songs, to the Imperial palace, where they were coldly received by the Archduke Louis and Count Kollowrat, who refused them admittance to the Emperor. Upon this they retired for the evening, but it was only after fixing a point of rendezvous for the day following, when (March 13) they returned in greater strength, and still greater determination in their hearts. Receiving an evasive answer from the Emperor to their petition of the previous day, they rushed in a tumultuous body from the hall of the University to the palace, where the Provincial Estates were now assembled. In the crowd which followed the professors and students were to be seen those strange visages, uncouth figures, and savage expressions which presage the moral convulsions of the world. The universal cry was for the liberty of the press, religious liberty, universal education, a general arming of the people, a constitution, and the unity of Germany. "Long live free and independent Germany!"—"Long live the Italians in arms!"—"Long live the Magyars!"—"Long live the patriots of Prague!" Such were the cries which rose from the crowd, and were no sooner heard than they were frantically cheered. Count Montecuculli,

recently appointed to the office of minister of state, to regulate the internal affairs of the Empire, appeared at a window when these petitioners made their appearance, and endeavoured to appease the tumult by proposing that the students should send twelve deputies to support the petition of the Estates. They immediately did so, and the twelve juvenile deputies were introduced. Before they had time, however, to commence the statement of their demands, a young man, with an inflamed visage and sparkling eyes, rushed into the court holding aloft a paper, and calling out, "The speech of Kossuth!" A thousand voices immediately exclaimed, "The speech of Kossuth!—Read! read!" He began to read, accordingly, an inflammatory address delivered on the 3d March to the Assembly at Pesth; and at one phrase in it—"I know that it is as difficult for an antiquated policy as for an old man to detach himself from the idea of a long life"—the applause was such that he was obliged to read it thrice over, followed on every occasion by frenzied applause; and the words "Metternich! Metternich!" resounded from thousands of lips.

4. The mass of the students now forced their way into the hall of the representatives, and concussed the members into the adoption of their petition to the Emperor. It was evident that, unless the Estates made an immediate effort to assert their authority, the lead of the movement would slip from their hands, and fall into those of the students and mob of Vienna; and they determined to repair at once in a body to the Imperial palace. The tumult amongst the people was at this time so violent, that all considerations of prudence and reason were swept away before it. An outrageous mob moved to the palace of the minister-in-chief, Prince Metternich, which they immediately broke into and sacked from top to bottom. His friends and servants in vain endeavoured to persuade the veteran statesman to close his doors against the intruders. "They will say that I

was afraid," said the brave old man, and he let them in. Meanwhile the Estates, followed by the students and a great crowd, proceeded to the Imperial palace. When they arrived in front of that edifice, the troops, who were drawn up to defend it, opened to let the members of the Estates pass, but closed with lowered bayonets to keep out their tumultuous followers. Advancing from the Imperial palace to that of the Estates, the military were received with storms of hisses, stones and other missiles were thrown at them, and an officer was wounded. Orders were now given to fire, and the troops afterwards charged with the bayonet, by which five persons were killed. The mob upon this dispersed, but it was only to scatter themselves over the city, and prepare everywhere a strenuous resistance. Gunsmiths' shops were broken into, arms began to be seen in the hands of the insurgents, and a house building in the square of Hof furnished an ample store of missiles with which to assault the arsenal of the city guard, the next object of attack. Several charges of cavalry took place, and blood began to flow. In this alarming state of affairs, a deputation of the officers of the civic guard repaired to the palace to explain the case to the Emperor Ferdinand I.; but his agitation was such that he could not receive them. They were admitted, however, to the Archduke Louis; but all their entreaties, joined to those of the deputation of the Estates, could not prevail on the Government to act decidedly against the insurgents. Encouraged by this weakness, the insurrection spread with terrible rapidity, and soon assumed the most alarming proportions. Deputation after deputation, from the students, the citizens, and the magistrates, succeeded each other at the palace with stunning rapidity, and few departed without obtaining the promise of some concession, the announcement of which, instead of quieting the mob, only excited them the more, and prompted others to press forward with still more dangerous demands. Important changes were already prepar-

ing, when the rector of the University Magnifique threw himself at the feet of the Archduke Louis, and, with tears in his eyes, extorted from him the promise that the students should be armed from the public arsenals at eight o'clock on the following morning. This was capitulating for the monarchy. The students were two thousand in number, sons of the most respectable citizens of Vienna, and the leaders of the insurrection.

5. The utmost agitation prevailed at the palace, when Prince Metternich arrived from the office of the chancery. He was received with groans and hisses from the mob, but succeeded in getting in without sustaining actual violence. Silence was at length restored, and, rising with inexpressible dignity, he said: "The object of my entire life is summed up in one word—devotion. I declare in this solemn moment before God, to whom my heart is open, before you who hear me, that in the course of my long career I have never had a thought but for the safety of the monarchy. If it is now thought that my presence at the head of affairs is inconsistent with that safety, I am ready to retire. In that case my retreat will not be a sacrifice, and from afar as near I shall never have a thought but for the happiness of my country." Then addressing the Archduke Louis, he said: "My lord, I resign my situation into your hands as into those of the Emperor; from this moment I re-enter private life. Gentlemen, I foresee that the report will speedily be spread, that in retiring from the ministry I have carried with me the monarchy. I protest solemnly and beforehand against such an assertion. No one in the world, more than myself, has shoulders broad enough to bear away a State. *If emperors disappear, it is never till they have come to despair of themselves.*" He then withdrew as a private individual into the circle, and conversed on the events of the day as if he had been a stranger to them, examining their character and foretelling their consequences with a sagacity which became prophetic.

6. All was accomplished by the retreat of the prime-minister. He soon after had an interview with the Emperor, when he said: "Sire! your Majesty has but one of two parts to take in resolving the problem which the revolt has now submitted to your determination—concession or resistance. Concession in presence of an insurrection is revolution; resistance is a struggle. If your Majesty decides for concession, my conscience imposes on me the duty of laying at your Majesty's feet my resignation. If you should decide for resistance, I am ready to follow you on a ground where success is now certain. In either case, I shall esteem myself fortunate to have an opportunity of giving to the monarchy the last proof of my devotion, by sacrificing myself for it." At the mention of resistance, the monarch, who was destitute of firmness, turned pale, as if he had seen a spectre. His expression and silence sufficiently proved that between concession and resistance his mind was made up. Metternich saw that it was all over, and, respectfully bowing, took his leave. He set out on the following day with the Princess Metternich for Feldsberg, the magnificent residence of the Prince of Lichtenstein. The public indignation, however, was so violent, that he was obliged to leave it, and he continued his journey with her to Dresden. The dangers which thickened around him, however, were such, that they were obliged to go on clandestinely under feigned names, and in perpetual danger of their lives, to Brunswick, Hanover, Minden, and Arnheim. At the last place he heard that a price had been put on his head, and five hundred ducats offered to whoever should produce it. He escaped all his dangers notwithstanding, and reached London in safety. An entire change after his departure immediately took place in the ministry at Vienna. M. Sedlnizki, the chief of police, retired with Metternich; and the Counts Kollowrat and Montecuculli were charged with the formation of a new ministry formed on the most Liberal principles. At the same time, a decree was issued

ordering the formation of a burgher guard in Vienna, the abolition of all restrictions on the press, and the convocation of the Estates in all the provinces of the monarchy. The revolution was complete and universal. A convulsion which brought Austria to the brink of ruin, all but swept it from the book of nations, and reduced it to the humiliation of invoking the perilous intervention of a foreign power, had been completed by two thousand students, headed by the most learned men in the State!—a memorable proof of the difference between literary and philosophical ability, and the necessity for practical acquaintance with affairs and the disposition of men, to qualify for the direction of mankind.

7. The concessions made by the Emperor, great as they were, and even the departure of their chief enemy, Metternich, were far from appeasing the revolutionists at Vienna. Deputation after deputation succeeded each other at the palace, all professing the utmost loyalty to the Emperor, but none departing without having more or less enlarged the breach in the bulwarks of the Empire. The abolition of the censorship of the press, which was at once conceded, was not enough; they insisted on its absolute and unqualified liberty, which was also granted. The workmen called out for a reduction in the price of all that was eat or drank, and an immediate abolition of all duties on articles of consumption. Suing the action to the word, they proceeded to break into and level with the ground the whole buildings, round the capital, where the *octroi* was collected. Their contents were distributed among the assailants. The students, who had received arms that very morning (14th March) on the promise that they would preserve the public peace, and had been organised in battalions with surprising rapidity, made no serious attempt to arrest these disorders. They concentrated all their efforts for the formation of a constitution which might unite everything they desired. So completely did they carry the sympathies of the citizens

with them in their demands, that the bankers, Sina and Rothschild, sent considerable sums to these juvenile revolutionists to enable them to complete their equipments. Pressed thus on all sides, the Emperor issued a proclamation, announcing an assembly of all the *Estates* of his kingdom at Vienna before the 3d July, and another on the day following (March 15), recommending abstinence from all insults to the military. To appease the public mind, and convince the people he had not fled from his capital, he drove on the 15th through the principal streets of Vienna in an open calèche, and was received with loud acclamations.

8. While these decisive events were passing in the metropolis, troubles of a still graver sort, and of more sinister augury, had broken out in Hungary and Bohemia. The intelligence from Paris was received at Presburg, when the Diet of the former kingdom was sitting; and the first use which Kossuth and the leaders of the Hungarian Liberals made of the intelligence was (March 3) to suspend their ordinary labours to discuss an address to the Emperor as King of Hungary, praying him to take measures suited to the gravity of existing circumstances. It was the reading of his speech on this occasion, and of the address itself, which produced so decisive an effect, as already recounted, at Vienna, on the 13th March. The address passed by a large majority, and it was ordered to be presented by the Archduke Stephen, the regent of the kingdom. At the same time troubles broke out in Bohemia, and Prague became the centre of an agitation as exclusively national as Pesth had become. As the object of the Hungarians was to obtain a separation of the kingdom of Hungary from the Austrian monarchy, so the design of the agitators in Bohemia was to effect a similar separation of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and their erection into a distinct monarchy, governed by its own laws, legislature, and municipal institutions, and united with Austria only by the link of a common sovereign. Both the Hun-

garian and Bohemian petitions demanded, in addition, an enlargement of the base of the national representation, the election of municipal officers by the people, liberty of the press, publicity of criminal proceedings; the suppression of feudal rights, *corvées*, and exclusive privileges; security of personal freedom, the general arming of the people, and military service obligatory alike on all. Thus, while Central and Northern Germany were passionately striving for the unity of the Fatherland, the Austrian Empire was distracted with passions which threatened to break it up into separate states, of which Austria proper would be the most inconsiderable, and the hostility of races was bursting forth with unprecedented fury in all the eastern provinces of the confederacy.

9. Two days after the revolution of 13th March broke out at Vienna a deputation of a hundred and fifty persons from the Hungarian Diet at Presburg made their appearance in the capital, headed by Kossuth. Their demands were—the nomination of a ministry purely Hungarian, responsible to the Hungarian Diet alone for their actions; a new representation of the entire population, without distinction of rank or birth; the organisation of a national guard through the whole kingdom; the translation of the seat of the Diet from Presburg to Pesth; and the concession of similar liberties to all the other countries of the Empire, to which the petitioners declared their firm desire to remain united. Kossuth and the Count Bathiany, a Hungarian noble of high rank and ardent patriotic feelings, were at the head of this deputation; the Archduke Stephen, the Regent of Hungary, had preceded their arrival by a few days. The deputation received (March 15) the most flattering reception; an immense crowd filled the streets, which resounded with cries of “Vivat Kossuth! Vivat Bathiany!” the Hungarian arms floated in the air, and universal transports prevailed. The influence of these petitioners, whom the Government, in

their present state of weakness, had no means of resisting, speedily appeared in the appointment of the Archduke Stephen as Viceroy of Hungary, assisted by a council composed wholly of Hungarians, presided over by Count Bathiany. This was accompanied by a constitution, framed on such Liberal principles that it abolished at one blow the whole privileges of the nobility, and distinction between them and the peasants, and declared all equal in the eye of the law. These principles were to be the bases of the new constitution, and they were such as, carried into effect, amounted to a total social and national revolution.

10. The announcement of these as the principles of the future Hungarian constitution was soon after followed by a similar concession to the Bohemian States. On the 8th April a decree, framed by the new popular ministry, appeared, which was of so sweeping a character that it left nothing to be desired by the most ardent lovers of Slavonic freedom. The Emperor by it accorded the whole demands of the Bohemian patriots. The young prince, Francis Joseph, son of the Archduke Charles, and the heir-presumptive of the monarchy, was declared Viceroy. Bohemia, with Silesia and Moravia, were erected again into a separate monarchy, as before their incorporation with the Austrian Empire; all persons holding office were to be Slavonians, or "*Tschecks*," as they are there called, and capable of speaking both that language and German. In addition to this, judicial proceedings were all to be public; a separate and responsible "*Chancery*" or Government was to be established at Prague; the National Assembly was to sit alternately at Prague, and Brunn in Moravia; national guards were to be established, feudal rights and privileges abolished, religious and civil equality introduced. The legislature was to consist of a house of magnates, and one of popular deputies, chosen by universal suffrage.

11. Not content with these conces-

sions, the leaders of the Slavonic movement convoked a meeting of the whole Slaves of the Austrian Empire, to meet at Prague on the 31st May to consider what measures were necessary to secure the interests of the Slave race in the general transmuting of nations into empires according to their race, which was going forward. The resolution they came to bore—"The people of Europe are coming to a common understanding. The Germans are meeting in an Assembly at Frankfort, which will take from the Austrian Empire as much as is necessary to complete German nationality. Thus the Austrian Empire will be incorporated with Germany, and with it will be united the non-German provinces of that empire. In such a crisis the independence of the Slavonic races, united to Austria, runs the greatest possible risk of being destroyed. The most sacred right of man is to preserve his independence; the time has now arrived when we too, the Slaves, are called upon to take steps to act in common, and assert our rights." This address to the Slaves did not long remain a dead letter. The Congress opened on the 2d June, and sat only till the 12th of that month; but in that short time enough was done to show that the deputies assumed rights, and put forward pretensions, inconsistent not merely with the existence of the Austrian Empire, but of every empire whatever in which the Slave race existed, which was not based on their exclusive domination. Great unanimity prevailed in the Assembly. A provisional government was established at Prague, which published an address to all Europe, in which they declared their determination to obtain full justice for the Slavonic race, and oblige the whole of the east of Europe to make reparation for the wrongs they had inflicted on it. It was a remarkable circumstance, that all the debates in the Slave Assembly were conducted, and their addresses published, in the *German language*; the only one which was intelligible to all; an ominous circumstance to their

cause, and an insurmountable difficulty in the way of the construction of a united Slavonic Empire.

12. The Austrian Governor, Prince Windischgratz, now saw that it was high time to act, and that any farther dalliance with the Slave Congress would end in the dissolution of the monarchy. He accordingly concentrated a considerable force, occupied the principal military points in Prague, and, while taking up a strictly defensive attitude, showed that he was prepared, if necessary, to dissolve the Assembly. Upon this (June 12) the excitement at Prague became extreme, and the exasperation of the people, headed as usual by the students, was such, that they could not refrain from insulting Prince Windischgratz to his face. The pretext was, his refusal to give them the arms which he well knew they would immediately turn against him. The Princess Windischgratz, having appeared at the window to look at the crowd in the street, which had not yet proceeded to any act of violence, was shot dead by an assassin concealed behind a high bow-window. She belonged to a doomed race; she was the daughter of the Princess Schwartzemberg, who, to save her children, rushed into the flames and perished at Paris in 1809. Upon this catastrophe the prince, without ordering the troops, drawn up in front of the building, to fire, went down, and, calmly addressing the insurgents, said: "Gentlemen, if you wish to insult me because I am a nobleman, you may do so; go to the front of the palace, and you shall not be disturbed; I will even give you a guard to protect you from injury. But if you wish to insult me because I am Commandant of Prague, I give you fair warning that I will not permit it; I shall resist it with all the means in my power. My wife has just been killed; do not drive me into acts of rigour." So little were the mob impressed with this magnanimous conduct, that they rushed forward, and, seizing him, dragged the prince towards a lamp-post, intending to hang him on the spot. Some soldiers happily came up at the

moment, and extricated him from the hands of the assassins.

13. The combat now commenced, and so completely were the insurgents organised and prepared for action, that barricades were run up in all parts of the town, guarded by formidable masses of armed men. Prince Windischgratz acted with equal humanity and military skill. Abandoning those parts of the city which he could not hold without severe bloodshed, he withdrew to the heights which command it, and after arranging his great mortars in the most favourable position, he allowed the rebels twenty-four hours themselves to level the barricades, intimating at the same that, if this was not done he would at the expiry of that time commence the bombardment. The time elapsed without any submission being made, and after repeatedly prolonging it, Windischgratz at length reluctantly gave orders (June 16) for the fire to be commenced. The insurgents fought with the courage of despair, and all the energy which is inherent in the Slavonic race; but nothing could withstand the superiority of the Austrian guns. After six- and -thirty hours' bombardment, the mills of the Moldau, the strongest intrenched position of the rebels, were consumed; and at length they became sensible that the defence could no longer be maintained, and surrendered at discretion. By the night of the 17th the barricades were all abandoned, and the Slavonic Assembly dissolved.

14. Although the Slavonic revolution was in reality extinguished by this act of vigour, yet the remains of it still lingered in the Bohemian provinces. The insurrection and conflict in Prague were represented elsewhere as a victory, and immense efforts were everywhere made to rouse the rural population to fly to the defence of their endangered brethren there. Large bodies of men were roused by these means, and marched, with banners and military music at their head, towards that capital, where they learned the real state of affairs, and returned

mournful and downcast to their homes. Several weeks, however, elapsed before the agitation subsided, and enough transpired during that time to demonstrate how widespread had been the ramifications of the insurrection, and how vast the designs of the leaders for the establishment of a great empire, built up out of the fragments of the adjoining monarchies. This plan was to form a united Slave empire, embracing Croatia, Slavonia, Servia, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Livonia, and Galicia. The insurrection was to have broken out simultaneously in Agram, Prague, Cracow, and Presburg. Secret societies were established in all the Slavonic provinces, embracing a large portion of the inhabitants, and taking their orders from the ruling bodies in these four great towns. The design was to have moved the whole Slavonic race at once. The events in Western Europe precipitated the insurrection before the intended time, and thereby in effect rendered it abortive. The Emperor of Russia was looked to as the head of this Slavonic empire, which was to be entirely dis severed from Austria, and to consist of a strange mixture of imperial and republican institutions. A prayer, containing an impious parody on that of our Saviour, was disseminated among the Slaves in this separate dominion, and every morning and evening addressed to the Czar, as a heavenly being, by hundreds of thousands of the ardent and ignorant in various countries of Eastern Europe.*

15. While these important events were passing in the Slavonic provinces of the Austrian Empire, HUNGARY had become the theatre of a still more terrible revolt, which in its

* "Notre Père Russe qui êtes au nord, que votre nom soit sanctifié, que votre règne nous arrive, que votre volonté soit faite au nord comme chez nous,—Permettez-nous de manger notre pain quotidien sous votre protection,—pardonnez-nous nos hostilités contre vous, comme nous vous pardonnons les tourmens auxquels vous avez livré nos frères,—ne nous laissez pas succomber aux tentations qui conduisent en Sibirie, mais délivrez-nous bientôt de l'Autriche. Ainsi-soit-il."—BALLEYDIER, ii. 28.

ultimate results brought the House of Hapsburg to the very verge of ruin. The intelligence of the revolution at Paris excited a more immediate and alarming fermentation at Presburg than it had done at Vienna. Kossuth, and the other leaders of the united cause of Hungarian independence and liberty, had there been long engaged in preparations for the approaching movement, and the advices from Paris and Vienna did not occasion the insurrection, which, ere long, became so formidable; they only accelerated and determined the periods of its breaking out. At Pesth, the ancient capital of the Hungarians, and where the national feeling was most strong and undivided, the movement first began. On the 15th March a body of students surrounded and took possession of a printing-office in that town, where they immediately threw off a number of copies of a placard, containing what they designated as the demands of the Hungarian nation. In a few hours many thousand copies of this proclamation were sent off to every part of the country, where it excited a very general feeling of enthusiasm; and at one o'clock an immense crowd, with the tricolor flag at its head, came to the Hôtel de Ville to present these demands, reduced into the form of a petition, to the municipality. Partly by fear, partly by the force of sympathetic inclination, the magistrates unanimously signed the petition; and intelligence having at this moment arrived of the acceptance of the similar petition drawn up by Kossuth, by the Chamber of Magnates, then assembled in Presburg, the public enthusiasm rose to the highest point, and every one regarded the objects of general desire as already gained.

16. Overwhelmed by the simultaneous outbreak of revolutionary troubles at the same time in Vienna, Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia, the Imperial Government were not in a situation to contest these demands. They took the part, therefore, of concession, which, in fact, was the only one left to them.* On one point only they made a stand.

* See ante, § 9.

They insisted that the three Ministers of War, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, should be Imperial Ministers, residing at Vienna, and responsible, not to the Hungarian, but to the Imperial Parliament. But Count Bathiany and the majority of the Diet at Presburg finally rejected this proposal, and, after a visit from the Archduke Palatine to Vienna, the Imperial Government gave way, and conceded this fatal demand. They asked for an extension of the powers of the Imperial Palatine or Viceroy, which was immediately conceded by both Houses. In the transports of patriotic enthusiasm, the Hungarian nobles outstripped even the demands of the Liberal petitions, and made a voluntary surrender of some of their most ancient and highly-valued privileges. By a free gift they transmuted the "urbarial" tenure of lands, as it was called, under which they were held for certain feudal services, into an unrestricted tenure by freehold. By this great and voluntary concession, the property of 500,000 families, consisting of little estates varying from thirty to sixty acres each, and comprehending nearly a half of the kingdom, was at once converted from a feudal tenure, burdened with numerous duties, into absolute property—an immense and most salutary change, far exceeding in lasting importance any of the political alterations contended for at this period in Germany. In addition to this, the two Chambers unanimously decreed the usual objects of petition at this period in Europe—a perfect equality in civil rights, taxation, and religious toleration. The electoral right was extended to every person possessing property to the value of 750 francs, or an annual income of 250 francs a-year, or holding a degree of a university, or being a bound apprentice to an artisan. The representatives to be sent by Croatia were enlarged from three to eighteen, and the Government engaged to indemnify the proprietors deprived of their seigniorial rights by the abolition of the "urbarial" tenure. These concessions, however, were far from satisfying the Croats, who

loudly complained, in addition, that their language was to be superseded in their own country by that of the Magyars. Transylvania was by mutual consent united with Hungary in this constitution, and the whole received the assent of the Emperor in a solemn Diet held at Presburg on the 11th April. By the constitution, as thus arranged, Hungary, including Transylvania and Croatia, was erected into a separate kingdom, having its own sovereign, ministers, legislature, taxes, army, and civil and municipal affairs. The sole link which connected it with Austria was the Emperor, who was common to both.

17. These great concessions to the Hungarians were followed by a general constitution for the remainder of the Austrian Empire, embracing Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Dalmatia, Illyria, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Salzbourg, and the Tyrol, but excluding Hungary and its dependencies. By this constitution the crown was secured to the House of Hapsburg, and the Emperor had the right of declaring peace and war, and concluding treaties with foreign powers; and he was invested with the right of choosing his ministers, preparing measures in parliament, sanctioning every law, and dissolving it at pleasure; but in that event a new parliament required to be convoked within twenty-eight days. The Houses were to meet at least once a-year. Entire liberty of the press, and of persons and property, was guaranteed to all, with entire equality in the eye of the law, trial by jury, and publicity in criminal proceedings. The parliament was to consist of two Houses; the first one of princes of the Imperial blood having attained the age of twenty-four; of persons nominated for life by the Emperor; and 150 other members, to be elected for the sitting of the session by the most considerable proprietors. The lower House was to consist of 383 members, elected on the joint basis of the numbers of the people and the representation of public interest; the mode of election to be fixed by a supplementary act. By

the supplementary decree, which followed in the beginning of May, the right of voting was conferred upon every male inhabitant who had attained the age of twenty-four, and was neither in receipt of public charity nor in domestic service. The Diet could be convoked only by the Emperor, and could concern itself with public business only during the session; its duties consisted in voting taxes, levies of troops, loans, provisions for the Imperial family. The Emperor alone had the right of proposing laws, but the two Houses might compel him to do so. A majority of two-thirds was necessary to alter any article of the constitution; everything else passed by a simple majority. Provincial Diets were to manage the local affairs of each province. A national guard was to be everywhere established, and both its members and the troops of the line were to take the oath to the Emperor and the constitution. This constitution solemnly received the sanction of the Emperor on the 25th April, amidst great pomp and general rejoicings.

18. In so far as it could be effected by constitutions on paper, the revolution in Austria seemed to have come to a very successful issue, and the Emperor might with reason congratulate himself upon having successfully weathered the most violent period of the storm. Possibly these disturbances might have terminated here, and the constitution of Austria, fixed on a reasonable basis, have secured for its inhabitants the inestimable blessing of regulated and balanced freedom, had it not been for the passions and animosities of RACE. The Magyars, 4,500,000 strong, who formed the ruling and most powerful body in central Hungary, had no intention of sharing the power they had acquired with the Slaves. Exceedingly democratic in a question with the Emperor and the Austrian employes, the Magyars were the greatest tyrants in their hearts to the alien and far more numerous race of Slavonians, which they had for long held in subjection. What in their hearts they desired to establish was, not a real republic, em-

bracing the whole people, but an aristocratic commonwealth like Sparta, in which every freeman had three or four helots in a state of domestic servitude. Like many others, it was the right to tyrannise over others which they desired to conquer.

19. As a natural consequence of this state of general feeling, the Magyar race were animated by the most inveterate hatred against the Austrian Government, whose ruling principle was the direct reverse, or thorough centralisation, and the dependence of all on the Imperial crown. Thus, the two most powerful principles which can stir the human mind—the passions of race and the desire of independence—came to impel in the same direction, and their combined influence inflamed them with the most violent hostility against the Austrian rule. From the beginning of April this appeared in the most decided manner. The language and acts of the Hungarian parliament from that period savoured more of open hostility than the affectionate loyalty due by subjects to their sovereign. Their object was, not to obtain redress of their many and acknowledged grievances, but to detach themselves entirely from the Austrian connection. They sent ambassadors to Vienna, and subsequently to Frankfort, as from one independent power to another. They asserted their right to levy troops and dispose of them at their own pleasure, and irrespective altogether of the wishes or commands of the Cabinet of Vienna. The army was to be bound only by the Hungarian oath of fidelity to the Emperor and the Hungarian constitution. The Magyar chiefs did everything in their power to weaken the strong bond of loyalty which bound the brave Hungarian soldiers to their beloved Kaiser, and their ancient and time-honoured standards. They loudly and uniformly expressed their sympathy with the Italian insurgents, and in the hour of its greatest need not only recalled the Hungarian regiments from Kadetsky's army in Italy, but positively refused to contribute a man or a shilling to the expenses of the

war, the common charges of the Empire, or the interest of the national debt.

20. The Imperial Government had no resource but in conciliatory measures. They were resorted to accordingly, but they were of so abject and sweeping a character as to appear rather a capitulation than the conciliatory measures adopted by a paternal government with its subjects. Proclamations were issued promising liberal measures, and an amnesty (March 21) published embracing all political offenders in the kingdom of Galicia, including the city of Cracow and the whole Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. By a later decree (April 5) all political offenders, wherever detained, and wherever the offence with which they were charged had been committed, were ordered to be liberated. When a government, assailed by high treason in all directions, in this manner capitulates with its rebellious subjects, it need not be said that all its real power has passed away, and that it is only a question of time when it is either to abdicate or be forcibly dispossessed of its entire functions.

21. Ruin, universal and irrevocable, would now have undoubtedly overtaken the entire Austrian Empire, had it not found a support in a quarter where it was least expected, and from the intensity of the very feelings from which its danger had arisen. United, by the Hungarian constitution, with that kingdom, the *Croatians*, Slavonians by descent, perceived only a fatal deterioration of their position by the predominance of the Magyar magnates and race in the National Assembly at Pesth. The ancient hatred of the Slavonian at the Magyar broke forth with unextinguishable fury at this prospect. Too weak to contend, either in the field or the Assembly, with the Hungarian power, the *Croatians* saw no prospect of protection but in the German race and the shield of the Emperor. "The Emperor, and the unity of the Empire," became naturally, in this manner, the war-cry

VOL. VIII.

of the *Croatians*, as that of "the unity and independence of Hungary" was of the *Magyars*. No sooner, accordingly, did it distinctly appear what turn affairs were taking, and the pretensions of the *Magyars* were openly declared, than a deputation from Croatia set out for Vienna, to lay before the Emperor the assurances of their devotion and the expression of their apprehensions. They were willing to spend the last drop of their blood in behalf of the Imperial crown, and to preserve the integrity of the Empire; but they could not hope for success unless he placed at their head a chief in whom they had confidence. JELLACHICH alone was this man. The deputation met with the most favourable reception; mutual confidence was at once established from the perception of common danger. Jellachich was immediately elevated to the rank of *Ban*, or Governor of Croatia, and shortly afterwards created field-marshal, councillor of the Empire, colonel-commandant of two regiments, and commander-in-chief of the provinces of Bannat, Warasdin, and Carlsbadt, in the Illyrian districts.

22. While the Austrian provinces were in this manner breaking off into separate dominions in every direction, the Liberals of Vienna only became more urgent in the prosecution of their favourite ideas of democratic government. The constitution published by the Emperor, liberal as it was, fell far short of the expectation of the ardent patriots, and the agitation in the capital had daily increased since it was promulgated. On the 15th May a petition was presented by the students, in which they loudly complained of the property qualifications required for the election of members to the Upper House, and of *any* qualification for electors for the Lower House, of the legislature, and demanded:—1. A single chamber instead of two houses. 2. Universal suffrage. 3. The intrusting of the peace of the capital to the National Guard alone. 4. Adhesion to the great principle of German unity. 5. Removal of all property qualifica-

tions for deputies. 6. An engagement not to employ the troops but on the requisition of the National Guard. 7. The National Guard to perform the service of the Imperial palace along with the line troops. The regular soldiers had all been sent out of the town to appease the people, and no armed force existed to repel the petitioners, who were all armed, and came to the palace with their muskets loaded, surrounded with a tumultuous mob, with iron bars, scythes, and pickaxes in their hands. In the first moments of alarm, and with the dagger at their throats, the Government promised to consider everything that was demanded; and it was under the pressure of this necessity that a decree was issued next day (May 16) establishing universal suffrage as the basis of the popular representation, a single chamber for the legislature, and conceding all the other demands of the people. But this rude onslaught and open preparation for violence revealed to the Government their real situation, which was that of absolute impotence at the mercy of an armed mob, acting on the impulse of unscrupulous leaders ruling the people by means of a licentious press. It was resolved accordingly, in a secret cabinet council, held in the palace on the evening of the 16th, to extricate the Government from this state of thralldom; and the Emperor, having secretly made his preparations, set out at six from the palace in a carriage drawn by a pair of horses, and attended only by a single servant, for Schoenbrunn. The rest of the royal family departed a few minutes after in similar privacy, and both vehicles took the route of the Tyrol, by Lintz, Salzburg, and Reichenhall. They arrived in safety at Innspruck, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants of that simple and loyal province, who hastened in crowds from their mountains and valleys to protect their beloved Kaiser; while the minister Pillersdorf, who had previously resigned, but resumed office at the earnest solicitation of the students, announced the departure of the Emperor and Imperial family, as the pro-

clamations alleged, for the benefit of change of air.

23. The flight of the Imperial family to Innspruck excited an immense sensation at Vienna and over Europe. It was an open declaration, on the part of the Emperor, of war against the revolution, and distrust of its leaders, an appeal to the well-known loyalty of a faithful province from the treason and iniquitous ambition of a rebellious capital. As such, it first brought to light a division in the ranks of the Liberals, who, though hitherto united to appearance under the same banner, were in reality far from being at one as to ulterior measures. The extreme leaders of the movement, with the professors and students of the university, were prepared to go the whole length of revolution. This system was the same as that usually pursued by Jacobin leaders in similar circumstances—viz., to discredit Government, and bring it into contempt, by rendering its rule impossible, and having done so, to overturn it as a useless and expensive encumbrance, and install themselves in its stead. But the shopkeepers and artisans of the metropolis, who depended mainly on the expenditure of the great, and the concourse of strangers to its hotels, were by no means inclined to go this length. They had concurred in the movement of the 13th March, and formed the main strength of the urban guard, to which the peace of the metropolis had since been intrusted, from the natural desire which prosperous and affluent citizens have to share in the government of their country, and correct the abuses of its administration; but they had no wish to see their Emperor dethroned, or the nobles of the empire banished from their hereditary palaces within the walls of the capital. The flight to Innspruck brought the reality of the danger instantly and vividly before their eyes; they saw at once in what the visions of the students would ere long land all the great interests of the Empire. Already their sales had almost disappeared, from the cessation of all purchases, save for articles of absolute necessity, by the affluent classes;

while the streets were, from the same cause, choked by crowds of unemployed workmen clamouring for bread, and for whose relief the *Ateliers Nationaux*, which, in imitation of those at Paris, had been opened in various quarters, afforded no adequate means of subsistence. Pressed in this manner at once by a fearful diminution of their incomes and as alarming an increase of the demands upon them, they became alive to the perilous nature of the descent on which they were placed. Numerous and urgent petitions to the Emperor to return, and promising him their energetic support, were despatched to Innsbruck from the shopkeepers and burgher guard of the metropolis, but he returned only evasive answers; and it was not till another revolution had occurred in Vienna, and restored military authority in its distracted crowds, that he left the calm security of his mountain retreat for the stormy scenes of the capital.

24. Regardless altogether of the imminent danger of the Empire, the revolutionists of Vienna only advanced at an accelerated pace. The students of the university, now incorporated into the "University Legion," were at the head of the movement, the press universally and powerfully seconded their efforts, and the capital, during the week which followed the departure of the Emperor, was in a state of absolute and frantic anarchy. Conscious that their conduct had now reached those limits where forgiveness had become impossible, the leaders sought only to push matters to such an extreme point that all must see retreat was out of the question, and their only chance of safety was to advance still farther in the career of revolution. To accomplish this they took the most effectual of all methods,—they worked upon their fears. The whole of the 24th May was employed by the popular orators in haranguing the people on the danger of a reaction and the return of the troops to extinguish their liberties; and on the day following, the "University Legion" was in such a state of disorder that Count Montecuculli, the military commander, pub-

lished an ordinance, dissolving it as a separate corps, and incorporating its members in the legions of the National Guard. This was the signal for an open revolt. The students refused to obey the order; barricades were erected around the university, where they were assembled in strength; the National Guard took part with the insurgents; and some regular troops, which the Government brought up, could effect nothing, and, being left without orders, withdrew. The insurgents now demanded the revocation of the ordinance dissolving the University Legion, the return of the Emperor to Vienna, the sitting of the Diet there, the confirmation of all that had been conceded on the 15th May, and the taking of hostages from the noblesse no longer to oppose revolution. Destitute of all means of resistance by the absence of the troops and defection of the National Guard, the nominal Government at Vienna promised everything which was demanded except the return of the Emperor, which it was beyond their power to grant; but M. Pillersdorf engaged to write to the Emperor, urging him to return; and in the mean time a "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed, composed of students and burghers, to watch over the interests of the people, and provide food for the multitudes who were perishing, amidst the general anarchy, of want.

25. Meanwhile the Emperor at Innsbruck published (May 21) a proclamation, in which he vindicated the step he had taken of leaving the capital on the ground of the undisguised violence to which he had been subjected. He added: "No alternative was left to me but to recur to measures of hostility, or to withdraw for the moment to one of my provinces. Its inhabitants, God be thanked! have remained faithful to their monarch. I will not grant anything to the forcible exactions of unauthorised and armed individuals. My departure from Vienna was intended to impress this upon my painfully-excited people, and likewise to remind them of the paternal love with which I am ever ready to receive my sons, even though they

be prodigal ones." The reasons were perfectly sufficient to justify the steps taken, but it was unnecessary to adduce them. The revolutionists at Vienna afforded a better vindication of it than anything that could be said from Innspruck.

26. Austria was lost had its safety rested on the good sense or loyalty of the people. It would have been dismembered, not like Poland, by three conquering powers, but three rebellious provinces; and Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia would have effected its destruction as completely as Russia, Prussia, and Austria had done with the Sarmatian commonwealth. But in this extremity, unparalleled perhaps in all history for difficulty and peril, it found salvation in the restored fortitude of the Government, and the unshaken fidelity of the ARMY. That noble body of men, on this as on many former occasions, proved the salvation of the Empire. They encouraged the Emperor to resist, by showing him that he had at length found a basis on which he could rest.

27. When the Magyars undertook to set up for themselves and establish a separate nationality in Hungary, independent of Austria, and connected with it only by the feeble bond of a common sovereign, they had no intention of emancipating the subject-dominions of the kingdom, or allowing the Croats the same independent existence which they claimed for themselves. Accordingly the latter, encouraged by the appointment of their popular and eloquent leader Jellachich as their Ban, and assured in secret of the support of the Emperor, made preparations openly to resist the threatened separation of Hungary from Austria, and adhere to the connection with their beloved Kaisers. On the 10th April, Jellachich made his public and solemn entry as Ban into Agram, the capital of the province, where he was received with loud acclamations by the whole inhabitants. He immediately (April 19) published a proclamation, in which he declared that he and his faithful Croats would never consent to the projected separation of Hungary

from the Imperial crown. At the same time he proclaimed martial law, and denounced the penalties of high treason against any one who should venture to revolt against their king, their country, and their oaths. The intelligence of these decisive measures excited the most unbounded indignation at Pesth, which was speedily turned into a warlike fury when it was heard that a Magyar emissary had been arrested in Croatia by orders of the Ban; that four of the frontier regiments had been directed, by the same authority, into the district of Turapoyla to disarm some tribes in the Magyar interest; in fine, that 30,000 Bosniaks, perfectly armed and equipped, were ready to penetrate into Croatia, to lend a hand to an equal number of Croats, whom he was raising to support the Emperor's cause. Deeming themselves not in sufficient strength to make head against so many enemies, the Magyar leaders despatched a deputation to the Emperor to implore his assistance to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions: thus deprecating, when applied to themselves, that very severance according to race which they were at the same moment endeavouring to effect against the Austrians. The deputation arrived at Vienna; and so thoroughly was the Government there prostrated by the democratic faction, that they were obliged to disavow the acts of their own governor in their own favour, and engage to do everything in their power to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions. A letter to this effect was despatched by the Emperor to the Archduke Stephen, his viceroy at Pesth, on the 7th May.

28. In pursuance of the orders thus received, the Archduke Stephen issued (May 10) a proclamation, in which he disavowed the conduct of the Ban, who was on the 29th May recalled to Innspruck by an order from the Emperor himself; and, on the 10th June, suspended from his functions by an Imperial decree. But Jellachich paid no regard to these commands, and continued his preparations in the most open manner, alleging that he was

acting according to the real wishes of the Emperor, from whom the orders to a contrary effect had been extorted by violence and intimidation.* So evident was it to all the world that this was the case, that the preparations for war with the Magyars, not only in Croatia, but amongst the Razen all along the Serbian frontier, and on the Lower Danube, were openly made; and hostilities actually commenced at many points both in the interior and along the frontier of Hungary. It was in the midst of these disorders, and with the fires of burning villages illuminating the sky by night, and their smoke obscuring it by day, that the Hungarian deputies met in assembly at Pesth, on the 5th July. The Archduke Stephen upon this occasion addressed to the deputies a speech, in which he condemned the Croatian insurrection, and gave assurances of the support of the Emperor to the Magyars, in such strong terms that it would be well for the honour of the House of Hapsburg if it could clear itself of the charge of double-dealing on the occasion.† But the Ban and his faithful Croats were nothing daunted by the real or feigned desertion of their sovereign and natural protector, and loudly asserted their

* About the 20th June he went to Innspruck to present a petition containing the demands of the Croat Assembly, but returned with an evasive answer from the Emperor.

† "La Croatie est exposée à une révolte ouverte: dans les contrées du bas Danube des bandes armées ont troublé la paix publique. Sa Majesté a vu avec une profonde douleur, après avoir sanctionné spontanément les lois votées par la dernière Diète, comme devant favoriser le développement de la prospérité du pays, que les agitateurs, surtout en Croatie et les contrées du bas Danube, avaient excité, les uns contre les autres, les habitants de croyances et de langues différentes, par des faux bruits et de vaines alarmes, et les avaient poussés à résister aux lois et à l'autorité législative, en leur disant qu'elles n'étaient pas l'expression libre de la volonté de Sa Majesté. En conséquence, pour tranquilliser les habitants de ce pays de toute langue et de toute religion, je déclare au nom de Sa Majesté notre maître et roi, que Sa Majesté est parfaitement résolue à protéger l'unité et l'inviolabilité de la couronne royale de Hongrie, contre toute attaque au dehors et contre toute sécession à l'intérieur."—*Ann. Hist.* 1848, pp. 431, 432.

determination, though abandoned by all the world, to assert their independence, and emancipate themselves from the domination of the Magyars. "Emperor!" said the Croats proudly, in their manifesto, "if you reject our supplications, we shall know how to conquer our liberties without your aid; and we would rather die heroically, as becomes a Slavonian family, than bear any longer the oppression of an Asiatic horde, from whom we have nothing either to receive or to learn, but who have imposed on us a yoke which it is impossible any longer to bear. If it comes to the worst, *we would prefer the knout of the Russians to the insolence of the Magyars.* Emperor! do not abandon us, for we will not, in any event, fall again under the dominion of the Magyars. Recollect, that if Croatia forms only a thirty-fifth part of your monarchy, her soldiers compose a third of your entire infantry."

29. To their honour be it spoken, the first acts of the Hungarian parliament evinced a sincere love of freedom, and a desire to remove those antiquated restrictions which had so long proved an impediment to their industry. Practical improvements, in the first instance at least, exclusively occupied their attention, and demonstrated the existence of numerous evils, which, in the first moments of emancipation, the nation sought to remove. Tithes were directed to be redeemed, under compensation to the clergy; *corvées* abolished; taxes imposed universally in proportion to fortune, without distinction of race, caste, or religion; the right of suffrage given to all inhabitants of free towns. Such was the programme of their measures, and such was in part carried into effect. So far the improvements were practical, and such as commanded the assent of every true friend to his country. But ere long the true revolutionary spirit appeared, and it became evident that democracy unrestrained was panting for power, and would here, as elsewhere, inaugurate its reign by acts of injustice. The abolition of tithes was agreed to, but compensa-

tion to the clergy denied; thus they were exposed to a spoliation as complete as they had undergone in France. A new electoral law was voted, which fixed the qualification at the possession of a capital of 300 florins (£30). It was evident that this would throw the representation entirely into the hands of the towns, for very few of the newly emancipated peasants possessed as yet at least a capital of half that amount. The measure was directed against the magnates, and could not have failed in a short time to destroy their influence.

30. It was in the midst of these distractions, social, political, and national, that on the 22d July the Constituent Assembly of Austria met.* It could hardly be said to be a *national* Assembly, for its authority scarcely extended over more than Upper and Lower Austria. Lombardy and the Venetian territory were in open revolt, and it was more than doubtful whether the Imperial dominion would ever be restored over them. Hungary, with Transylvania, had recently detached itself from the Empire, and no longer recognised the authority of any assembly sitting at Vienna. The revolt of the Slave population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had only been suppressed by the cannon of Windischgratz; and the known discontents of the inhabitants of Galicia were kept down by the dread of the Muscovite masses rapidly accumulating in the neighbouring territories of Russian Poland. Such as it was, the Assembly at Vienna exhibited no real representation of the great interests even of that small fragment of the Empire which still recognised its authority. Elected in the first fervour of the revolution, and under what was practically universal suffrage, it was composed, like the National Assembly of

France in 1789, for the most part of attorneys, physicians, professors, doctors, shopkeepers, with a few bankers and merchants. There were scarce any representatives of the landed interest, though they constituted nine-tenths of the property of the country; nor of the commercial aristocracy, though they comprehended nearly the whole of its moneyed wealth. Nothing, either practically beneficial or having a chance even of being durable, could be expected from an Assembly so constituted in such a one, or indeed in any country. All parties in it concurred in praying the Emperor to return, though from very different motives. The few Conservatives desired it, because they hoped his presence would prove, in some degree, a check on the extreme Liberals; the revolutionists were equally sincere, and with more reason, in desiring it, because they thought it would bring him entirely under their control.

31. Like Paris at this period, and animated with equal fervour, Vienna had its patriotic demonstrations, its democratic promenades, its forced illuminations, its female parades, its *Ateliers Nationaux*, its banquets, and its suffering crowds, starving amidst the compulsory assertion of universal felicity. Grave doubts, accordingly, were felt at the Emperor's headquarters at Innsbruck, as to the propriety of again returning to the theatre of so much disorder, and putting himself in the power of the armed students and vacillating burgher guard, whose treacherous conduct had rendered his former evasion necessary. But many circumstances concurred at this time to recommend the trying of the experiment, how hazardous soever it might appear. The earnestness and apparent sincerity with which the students and burghers of the capital implored his return, the unanimity of the constituent assembly on the same subject, seemed to promise an ovation strewed only with flowers. External events recommended the same course. In Italy, the battle of Custoza had again restored the Austrian affairs. Windischgratz had conquered rebellion in

* Shortly before (July 19) the ministry of Baron Pillersdorf fell before an adverse vote of the self-constituted "Committee of Safety;" and was succeeded by a new administration, in which Baron Wessenberg was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council; Baron Dobbihoff, of the Interior; Dr Bach, of Justice; Baron Krans, of Finance; and Count Latour, of War.

Prague; Hungary was not yet in revolt; the fidelity of Croatia was secured; and the recent intelligence of the election of the Archduke John as Vicar of the Empire, had been hailed with the utmost enthusiasm, both as a check to Prussia and as an earnest of the continued possession of the Imperial dignity by the House of Hapsburg. It was resolved, accordingly, to make the experiment; and the Imperial family left (Aug. 8) their mountain retreat, and returned to Vienna, where they were received (Aug. 12) with every demonstration of loyalty. But before they had been ten days in the capital, events occurred which forcibly demonstrated the feeble tenure by which they held the people's affections. A tumult arose on the 21st August, originating in the same cause which had produced the terrible insurrection in Paris in the June preceding. The numerous workmen out of employment proved too heavy a burden, as their labour was valueless, and the finances neither of the Government or the municipality could stand the strain. A reduction of the wages paid, therefore, was indispensable, and they were lowered twenty-two centimes on the 19th. Disturbances immediately arose; a violent mob collected round an effigy representing M. Schwarzer, the Minister of Public Works, by whom the reduction had been effected, which was publicly burnt; and to such a length did the disorders proceed that they were only suppressed by a great display of military strength on the part of the National Guard, and after many lives had been lost.

32. These disturbances were but the prelude to the commencement of a far more serious and enduring strife in Hungary. It began with an Imperial edict of the 4th, which appeared in the *Agram Zeitung* of the 5th September, reinstating Jellachich in his commands and dignities, as a reward "for his wise and patriotic services," and publicly apologising for the former decrees which had deprived him of them. This edict was not countersigned by any Hungarian minister, and was issued

by the Emperor of his own authority—a proceeding which was contrary to the Hungarian constitution, and excited universal apprehension as well as unbounded irritation in that country. To endeavour to accommodate matters, a deputation proceeded from Pesth to Vienna, which requested an audience of the Emperor.* It was granted (Sept. 9), but the members were coldly received, and given distinctly to understand that no adjustment of differences was possible until Kossuth was removed from the ministry. The Hungarian chiefs yielded this point; the great democratic leader resigned, and he was succeeded by Count Bathiany, who was the head of the aristocratic section of the patriots of the country. But the Court of Vienna gained no real advantage by the change; the spirit and influence of Kossuth survived his fall; the ardour of Hungarian independence was undiminished; and the Archduke Stephen himself found he was unable to moderate the general fervour. But the Court of Vienna was not less determined to resist the movement, which they plainly saw would lead to the dismemberment of the monarchy; the moment seemed favourable for checking it, for the principal Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy; the recent successes of Windischgratz had greatly elevated the spirits of the friends of the monarchy in the German provinces; and Jellachich was at the head of a gallant army thirty thousand strong, composed, in part at least, of old troops warmly attached to the Imperial colours. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Cabinet of Vienna deemed the moment for action had arrived, and Jellachich received orders to cross the Drave, the frontier river of Hungary. He did so at Zegrad, on the 11th September, and moved by the southern shore of the Balaton Lake straight on the capital.

33. Before this decisive step—equivalent to a declaration of war—was taken, a conference, memorable from the actors engaged and the interests

* See the edict in *BALLEYDIER*, II. 152.

involved in it, took place (July 29) at Vienna. "M. Bach, the Minister of Justice, and Baron Jellachich, supported it on the one side; Count Louis Bathiany and Prince Esterhazy on the other. It began in a solemn manner, and with measured expressions on both sides; but ere long the intensity of feeling broke through their courtly restraints, and the debate became animated and violent in the highest degree. "Between the cabinets of Pesth and Vienna," said Count Bathiany, "there is now an insurmountable barrier."—"Which you have raised up yourselves," replied Bach.—"Take care, Count, there is behind that barrier on your side an abyss, the name of which is Revolution."—"And who has dug that abyss?"—"You know better than we do—ask Kossuth. Meanwhile, I will tell you what will fill it up—oceans of blood, thousands of corpses; perhaps your own, Count." Before separating, Count Bathiany approached Jellachich, and taking him by the hand, said, "For the last time, do you wish peace or war?"—"We wish for peace," replied the Ban, "if the Magyars, better inspired than they now are, are willing to render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to Austria what belongs to Austria; but if they persist in wishing to shiver to pieces the fundamental laws of the Empire, then we are for war."—"May God protect the right," replied Bathiany; "the sabre must now decide betwixt us. Adieu, Baron; I assign a rendezvous on the banks of the Drave."—"We shall meet before on those of the Danube," replied Jellachich; and he was as good as his word. With these words they separated, and both sides prepared for war.

34. No proper idea of the great and most interesting contest which ensued can be formed, unless the state of feeling in Hungary throughout its continuance be taken into consideration. There were two parties in that country, which, although united at first in the common cause of resisting the Austrian rule, and asserting the independence of Hungary, rested, in reality, on

different principles, and came at last to be as much opposed to each other as both at first were to the Imperial domination. The one was composed of the high Magyar aristocracy—as proud and chivalrous a body of nobles as any in the world—which aspired after the independence of Hungary, because it would place them in possession of its government, and liberate them from the German yoke, which had so long chafed their lofty and aspiring dispositions. With them the quarrel was national, not political; it resembled the contest of Wallace or Bruce with the Plantagenet rulers of England in former days, and had nothing in common with the social struggles going on in Europe in the present. Passionately desirous of emancipating their country and race from Austrian thralldom, they had no intention whatever of delivering their people from their own. Though hurried along, in the first instance, by the universal transports into Liberal measures, it was with the *arrière pensée* to make use of them as a means only to an end, and that end was to establish a highly aristocratic government in Hungary, of which the Emperor, as king of the realm, was to be the nominal head, and they themselves, as his ministers and counsellors, the real rulers. It was with this view that, in the outset of the contest, when the Cabinet of Vienna had no means of resisting their demands, they had succeeded in extorting from it not only a separate legislature and army, but a national exchequer and cabinet, without the intervention of a single functionary of German blood. At the head of this party was Count Louis Bathiany, a noble of ancient family, heroic disposition, but little prudence or worldly wisdom. He had all the virtues and failings of the Magyar character. Bold, chivalrous, and enthusiastic, but headstrong and rash, he devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of his country, and suffered death in the end on the scaffold on its behalf, with the same resolution as his ancestors had charged the Ottoman squadrons on the ancient fields of Hungarian fame.

35. The second party in Hungary was composed of men who, though united at the moment with the Magyar magnates in the effort to throw off the German yoke, were in reality not less hostile to them than the Vienna aristocracy, and foresaw a contest with their present allies even more terrible than they were now to wage together with the Austrian battalions. This party comprehended all who were smitten with the political and social passions of the time, and seized the opportunity of its embarrassments not only to destroy the authority of the House of Hapsburg, but to establish republican institutions in its stead. It consisted almost entirely of the inhabitants of towns and the students at the universities and academies, who sincerely desired the amelioration of their country, or who, carried away by the warm views of their eloquent teachers, were ready to go any length against the aristocratic pretensions even of their own families. It may readily be believed that this party had little at bottom in common with the haughty Magyar nobles, who aspired to the government of the state, and the exclusive vesting of it in themselves: unquestionably a victory to their united forces could have had no other effect but that of opening the portals to a still more desperate civil war between the rival aspirants to the rule of the Hungarian commonwealth. So deeply, however, is the love of equality in Hungary, as in Poland, implanted in the minds even of the nobles, that many of them were foremost in the republican party, and ardent in support of a cause which could have led, if successful, to no other result but ruin as complete as, from its triumph on the Vistula, had overtaken the Sarmatian commonwealth. Unmarked at first amidst the enthusiasm of Hungarian nationality, the division between the two parties was, in reality, complete and irreconcilable; and it is to its influence, more even than the intervention of the Muscovite battalions, that the ultimate failure of their united effort for independence is to be ascribed.

36. Though Count Louis Bathiany was the political head of the aristocratic portion of the Magyar party, yet when war began, his ascendancy yielded to that of GEORGEY, to whom the command of the army was intrusted. This very eminent warrior must receive a prominent place in that age of glory, and be placed alongside of Radetsky in the archives of military fame. He was one of those men who, born with military genius of the very highest kind, wanted only a greater theatre whereon to exert his talents, to have attained the most exalted reputation. When called to the command of the Hungarian army, and opposed to the soldiers of Jellachich and Windischgrätz, he had a very difficult task to accomplish. Though the Hungarian soldiers are second to none in the world in native hardihood and valour, and they had always been regarded as the *élite* of the Imperial infantry and light-horse, yet, like all other young troops, their new levies were little able to withstand the shock of the Imperial veterans. Although the general enthusiasm was sufficient to cause all the recruits after that occasion to join the national ranks, and the depot battalions stationed in Hungary did the same, yet the veterans were mostly in Lombardy serving under Radetsky; and his influence, joined to the strong instinct of military discipline, was adequate to retain them with the Imperial standards even when most strongly urged by their countrymen to go over to the other side. Thus, when hostilities began, the Hungarians had the most difficult of all tasks to perform—that of combating with new levies, veteran troops in a flat country, with no natural advantages except the possession of the fortresses to counterbalance those of discipline and military experience on the other side. The ability with which Georgey did this, and the success with which for long his efforts were attended, forms one of the most instructive chapters in military history, and has deservedly given immortality to his name. His merit was the greater that, though bred a soldier, he had only

served a short time in the Austrian army as lieutenant before the war broke out; and when aroused, as he himself tells us, by the cry, "The country is in danger!" he was living a quiet country life on the estate of a female relative in the north of Hungary, and entered one of the battalions of the Honved, or local militia, with the rank only of captain.

37. His very interesting military memoirs are full of complaints against the unsteadiness of the new Hungarian levies, and the manner in which they melted away when first brought under fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their officers to retain them to their colours. Probably, if they have "writ their annals true," the historians of most other young troops would have similar tales to recount; but in the Hungarian war there was this peculiar difficulty wherewith the Magyar generals had to contend, that their troops were *almost all* new levies. They had a comparatively small body of old soldiers on whom to fall back, or to bring up in the decisive moment, either to improve success or avert disasters. This was a difficulty of the most serious kind—so great, indeed, that if the Austrian generals had evinced the same vigour in following up their victories that their troops had displayed in gaining them, the Hungarian insurrection must have been crushed in the outset, and the Imperial Government spared the humiliation of invoking the Muscovite aid for its final suppression. In combating these early successes of his enemies, Georgey displayed military abilities of the very highest kind. By his indefatigable efforts, inexhaustible resources, and indomitable spirit, the contest was prolonged amidst multiplied disasters, until the young soldiers had acquired by practice the steadiness of veterans. Like Washington, he made such skilful use of the mattock and the spade, he moved his troops with such rapidity, and took such advantage of his interior line of communications, that he succeeded in baffling all the efforts of his experienced antagonists, and had the glory, with his raw levies, of at length

reducing the Imperial army to such straits, that beyond all question, but for the intervention of the Muscovites, Vienna would have fallen before the Hungarian arms. The necessity of capitulating at length to the Russians, has exposed his memory to severe obloquy, especially from his own countrymen; but his actions will speak for themselves—they require no eulogy; and he has recounted them with the calm dignity of one who can trust to time to vindicate his reputation.

38. The leader of the other party was KOSSUTH, and though a far less immaculate character than Georgey, he possessed all the qualities requisite for the lead of the democratic body, of which he was the head. Bold, unscrupulous, and determined, he was a true tribune of the people. Born in the humbler ranks of society, he not only shared none of the Magyar pride, but their haughtiness was his aversion; and he was resolute to vindicate both the independence of his country and the dignity of human nature, by organising a revolutionary movement which should at once, as he thought, secure the first and assert the second. The powers he had received from nature were eminently calculated to achieve these objects. His oratorical talents were of the very highest kind. He could declaim with equal facility in Hungarian, Latin, German, French, or English; and he has repeatedly charmed audiences of these different nations, by speeches delivered with the ease and accent of a well-educated native. To this facility in speaking he joined the rarer faculty of seizing the spirit of the persons whom he addressed, and selecting the images, allusions, and topics most likely to mould them according to his will. His information was vast, but it was more superficial than profound, multifarious than accurate. His only thorough acquaintance was with the human heart, and that he knew to the bottom. His industry was prodigious, his energy indomitable; and hence the influence he acquired in Hungary was unbounded; and to his exertions the rapid and extraordinary development

of its military resources is mainly to be ascribed. But his influence proved as fatal to its independence in the end as it had been serviceable to it in the beginning; for "his inmost soul," as Gibbon said of Mr Fox, "was tinged with democracy," and the ascendancy of this feeling impelled him into several measures which excited the jealousy of the Magyar nobility, and produced a division in their councils which ultimately proved fatal to the independence of the country.

39. To meet this array of military and civil talent, the main reliance of the Imperial Government was on JEL-LACHICH, Ban of Croatia. The situation to which he had been raised was a very important one; it was the third in point of dignity in the whole Empire. He was every way worthy to hold it. Born on the 16th October 1801, he was the son of Field-Marshal Baron Jellachich, and inherited from him the love of arms. This disposition was so strongly marked in early childhood, that the Emperor Francis used to call him his "dear little Jellachich," and foretold he would one day make a figure in the state. At the age of eight he was sent to the Military Academy of Maria-Theresa, in Vienna, where the vivacity of his disposition and precocity of his mind early attracted notice. In 1829 he entered the army as cornet in a regiment of dragoons, of which, in 1848, he had risen to be colonel. His elevation to the high rank of Ban of Croatia was considered by all as the harbinger of success; for he was at once respected by the generals, popular with the officers, and adored by the soldiers, in all the grades through which he had passed. Blessed by nature with robust health, and a constitution which nothing could shake, he had at the same time the self-confidence which inspires trust in others, and the gaiety and cheerfulness of temper which awakens affection. At once a soldier and a poet, he was qualified alike to win the laurels of war and conquer the hearts of women. Under this gay and joyous temperament, however, he veiled a mind set on great things, an observant disposition, a military *coup-d'œil*,

and unbounded energy and application to business. His practised eye early discerned that it was in the military spirit of the Croats, and their hereditary animosity against the Magyars, that the foundation must be laid of a successful resistance to the Hungarian revolt; and long before he was called to lead the armies, he had studied the theatre of war both on the Drave and the Danube, and was prepared with a detailed plan of a campaign when the proper moment arrived for raising the ancient war-cry of the Croats, "Death to the Magyars!"

40. Without the military abilities which rendered Jellachich so famous, and so great an acquisition to the Imperial cause, PRINCE WINDISCHGRATZ sustained too important a part in the contest to be passed over in the gallery of contemporary portraits. He was born at Brussels on the 11th April 1787, of one of the most illustrious houses in Germany. Like Jellachich, he showed from his earliest years a decided turn for arms. He entered the service as lieutenant of lancers in 1804, and took part in the great battles between France and Austria in the succeeding year, as well as in 1809 and in 1813. In 1814 he was already a colonel of cuirassiers, and a lieutenant-general in 1833, which indicated distinguished services in a country in which promotion, regulated by seniority, is extremely slow. He was a model of the military German prince of the old school. A noble figure, striking even in advanced years; a breast covered with military insignia; a mild but yet expressive countenance; an exterior, calm but dignified, concealed a soul of fire, a heart responsive to every generous sentiment. He was the type of the ancient chivalrous character, such as it is depicted in the poems and romances of the olden time, but probably never existed in real life. Accessible to pity from all other quarters, he was immovably firm in questions of duty; for treachery or defection he had no forgiveness; the words pronounced by him on a solemn occasion, when he saved the Austrian monarchy, "With rebels I treat only

with the sword," expressed the ruling principle of his public career. When summoned by the students of Prague, before the insurrection in that city, to give them two thousand muskets and eight thousand cartridges, with a battery of cannon, and to disarm the batteries planted against the town, he replied: "Your demands in the name of the people are concisely expressed; I answer them, in the name of the Emperor in the same style: I need my muskets for my soldiers; I shall keep them: guns are not made for students; I retain them: the position of my batteries seems advantageous; I shall maintain it." With this mingled firmness and gentleness of character, he would have risen to the very highest political as well as military eminence, had his abilities as a general been equal to his knightly qualities. But in that respect he was inferior both to Georgey and Jellachich. He had the glory by his firmness of twice saving his country—once under the walls of Prague, and again under those of Vienna; but he did not improve his successes with the same vigour as he commenced them; and had his first victories over the Hungarians been followed up with proper rapidity, the war might have been terminated in the first campaign, and Austria saved from the humiliating necessity of owing its ultimate salvation to the Muscovite arms.

41. PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG was later brought on the field than either of the other paladins of the Empire; but when he did appear, he rendered services of the highest kind. Felix, Prince of Schwartzenberg, the son of the generalissimo of the Austrian armies in the war of liberation, was born at Krumau, in Bohemia, on the 20th of October 1800; so at this period he was forty-eight years of age. At once a soldier and a diplomatist, he buckled on his sabre first in 1818, in the cuirassier regiment of Constantine, and made his *début* in the diplomatic service in 1824 at St Petersburg. His advancement was extremely rapid; and with a breast covered with crosses and decorations,

he had already served in the diplomatic career at St Petersburg, Rio Janeiro, London, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Berlin, Turin, Parma, and Naples, when, in 1848, he again put on his armour, and entered the army of Marshal Radetsky. He then served as general of brigade in the division of Marshal Count Nugent, and gave proofs of the same talent and energy in military command which he had formerly evinced in his diplomatic career. Though wounded in a previous encounter, he insisted on resuming his command at the battle of Custoza, and bore a distinguished part in that decisive victory, which terminated the first Italian campaign. His moral and political were equal to his personal courage; and he was alike qualified to prosecute advantages on the field of battle, and to maintain the cause of his country in the intricacies of diplomacy. With the utmost refinement of chivalrous manner, he united, like Metternich, brilliant powers of conversation. His known abilities in the conduct of public affairs, and widespread personal influence, designed him as the fitting successor of Metternich in the direction of the Austrian Government, when, in the close of 1848, the victories of Jellachich and Windischgratz restored the authority of the Emperor in the capital; and his appointment as prime-minister diffused universal satisfaction, and contributed much to the glorious stand which the German portion of the Empire made against dismemberment and ruin.

42. Before the great contest arose in which these paladins were brought into collision, a fearful war, attended with the most frightful features of civil dissension, had broken out in the south and south-east of Hungary. The Servians, or RAZEN as they are there called, inhabit the Hungarian counties on the Lower Danube, the Banat, the eastern part of Sclavonia, and some districts of the Croatian borders. They are a branch of the great Slovak nation, and in number about 800,000. They belonged originally to the Greek Independent Church,

at the head of which is the Archbishop of Carlowitz, in whose appointment, though nominally vested in seventy-five electors, the Emperor of Austria has a preponderating influence. Like the Vendéans, they were entirely led by their clergy; and they were strongly attached to the Austrian Government from animosity at the Magyars, who had intruded into their country, and of whom they had for ages been the hereditary foes. So strongly were they imbued with these feelings, that from the very first they repudiated the tempting offers of the Hungarian Parliament, and a participation in the privileges which they had obtained from the Government. They sent a deputation to Pesth in May 1848, to lay before the Diet their demands, which were partly of a territorial, partly of a national and religious nature. With the characteristic haughtiness of their race, the Magyars refused to come to any accommodation, or even enter into any discussion or explanation with them. This, which their able general, Klapka, admits was a "grievous fault," at once led to a rupture. Disgusted with the insolence with which they had been received, the Razen deputies returned home, and immediately made preparations for war, even before the Government at Vienna had thrown off the mask, and when the Austrian troops were still in appearance making common cause with the Hungarian nation. Hostilities began early in June; and with such vigour were they conducted on the part of the Razen, that though at first they had to contend, in addition to the Magyars, with a considerable body of regular Austrian troops, they were generally successful; and after bloody battles had been fought, the insurgents had not only maintained their ground, but wrested a large tract of country, including several strong positions along the old Roman intrenchments, from the Hungarians. The war, which on both sides was conducted with savage ferocity, was still raging when, on the 11th September, Jellachich crossed the Drave, and entered Hungary.

Thus, within six months of the breaking out of a revolution of which "German unity" was the principle, not only was Prussia at variance with Southern Germany, but Bohemia was alienated from Austria, Hungary from both, and in the latter country itself a frightful war had arisen between the Razen and the Croats against the domineering insolence of the Magyars.

43. Aware of the strife which was inevitably approaching, both parties had, for a considerable time before it commenced, been making preparations for it. On the 5th August the Hungarian Government commenced the issue of a national paper, bearing a forced circulation: a perilous expedient, which carried them through the contest, but landed the nation in a debt of 110,000,000 florins (£11,000,000) in ten months. At the same time, the "Honved," or local militia, was called out; a force which amounted to 150,000 men, and formed the basis of the army which afterwards did such wonders in the cause of Hungarian independence. But being ill-disciplined and without confidence in its officers, it was exposed in the first instance to numerous reverses. Moreover, being not bound to serve beyond the frontier often prevented them from following up their most brilliant successes. On their side the Austrian Government made every preparation which their straitened circumstances would admit for the contest. The troops on the frontier were reinforced by every disposable man; and the almost superhuman activity of Count Latour, the minister of war, pushed forward the levying and recruiting of new troops in the provinces which could be relied on with extraordinary vigour. As a last resource, the ultimatum of the Cabinet of Vienna, which was that the ministries of war, finance, and foreign affairs in Hungary should be united to those of Vienna, an entire community of right be established between all the inhabitants of Austria and Hungary respectively, and the demands of the Razen nation be conceded, was published in a manifesto at Agram on the 6th August by Jellachich. To

this the president of the Magyar Cabinet replied, refusing the terms: and in a proclamation to the Hungarian nation, he said: "Dangers are hourly thickening around our country. An infamous party, of which Jellachich is the blind instrument, again raises its head. In presence of the Archduke John, Jellachich promised me that he would withdraw his army from the Croat^e frontier on condition that the Hungarians should do the same. In defiance of his pledged word, he is at this moment concentrating a large force in Croatia, and especially in the environs of Warasdin, although, in conformity with our engagement, we have withdrawn a considerable portion of our troops from the Croat frontier to the neighbourhood of the Danube. As we may every moment expect to be attacked, I conjure, in this decisive moment, the officers of the menaced frontier to redouble their vigilance. We will attack no one, but we shall watch over the reactionists, and be ready to defend ourselves, our rights, and country to the last drop of our blood."

44. The plan of the Austrians, devised by Count Latour, in the furtherance of which Jellachich was the principal agent, was that on a certain day the whole fortresses in which their partisans were in the majority, were to hoist the Imperial colours, proclaim a state of siege to the neighbouring cities and territory, oppose the orders of the Hungarian Government, and take their commands from the War Office of Vienna. At the same time, Jellachich was to invade Hungary from Warasdin in Croatia, General Rott from Slavonia. Colonel Mayerhofer was to lead in the Razez levies in the Bats and Banat country, and in conjunction with the troops in the fortresses of Arad and Temesvar, which were in the Austrian interest, to subjugate the countries of the Lower Danube. Puchner was to march in from the side of Transylvania, Simonich from Galicia; and a helping hand was to be everywhere given to the Servians, Slovaks, Wallachians, and others, who stood on the Austrian side. In addition to this, a

powerful army of reserve was forming under Windischgratz, in the neighbourhood of Vienna, which was to march direct on Pesth, the seat of government and the centre of Hungarian power. It seemed next to impossible that the Magyars could successfully resist so formidable a combination, for the regular troops at their disposal did not exceed 25,000 men, scattered over an immense surface; and little reliance, as the event proved, could be placed on the Honved and volunteers, who had never been in action, or seen real service.

45. The plan of the campaign on the part of the insurgents was based on different principles. They had only one real advantage, in a military point of view, in their contest with Austria,—and that was, in the possession of the greater part of the fortresses and the whole arsenals of the kingdom, which being entirely in the hands of the national troops, at once hoisted the national colours. This gave them ample supplies of arms, ammunition, and artillery, and rendered the war not one with an insurgent domestic population, but of one foreign nation with another. But as the greater part of the old Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy, and the depot battalions only at home, they resolved, in the first instance at least, and till the Honved became inured to war, to remain on the defensive in Hungary. They gained a great advantage, before hostilities began, by the acceptance of the command of the fortress of Peterwaradin by General Blagowich from the Hungarian Government. He was a brave man and excellent officer, who, distracted between the orders of his kaiser and the calls of his country, decided for the latter. The Hungarians had no army capable as yet of combating in the open field the regular troops of Windischgratz in the neighbourhood of Vienna; but this circumstance gave them little disquiet, as they were in communication with the revolutionists in that capital. By these a great insurrection was preparing, which soon after broke out, and which, it was expected, would give

the Bohemian general ample employment at home without aiding in the operations against Hungary.

46. The Hungarian Government made the most herculean efforts to raise and organise troops; and these were admirably seconded by the enthusiasm and spirit of the Magyars. They were quite unanimous, and to the last degree ardent in the cause. The division between the aristocratic and democratic parties, inevitable in the end, in such convulsions, was unknown in its commencement. The cause was national, not social, at least in the estimation of the immense majority of its supporters; and this, among a people eminently attached to their country, and justly proud of its historic renown and martial fame, excited universal enthusiasm. Kossuth was the soul of the movement. At the first intelligence of the Ban having crossed the Drave, he flew to Pesth, boasting that he would not return till he had organised a levy of 70,000 fresh men. He was as good as his word. At his powerful voice ringing on the already vibrating chords of Hungarian nationality, the whole Magyar race flew to arms; 300,000 in a few days came forward demanding arms to defend their country, and 100,000 were ere long enrolled. But this ardour was confined to the Magyar race, numbering little more than a third of the inhabitants of Hungary. The Slaves were arrayed on the other side, either in active or passive resistance; the Croats, Razen, and Wallachians were engaged in a desperate and bloody contest with them.

47. The first operations of Jellachich, contrary to expectation, proved unfortunate. Detached columns of his troops, after the crossing of the Drave, were worsted in several lesser encounters, which added immensely to the enthusiasm of the Magyars; but his main body advanced steadily by the southern shore of the Balaton Lake to Stuhlweissenberg, within a few stages of Pesth, which it reached on the 27th September. The Court of Vienna now saw that the time had arrived when it was necessary to act with vigour. Ac-

cordingly, on the 25th of September a decree appeared appointing General Count Lamberg to the command-in-chief of the army in Hungary, and ordering a suspension of hostilities between the two armies. He immediately set out for Pesth, without an escort, to enter on the duties of his office. Kossuth and the national party in Hungary, two days after, met this by a counter-proclamation, in which the nomination of the Count was declared illegal, and not entitled to obedience in Hungary, as wanting the counter-signature of the Hungarian minister, in terms of the constitution. By the same proclamation, all who obeyed him were declared guilty of high treason, and since the Hungarian cabinet had resigned, and the Emperor had not approved of their successors, it was announced that, as the Archduke Stephen could not act alone, Kossuth and Szemere would remain in office, and provisionally carry on the government. Matters had now come to a crisis which necessarily rendered war inevitable, and it was hastened by a shocking crime, which at once precipitated hostilities, and was the main cause of the ulcerated feelings and deeds of cruelty which disgraced both sides during the continuance of the contest.

48. Count Lamberg was still alone, travelling without an escort, attended only by a single aide-de-camp and servant when he approached Pesth. He had set out at a moment's warning from Vienna to enter on his perilous mission: he had little hopes of success, none of surviving. "You will set out this evening," said the minister to him, when he announced his appointment. "This moment," said he. "*Au revoir, general!*" answered the minister. "No!" answered Lamberg; "my days are numbered: we shall never meet again. I recommend my children to you." Unhappily Pesth at this time (Sept. 28) was in a state of the most violent excitement, and the streets filled with crowds of men and women almost frantic with passion. He arrived, however, without experiencing any actual violence, at the headquarters of the general commandant of the

town of Buda, on the western side of the river, Hrabovski, by whom he was coldly received. Hearing a noise, every moment increasing, in the streets, he asked its cause. "It is the people," said Hrabovski, "coming to pay you a visit." "Let them come, then," said the old general, rising up with inexpressible dignity. "What are you going to do?" asked the Hungarian. "My duty," replied Lamberg. "I shall go to Pesth first, to the President of the Council, to obtain his counter-signature to the royal rescripts; then to the Diet, to announce the object of my mission. Will you accompany me?" "I am at your service," replied Hrabovski's aide-de-camp; but, as they set out, the latter made some pretext to slip away, leaving the Count to proceed alone. Meanwhile the streets which they had to pass were crowded, and the cry "Death to Lamberg!" was heard on all sides. One young man, pale with excitement, lifted up on a cart, said, "Citizens! do you know why Lamberg has come amongst us? He has come to extinguish our nationality, and absorb it in the despotism of Austria: he has come to substitute its abhorred colours for our glorious standards: he has come to extinguish in the blood of the Hungarian people the sacred fire of the Magyars: he has come to rivet on our hands the chains of the most odious slavery. The time presses, citizens! The moment of action has arisen: choose between independence and slavery." "Death to Lamberg!" was the cry on all sides;—"To arms!" "Why arms?" cried the orator: "it is under strokes of clubs that the dog-traitor Lamberg should perish." It was under the excitement produced by these and similar words that Count Lamberg entered the crowd collected on the bridge uniting Buda with Pesth on his way to the Diet; and some brave national guards, seeing his danger, came up at the moment and surrounded the carriage. "Your devotion, gentlemen," said he, with a calm voice, "will not save me; but I die without fear, for my conscience has nothing to reproach me. Yet it is sad for a soldier to die

in a riot, and not by a cannon-ball in the field of battle." In vain the national guard strove to protect him; a furious mob broke in on all sides, and instantly despatched him by blows with bludgeons and cuts with scythes. His body was pierced by forty-three wounds; his clothes were torn in pieces and distributed as trophies to his assassins; a cord was put round his neck, and, after the body had been mutilated, it was dragged along the streets in the midst of a crowd of fifteen thousand persons uttering frightful yells. The Diet, awed by the usual weakness of popular leaders in presence of a revolt; warned of the danger, they did nothing to arrest it; and he was massacred under the eyes of several of the deputies.

49. A few days after this hideous murder was committed, another tragic event occurred, attended with still more mournful consequences. Count Eugene Zichy, a young man of one of the first families in Hungary, of the most noble character and unwearied beneficence, had been on an errand of mercy with the Ban to obtain some protection for the miserable inhabitants of the invaded country in which his estates lay, against the devastations of the Croats, when he was arrested at the village of Soponya, on the 30th September, by a tenant whose family had been loaded with benefits by that of Zichy, bound, garotted, and conducted with the most savage cruelty to the Isle of Czeszel, where he was delivered over to a council of war presided over by Georgey, then a captain in the Honved, by whom he was immediately put on his trial for high treason. The only evidence against him consisted of a safe-conduct from Jellachich, from whom he was returning, and some copies of an address by the Emperor to the Hungarian nation and the troops in south Hungary, calculated to encourage them to revolt against the Diet at Pesth, found in his portmanteau. The Count said that they had been put there by his valet without his knowledge or consent—a statement which, although possible, is not very probable. But the material

thing is, that it was not pretended even that any of these proclamations had been circulated by himself or others, or that the contemplated rising had taken place. At the worst, therefore, it was only a preparation for treason. There was no overt act to which it could attach. Even if it had been otherwise, and the proclamations had been published, Zichy, in forwarding their publication, was only obeying the commands of his lawful Emperor; and were the Hungarians entitled to apply the law of high treason to one obeying the orders of his sovereign, and thus stain, in its outset, a contest which in reality was a national one, with the odious features of civil warfare? These considerations were wholly lost, on Georgey, who signed the fatal warrant condemning Zichy to be hanged. His last words were—"I die innocent; and may God grant that I may be the last victim; and may He protect my country, and save it from judges such as mine have been. Long live Hungary; long live the king!" In a few minutes all was over; the mob cut down the body, divided the garments as trophies, and after subjecting it to every indignity, threw it on a dunghill on the banks of the Danube. It was half devoured by wild animals, when a young Greek priest gave what remained a humble sepulture; and, a year after, it was removed to the family vault in the church of Kalos.

50. Indignant at these atrocities, the Emperor launched forth a decree against the Hungarians, dissolving the Diet of Pesth, declaring all its acts and ordinances illegal, constituting Jellachich commander-in-chief in Hungary and Transylvania, with unlimited powers, placing all Hungary in a state of siege, and appointing a new ministry, with Count Recsey at its head. This was immediately met by a counter-proclamation from Kossuth, asserting the entire independence of Hungary, and declaring Jellachich and Recsey traitors, and guilty of high treason. The transports with which this declaration was received at Pesth, were much increased when intelligence next

day arrived there that the Austrian army, under Jellachich, had met (Sept. 29) with a serious check in attempting to storm the Hungarians intrenched in a strong position at Valencz, and a considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions had been cut off. This success was immediately after followed by the capture of General Rott, with six thousand men and twelve guns, who was coming up from Sclavonia to reinforce Jellachich, and fell into an ambuscade skilfully laid by the Hungarian generals Georgey and Peroyel. This disaster was so serious that the Cabinet of Vienna directed the immediate march of fifteen thousand men from the capital and its environs to reinforce the army of the Ban, who was now urgently pressing for reinforcements. The attempt to carry out this order brought to a head, somewhat sooner than had been intended, the insurrection at Vienna, which opened a new phase in the revolution, and induced events of the very utmost importance.

51. As, in the exhausted state of the national resources, it was no easy matter to know where to find these troops, Count Latour, the minister-at-war, had fixed (Oct. 4) upon the grenadiers of Richter to form part of the reinforcements. This corps for fourteen years had formed part of the garrison of the capital, and, as a necessary consequence, had become deeply imbued with its passions and its vices, and come to reflect all the political feelings with which its inhabitants were animated. No sooner, therefore, did they hear of an intention to transport them to the seat of war in Hungary, than they evinced unequivocal symptoms of a mutinous spirit, and determination to resist. This was done, as well from a reluctance to leave the pleasures of Vienna, as from the contagion of the revolutionary principles with which so many of its citizens were affected. The minister-at-war, however, was firm, and persisted in his order that the regiment should march, and their departure was directed to take place on the 6th October. This threw them into

the utmost state of agitation, and the revolutionary leaders hailed with transport such an opportunity of engrafting a military revolt on a civil movement. They then hoped, by means of the armed forces in the capital, at once to overturn the Imperial Government, and give the most effectual aid to the Magyars in the dismemberment of the Empire. To effect this, however, it was indispensable to get rid of Count Latour, whose known firmness of character threatened to be the most serious impediment to their designs; and to arrange the mode of accomplishing this object, a meeting of the chiefs of the secret societies was held on the night of the 4th October.

52. The conspirators met accordingly in a secret chamber of the building called the Auld, at Vienna, with the greatest precautions against discovery, or the admission of any one who did not belong to the affiliated societies. The chairman then introduced the subject:—"We have received information from one of our associates in the war-office, that on the day after to-morrow the traitor Latour is about to execute a *coup-de-main*; but we shall be beforehand with him. What say you, brethren?"—"Yes, yes," arose on all sides. "It is well," replied the president: "a revolution is a fine thing, brethren; but to render it profitable, it must be really one, and not a mere caricature. What we require is a revolution of the people with bared arms, locks tossed by the winds, wrath in their eyes, and the musket in their hands." "And not a riot," added another; "what we require is a revolution with barricades and war in the streets."—"And not a bourgeois manifestation with rosewater and sugar-candy."—"A revolution like that of Danton and Robespierre."—"And not a parody, as that of Louis Blanc and Lamartine."—"In fine, a revolution of Titans and men."—"And not a caprice of pigmies, or a phantasy of poets."—"What we require, in fine," said the president, with an earnest and solemn voice, "is a revolution with corpses enough to satisfy the vengeance of the people, and a victim elevated

enough to compromise the people, and render a retreat impossible. Do you understand me, brethren?"—"Yes, yes," arose on all sides. "We demand justice."—"Against whom?"—"Latour."—"Agreed, agreed; justice to the people, death to Latour, life and independence to Germany." The conspirators then took a solemn oath to execute the enterprise; and the nocturnal meeting, which had been prolonged till seven in the morning, broke up.

53. While this dramatic scene was being acted in a den of darkness in Vienna, Latour, in the church of the Jesuits, in the same city, was celebrating a solemn funeral-service for the soul of Count Lamberg. Having taken their resolution, the conspirators were not slow in putting their designs into execution, and they carried them out with much ability. A general insurrection, aided by the mutinous regiment of Richter, supported by the students, the Burgher and National Guards, was organised, and a certain number of desperadoes were fixed on to single out Count Latour, and despatch him during the strife. Meanwhile petitions were addressed to the war-minister by the armed students and the Burgher Guard, entreating him to suspend the order for the march of the mutinous grenadiers, on whose co-operation they relied; and they, in their determination to resist, sent to sound the University Legion, whom they found in the best disposition. Latour was firm, though he clearly foresaw the crisis which was approaching. "Bred a soldier," said the brave old man, "I consider obedience as the first of military duties. A minister-at-war at the close of my career, I will not betray the convictions of my whole life. A revocation of the order I gave yesterday would be not merely an act of cowardice—it would be a crime." The conspirators next sent a similar petition to Count Auersperg, the commander of the garrison, but met with the same answer. Meanwhile active preparations were everywhere made for the immediate commencement of hostilities; the clubs

declared their sittings permanent, and were indefatigable in their efforts to rouse the people into rebellion; the Constituent Assembly sat in permanence, and already barricades were beginning to be run up in the central parts of the city. Early in the morning an anonymous letter was brought to Latour, requiring him instantly to revoke the order for the march of the troops, and threatening that if this was not done, and the hôtel of the war-minister evacuated, the minister himself, Bach the minister of justice, and the Archduchess Sophia, would be hanged facing each other before noon on the following day. "It was no soldier who wrote that letter," said Latour; "he desires me to desert my post." The order, accordingly, was not recalled; and the rebellious regiment, escorted by faithful cavalry, set out on the morning of the 6th, on their march to the railway station, surrounded by an immense crowd, and approached the bridge of Tabor, where the National Guard and University Legion were ranged in order of battle. The two parties were then in presence; a frightful combat seemed instant and inevitable.

54. The mutinous regiment, setting at defiance the cavalry who escorted them, refused to cross the bridge, and immediately fraternised with the insurgents, crying "Long live Hungary!" Upon this the regiment of Nassau and a pioneer detachment were brought up, with some pieces of cannon, and the insurgents were summoned to surrender. This they refused to do, upon which General Bredy, the commanding officer, gave the word of command to the gunners, "Fire!" with a loud voice: but hardly were the words out of his mouth, when he fell dead from a discharge of musketry from the other side. Though shaken for a moment by the volley of grape, the insurgents quickly rallied, and by a sudden rush made themselves masters of the guns, and drove back the Nassau infantry, who were foremost on the Emperor's side. The action now continued with regular firing between the troops and the revolted

grenadiers for some time, and the insurgents were at first driven back by the steady volleys of the regular infantry; but being strongly reinforced, and having rallied behind some barricades, they brought their opponents to a stand, and at length forced them to retreat in their turn. This was the signal for a general outbreak in all quarters. The insurgents, now reinforced by the greater part of the National Guard, entered the city; the gates were intrusted to detachments of the National Guard and the students; the tocsin sounded from all the churches; barricades were everywhere run up; a central committee appointed for military operations, and every preparation made for vigorous hostilities. A fierce contest took place in the Place of St Stephen, close to the noble edifice there, where a party of loyal National Guards were attacked by the insurgents, and, after a short combat, defeated and driven into the cathedral, where their commander was slain on the steps of the high altar. Nearly the whole of the town proper had now fallen into the hands of the rebels. As a last resource, three companies of sappers and miners, with four guns, his sole remaining reserve, were sent by Latour, to endeavour to extricate those who had been driven into the cathedral; but they were unable to reach their destination. Stopped by formidable barricades in front, and assailed by a plunging fire from the windows on either side, they were nearly all struck down, and the few survivors made prisoners and confined in the university buildings, the whole approaches of which were crossed by formidable barricades. One gate only, that of the Scotch, remained in the hands of the royal troops. Through this the battalion of Nassau entered the town and endeavoured to disengage the sappers; but they were received by so heavy a fire from the barricades that they had to fall back in disorder.

55. The only post, except the barracks, in the city now occupied by the royal troops was the hôtel of the minister of war. A council of war was

there held, under the presidency of Count Latour, to deliberate on what should be done. They were guarded only by 176 men, of whom twelve were mounted, and a single gun; several thousands of the insurgents thronged round the gates. The most alarming accounts were brought in every instant of the progress of the insurrection, and the defection of the whole National Guard and a part of the troops of the line. Opinions were divided as to the course which should be pursued. The majority thought further resistance hopeless and inexpedient, as likely to compromise the Imperial family. The intrepid Bach, minister of justice, strongly supported the opposite opinion. "Concessions at this stage, gentlemen," cried he, "would be worse than cowardice: it would be the consecration of revolt. Besides, it would not save you. Listen to the cries below the windows! They are the voice of the people demanding victims to be thrown to the wild beasts, or rather the howling of wild beasts for their prey. Let us have no concessions! A good cause is never lost by resistance; it is concession which ruins it. What is required for the monarchy and the capital is, to declare the metropolis in a state of siege, to give orders to General Auersperg to resume the offensive at all points, and to oppose to the daggers of the revolution the swords of the faithful Austrians." But the proverb held good: the council of war did not fight. Reluctantly Count Latour yielded to the opinion of the majority, and signed the fatal order, "The firing is everywhere to cease." But M. Bach was right in his anticipations: though it prostrated the monarchy, it did not save those who, at the eleventh hour, had capitulated for it. The announcement of the order was received with loud cheers by the insurgents, and, emboldened by their success, they instantly pressed on, and made prisoners the military guard, now deprived of all means of resistance by the order which had been issued. From thence they rushed into the building, and surrounded Count

Latour. He offered, if the Emperor gave his consent, and it would appease the tumult, to resign his situation; but nothing could satisfy the rage of the people but his blood. The midnight conspirators checked every symptom of returning humanity. After several efforts of some of the National Guard to save him, and a protracted resistance by the bravest of their number, he was seized by the infuriated rabble, and after being buffeted and maltreated in the cruellest manner, he was dragged down to the courtyard and hanged to the lamp, after having been almost despatched by blows of sledge-hammers, scythes, and axes. His body hung for twenty-four hours where it had been suspended, during which the National Guard amused themselves by firing at the lifeless remains. His garments were cut in pieces, and his orders torn off and divided among his murderers as trophies. A neighbouring clock struck four and three-quarters as he breathed his last. "That clock," said one who heard it, "sounds at once the agony of Count Latour, and of the Revolution of Vienna."

56. The prediction ere long was verified; but, in the first instance, it seemed as if it would fall out far otherwise. Success, decisive so far as the defence of the capital was concerned, immediately followed the murder of the war-minister. From the hôtel where the hideous crime had been committed, the mob, now numbering fifteen thousand men, with a strong body of National Guards, proceeded to the arsenal, which they summoned to surrender. It had been hastily occupied by two companies of grenadiers and some loyal National Guards, a force by no means adequate to the defence of a post of so much importance, against the formidable and excited multitude by whom it was now assailed. The troops inside, however, made a gallant defence. Throwing open the gate, they ran a 24-pounder out, loaded with canister and grape, and discharged it right into the crowd, which caused an immediate recoil, and no small panic among the unruly as-

sailants. But the revolted regiment and the artillery of the National Guard were now brought up, and a heavy and sustained fire was kept up on the gate and building from the roofs and windows of the adjoining houses by which they were commanded. Before long, part of the arsenal took fire, and the building in which it broke out was totally consumed. Alarmed by this, and dreading an explosion of the powder-magazine in the building, the garrison capitulated at six next morning; and this immense arsenal, with all the arms and military stores it contained, fell into the hands of the insurgents. They immediately broke in, and, spreading through all the rooms, seized the whole firearms and such guns as they could drag away, and distributed them among their comrades. The ancient arms and armour, the trophies of the monarchy, were not respected, and became the prey of the vilest of the populace. The swords of Scanderbeg and Prince Eugene were seen in the hands of common mechanics; the helmet of Charles V.; that of Francis I., taken at the battle of Pavia; the arms of Wallenstein and Daun, were tossed from hand to hand, and lost amidst an ignorant and brutal mob.

57. The conduct of the Constituent Assembly during this eventful day exhibited that mixture of pusillanimity and ambition which invariably characterises the first leaders of a revolutionary movement, when they are passed in the career by others more reckless or determined than themselves. Instead of doing anything to moderate the excesses of the populace, they appointed a "committee of public safety" to conduct the affairs of the Government, and addressed a petition to the Emperor, in which they demanded the dismissal of the ministers and the formation of a new and popular cabinet; the removal of Jellachich from the command in Hungary; the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians; and a general amnesty for all offences committed in the course of the insurrection. The Emperor who was in no condition to re-

fuse anything that might be demanded of him, agreed to change his ministers, and to appoint M. Doblhoff and Hornbostl, two popular members of the Assembly, to the new ministry. This, however, did not satisfy the democrats, who next insisted that the Committee of Public Safety should immediately assume the government; that instructions should be despatched to Count Auersperg to obey no commands but such as came from them; and that orders should forthwith be sent to Olmütz and Bruun, and to the directors of the southern railway, to send no more troops to Vienna. At the same time they addressed a proclamation to the insurgents, who had just murdered Count Latour, in which they said—"People of Austria! Europe regards you with admiration, and history will place our elevation to freedom as one of its most illustrious exploits."

58. Seeing himself now virtually dethroned, and all real authority passed away, the Emperor resolved to leave Vienna, where his life was no longer in safety. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th October, before day-break, he set out from Schönbrunn, where the whole Imperial family was assembled, taking them all with him, and took the road to Olmütz, escorted by three thousand five hundred troops whom Count Auersperg, though sorely pressed for men, detached for that service. The Emperor left behind him an Address to the Assembly, in which he said: "I have endeavoured to satisfy all the demands of my people; I have joyfully exhausted everything which a sovereign can give to his people in mark of confidence; I have sought to augment by a constitution the independence, the force, and the wellbeing of the nation. Though the revolt of the 13th May drove me from the palace of my ancestors, I was not weary of concession. A parliament was convoked on the widest electoral basis, to settle, in concert with me, the constitution. I returned to my capital with no other safeguard but the justice and gratitude of my people. But a small band of misled men threatens to destroy the hopes of every

true patriot. Anarchy is at its height: Vienna is teeming with murders and conflagrations. My minister, whose age, were it nothing else, might have protected him, has expired under the strokes of assassins. I trust in God, in my just rights, and I have left the capital to bring succour to my oppressed people. The time has come when every one who loves Austria, who loves liberty, should range himself around the standard of the Emperor."

59. The conduct of Count Auersperg and the military chiefs, during these trying times, was in the highest degree skilful and praiseworthy. The troops under his command were about twenty thousand, amply sufficient to have re-established the authority of the Emperor in the capital, although, as the National Guards and insurgents were three times as numerous, it could only have been accomplished at a fearful expenditure of human life. But the fatal order of the Council "to cease firing at all points," entirely paralysed his operations, and rendered retreat a matter of necessity. He wisely, therefore, availed himself of the night to withdraw his troops entirely from their barracks in the town, and stationed them in the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwartzberg, and in the vicinity of the Belvidere palace, on heights which commanded the city. Headquarters were subsequently established at Enzersdorf, already rendered famous in the wars of Napoleon, in order to be at hand for any eventualities. He then quietly awaited the issue of events; nor was it long before they arose in such quarters, and from such men, as promised a very different future to the Austrian Empire from what present events in the capital might seem to prognosticate. From Radetsky and the Italian army, adorned with the laurels of Custoza, addresses were shortly received, breathing the warmest spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Emperor; and even from Prague, so recently the seat of insurrection, came an address, containing the severest condemnation of the Vienna revolutionists, and

the strongest determination to uphold "Austria one and indivisible."

60. But the succour thus announced was as yet far distant; and, meanwhile, immediate reinforcements were required to regain possession of the capital, now wholly in the hands of the insurgents. Fortunately for the cause of freedom throughout the world, and the salvation of Austria, this succour was found in Jellachich, who was near enough to the scene of action to intervene immediately, and sufficiently powerful to do so with decisive effect. No sooner did the Ban hear of the events of the 6th October in Vienna, than he took his determination. Imitating the decision of Blucher, who, when he heard the cannonade at Waterloo, relinquished his separate line of operations to take part in the strife at the decisive point, he instantly concluded a truce for three days with the Hungarians, abandoned his base, and advancing towards Pesth, moved up by forced marches to the capital. The southern railway gave him the means of doing so with great celerity; and on the 9th October, three days after the insurrection, his advanced posts were at Klein-Neusiedel and Mödling, within two hours' march of Vienna. The motives which led to this able and decisive movement are thus explained by Jellachich himself, in a letter written at the time to the Slavonians of Bohemia: "It was my duty, as a faithful and sincere Slavonian, to oppose in Pesth the anti-Austrian party, which rose in arms against Slavonianism. But as I approached Pesth, that nest of the Magyar aristocracy, our common enemies arose; and had they conquered in Vienna, my victory in Pesth would have been incomplete, and the mainstay of our enemies would have been Vienna. Therefore I turned with the whole of my troops to Vienna, in order to chastise the enemies of Slavonianism in the Austrian capital. I was led solely by the conviction that in approaching Vienna I was advancing against the enemies of Slavonianism."

61. Great was the dismay in the

Austrian capital when the advance of the Ban was announced, and still greater when intelligence arrived that he had ordered rations for sixty thousand men, a number treble his real force, but purposely done to augment the terrors of his approach. Crowds thronged the steeples, and especially the lofty spire of St Stephen, one of the highest in Europe, anxiously gazing to the south to descry the first approach of the avenging hosts coming to inflict punishment on them for their crimes. They were not long of appearing, and in such numbers and variety of costume as bespoke rather the multifarious array of Eastern pride than the more sober garb of European war. First came the Illyrians with their red caps, the Seressanes wrapped in their scarlet mantles, the Croats with their grey broad-brimmed hats, with no uniform but a blouse and a fusil and dagger. With these were mingled large bodies of Austrian cavalry and artillery, clad in the Imperial uniform. Farther off to the east, clouds of cavalry and the neighing of steeds, heard even at so great a distance, seemed to announce the approach of the Magyar horse and the army of Hungary intended to co-operate with the insurgents. It seemed as if all the forces of the monarchy were assembling at a rendezvous under the walls of Vienna for a grand military tournament. On the evening of the 12th, Jellachich effected his junction with Auersperg in the gardens of the Belvidere, and their united forces amounted to forty thousand combatants.

62. The preceding night had been one of extreme anxiety in Vienna, for the insurgents were in hourly expectation of an attack from the now vastly increased forces of their enemies. It has been thus described by an eyewitness: "The silence of the night was interrupted at intervals by the sound of firearms, especially in the direction of the Wieden and highroad, where Auersperg's headquarters were established. On the summit of the barricades, and beyond them, men were sleeping in blouses, armed to the

teeth; women and girls, not of the most respectable appearance, were mingled amongst them, some talking and laughing, others, like the men, asleep upon heaps of stones. The walls and battlements of the city offered a most animated appearance. One line of watch-fires stretched as far as the eye could reach, each surrounded by students, men in blouses, artisans with their sleeves tucked up to their elbows, and National Guards having more the appearance of regular soldiers. Above the gates, guns were pointed so as to sweep the approaches to the fortified parts of the city; artillerymen, students, or workmen, were on duty near them, with lighted matches. Patrols of every description paraded the walls in regular parties. There was not less than ten thousand men on the ramparts." During the whole night and preceding day, the Parliament and Committee of Public Safety made repeated attempts to ascertain the side which Jellachich was to take, and ordered him not to approach the walls; but in vain: he steadily advanced and joined Auersperg.* On their side, the insurgents made the most vigorous efforts, by completing and strengthening the barricades, to prepare for their defence, and the clubs, as well as the assembly, sat in permanence. To their honour be it spoken, during the days that the insurgents had the command of the city, no acts of robbery or spoliation sullied the Austrian character.

63. In the mean time, important events had taken place in Prague, which brought a new and important actor, and an additional army, on the theatre. The magistrates and people of that city, seeing the turn events were taking at Vienna, and that the

* "My sole object is the maintenance of the monarchy on the base of an equality of rights and fidelity to the sovereign. It is for this reason that I have no doubt whom I should obey. The maintenance of the troops whom I have the honour to command will be provided for, and the cost will not fall as a burden on the inhabitants, as my army will bivouac. I am not pursued by any Magyar army; if I were so, I would oppose force to force."—JELLACHICH to the DIET OF VIENNA, October 12, 1848; *BALLEYDIER*, ii. 288.

contest had run into one between the Slavonic and Magyar races, took part, as bound alike by duty and inclination, with the former. The municipal authorities there issued a strong proclamation, condemning the conduct of the Vienna insurgents, and declaring "Bohemia can only prosper when Austria is independent." Windischgratz brought considerable reinforcements with him from Bohemia and Moravia, raising the royal army before Vienna to sixty thousand men—a force about equal to the armed men within the walls. But the great reliance of the insurgents was on the Hungarians, whose approach was anxiously looked for from the steeples, and repeatedly, though falsely, announced to the people. Their light cavalry, indeed, swarmed along the frontier, and their main body came up to its very edge, but did not pass over into the German soil.* The revolutionists, however, received a very important accession of strength at this critical moment by the arrival of a number of cosmopolitan democrats from various countries, especially Poland, the ardent exiled sons of which hastened from all quarters to the Austrian capital, and brought with them their enthusiastic zeal, buoyant courage, and military experience.

64. Among these was General BEM, a Polish officer who had acquired great distinction in the war in Poland. By a happy inspiration, he had saved the Polish army from destruction on the field of Ostrolenka in 1831. He immediately received an important command in the city, and by his courage and resolution proved himself worthy of the trust. His mind was cast in the mould of great captains, and if he had been employed in a more fortunate cause, he would probably have acquired deathless renown. Ardent, enterprising, and impassioned, like most of his countrymen, he united

* "The Hungarian leaders were anxious, before advancing on Vienna, to receive a formal and solemn invitation from the Austrian Assembly: but the Slavonic representatives in that body would never, in spite of the pressure of the students and the populace, consent to vote this."—KLAPKA, I., *Int.* 73-75.

with these qualities the *sang froid*, presence of mind, and coolness in danger, which are essential to a consummate general. The greater part of his life, from the misfortunes of his country, had been spent in exile, and he there acquired the restless activity and instability of purpose by which refugees are in general characterised. It had been early prophesied of him that he would rise to great distinction, and be rarely fortunate, but that he would incur no personal danger till the year 1850. The prophecy, which was fully credited by him, led him to despise dangers in his previous career; but it was at length fatally accomplished in that year, when he died, having, in despair of his fortunes in Europe, embraced the creed of Mahomet.

65. The arrangements for the attack of the capital having been made, Windischgratz, who, on his arrival, had assumed the command, summoned the city (Oct. 23). The terms proposed were, that within forty-eight hours it should be surrendered, and all arms given up; the armed corporations and University Legion dissolved, and twelve students delivered up as hostages, and certain individuals named. The Diet replied that these terms were illegal and unconstitutional; to which Windischgratz rejoined that he could not negotiate with the Diet, and that the only authority he could recognise was the Municipal Council of Vienna. Repeated sallies were now made from the town, which were all repulsed. Windischgratz, having, on the 27th, given the besieged twenty-four hours more to accede to his proposal, commenced the bombardment on the morning of the 28th. Before this took place, the spirits of the besieged had been somewhat raised by the arrival of Blum, Hartmann, and Froebel, as a deputation from the Assembly at Frankfurt, to congratulate the Viennese on their glorious revolution, and encourage them to persevere in their defence. These enthusiastic Liberals did not confine themselves to congratulatory words, but proceeded to deeds, and took an active part in encouraging

and organising the means of resistance, which led to a sad but not unmerited tragedy 'with one of their number. Meanwhile the clubs and revolutionary authorities redoubled their activity, and so formidable were their preparations in barricades, artillery, and troops to guard them, that it was evident nothing but a most sanguinary struggle could effect their reduction.

66. Windischgratz directed his principal attack against the suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, where the defences of the besieged were the least formidable, and the insurgents in most strength were grouped around their several standards to await the assault. The crisis was solemn and awful; profound silence, interrupted only by the rolling of artillery and ammunition-waggon, prevailed all the morning; every one felt that the decisive moment had arrived which was to determine the contest between the revolutionists and the Emperor. At ten o'clock the tocsin suddenly rang from all the churches, the *générale* beat in all the streets, and the combatants were everywhere seen hurrying to their several rallying-points. The assailants were not less determined; the regiment of the late Count Latour was in an especial manner excited, and loudly proclaimed their determination to take a signal vengeance on his murderers. At half-past eleven a signal-gun was discharged by the assailants, followed by a loud roar from all their batteries, and immediately the firing became general on both sides.

67. The first barricade on the Prater was carried, without much difficulty, by the effect of a heavy fire of musketry from the Croats and Chasseurs stationed in the houses and woods of the Prater adjoining; but at the second barricade, which was mounted with cannon, and where Beni, with the University Legion, commanded in person, a much more formidable resistance was experienced, and the contest was obstinate and bloody in the extreme. Three separate assaults by the Imperialists were

repulsed with great slaughter, and the shouts of victory were already raised by the defenders, when a loud cry was heard behind them, followed by triumphant cheers. It was the Croats of Jellachich, who, having penetrated into the suburb of Leopoldstadt by the Landstrasse and the avenue of the Emperor Francis, had now made their way into the rear of the barricade of the Prater, which had been so obstinately contested, and rendered its farther maintenance impracticable. This success was decisive; the rebels, attacked both in front and rear, and exposed to a fire from the adjoining houses, which were all occupied, were obliged to evacuate their formidable position, which, with all the guns mounted on it, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Later in the evening, the railway station of Gloggnitz and the whole of the Belvidere were taken after a desperate fight, in which the students who defended them were slain to the last man. The suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwartzberg, the Hôtel of the Invalides, and the Veterinary School, were in the hands of the Imperialists before night. The surrender of the city was now only a question of time, and could not apparently be delayed beyond a few hours.

68. The day had been terrible, but the night which followed was more terrible still. The town was on fire in six-and-twenty different places. The whole houses adjoining the double barricade of the Prater, the scene of so desperate a conflict on the preceding day, the Theatre of the Odeon, the Street of Francis, the baths of Schüttel, the railway station of Bruck, the houses in the faubourg of Matzleinsdorf and the street of the Jägerzeil had become the prey of the flames. Scarce an eye was closed in Vienna on that dreadful night. With speechless agony the people watched the columns of flame which in every direction rose into the heavens, and the path of the projectiles which streaked the firmament, and cast a lurid light over the vast expanse of the city. The dead

bodies of men and horses lying about wherever the contest had been severe, the pools of blood, and the horrid stench arising from the half-consumed bodies in the burnt houses, exhibited a picture of war in its most terrible form. Half of the houses in the assaulted suburbs had been burnt down — the remainder were riddled with round-shot and shells. On every side were to be seen weeping wives, sisters, and daughters, searching among the ruins, or pulling out of the rubbish the half-consumed bodies of their relatives. The Revolutionists had determined on having a revolution “à la Robespierre,” and they had got it; but they did not intend, what had now come to pass, that its terrors were to fall on themselves.

69. The morning of the 29th commenced with the interment of the dead elain in the conflict of the preceding day. Their number astonished those engaged in the melancholy ceremony, and diffused a general sadness, which was the farther increased by the sight of the wide chasm in the ranks of the survivors. This was occasioned not only by those slain or wounded in the fight, but by the still greater number who, despairing of success, had left their ranks, thrown away their arms, and exchanged their brilliant uniforms for the sober garb of citizens. Others, again, among whom were nearly the whole students and Poles, with mournful resolution still gallantly held out, and repaired to their several rallying-points on the bastions and in the barricades; but the generals of the insurgents took a calmer view of their chances of success, and in the course of the forenoon declared to the Committee of Public Safety that it was impossible to prolong the defence. Windischgratz humanely suspended his fire to give the insurgents an opportunity of coming to an accommodation, and the municipality sent a deputation to him to endeavour to effect some alleviation in the conditions of capitulation. But the Imperial general was inflexible, and insisted on his original conditions; he agreed, however, to suspend hostilities till midnight, in order to give the

insurgents time to consider his proposals. The deputation returned to the committee with heavy hearts, and they, in their turn, sent for the heads of the sections to consider what was to be done under the circumstances. “The surrender of the town,” cried Bem, “as we now stand, would be a monstrous act of cowardice, while our defeat on the ruins of Vienna would be a passport to immortality. From the top of St Stephen’s the advanced posts of the Magyars are already seen, and their guns ready to pour grape on our enemies. Yes! the ruins of Vienna would be a tomb worthy of the giants of Poland and Austria.” “One may easily see,” replied the commander-in-chief Messenhauser, “that you are not a Viennese; you mistake the epoch. The ruins of Vienna would not be your tomb, for if such a misfortune was reserved for the capital of the monarchy through your fault, you would be buried in it under the curses and the opprobrium of the universe.” The National Guard loudly applauded these words; the Poles and refugees alone remained silent. It was at length agreed, by a large majority, to accept the terms offered by Windischgratz; and before midnight a deputation with this answer was despatched to the Imperial headquarters.

70. The terms of the capitulation were forthwith carried into execution. Already the chief members of the Central Committee of the Clubs and of the Committee of Public Safety had disappeared, the university was dissolved, the disarming of the National Guard had in great part been carried into effect, and waggons of arms were every hour brought into the dépôts appointed for their reception. Suddenly, at a quarter past eleven on the morning of the 30th, a great stir was observed in the crowd which thronged round the foot of St Stephen’s steeple, anxious to hear if there were any symptoms of the approach of the Hungarians, when a student standing on a chair read the following billet, signed by Messenhauser: “From the summit of the

tower of St Stephen's they see distinctly a combat commencing behind Kaiser-Ebersdorf, without being able to distinguish the troops engaged, or the course of the action." This announcement was like the cry of pardon to a convict on the verge of execution; the whole insurgents felt as if relieved from instant death. Instantly the cry arose, "Long live the Hungarians! all is over; here are the Magyars—to arms, to arms! forward to meet the enemy!" The transports were indescribable: in the twinkling of an eye crowds of armed men were seen on the ramparts; every one was hurrying to and fro in the streets; artillery was dragged forward to the barricades; all thoughts of the capitulation were at an end. The universal enthusiasm was increased by a second bulletin issued at one o'clock, which announced that "the battle was moving on towards Oberlaa and Inzersdorf, and that the Hungarians appeared to be advancing victoriously." The transports now became universal and indescribable; from all the steeples, roofs, and towers of the city, the insurgents were firing guns and waving flags in the belief of victory; while the increasing roar of the cannon, the sharp rattle of the musketry, and at length the crash of cannon-balls, told distinctly that the battle was rolling nearer, and relief approaching. But these joyous tidings soon yielded to more gloomy presentiments, when it was announced, in a third bulletin from the summit of St Stephen's, that the battle was drawing nearer in the centre, but that it was concentrated to the left of Schwechat, between Kaiser-Obersdorf and Maunsworth. As this announcement indicated a retreat on the part of the Hungarians on that side, the cry arose that Messenhauser was a traitor, and bands of frantic rebels marched through the streets calling on every one to take up arms, murdering not a few. The most desperate projects were discussed in the clubs. During the next twenty-four hours all authority was at an end; Vienna was at the mercy of bands of insurgents traversing the city in every direction, and insulting or massacring

all whom they suspected of a leaning to the enemy; while, on the outside, the loud cheers of the Imperialists announced their victory over the Hungarians, and the final defeat of the last hopes of the insurrection.

71. In effect, the Hungarian army under General Moga, after great indecision on the part of the troops as to whether they would cross the Austrian frontier, as that was a direct act of revolt against the Government, were at length induced, by the urgent representations of the inhabitants of Vienna, to pass that dreaded line, and advance into Austria. This was done on the 28th, and the invading force was 25,000 strong, of whom, however, 10,000 were young troops, upon whom, as the event proved, little reliance could be placed. On the 31st they approached the Austrian position, which extended over the villages of SCHWECHAT, Maunsworth, and Kaiser-Ebersdorf. Windischgratz had occupied these villages with his best infantry, and stationed Prince Lichtenstein with the greater part of the cavalry on his right wing. The Imperialists on the field were not much superior in number to the Hungarians, but they had greatly the advantage in the quality and experience of their troops. The battle commenced at eleven o'clock on the 30th, with a brisk attack on the Imperial left, in Maunsworth, by some Hungarian national guards under Count Guyon, who conducted themselves very bravely, and gradually forced back the Austrian tirailleurs. The contest there was still undecided, when Georgey was ordered to attack the village of Schwechat, on the Austrian right, with a brigade of which he had received the command. When he arrived at the point of attack, he found the enemy's centre drawn back out of the reach of shot: but owing to the undiscipline of part of the Hungarian force, which was composed of new levies, the centre now found itself a mile and a half distant from the left wing. This rendered a halt necessary, and Georgey hastened to Kossuth, who was with the general-in-chief, to explain the dangerous state of the army, with its centre in this

manner entirely severed from the left, and the latter left alone on the field of battle. The general refused to alter his dispositions, and said, "I stand where I can survey the whole: do you in silence obey what I order."

72. Windischgratz at once discerned the fatal mistake which had been committed. He pushed forward some horse-artillery, which opened a heavy fire on Georgey's unsupported battalions, who instantly took to flight, "rushing headlong," says that general, "over one another." Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Count Ernest Almassy and thirty or forty of his bravest followers, the panic spread, and soon the rout became universal. "Out of nearly 5000 men of those National Guards," says Georgey, "about whose valour I had already heard so many tirades—who, as themselves had repeatedly asserted, were burning with desire to measure themselves with an enemy whom they never mentioned but with the greatest contempt—there remained to me, after a short cannonade, *a single man*, and that an elderly invalided soldier. The whole of our force from Schwechat to Maunsworth had been swept away. The other brigades, incredible as it may seem, had taken to their heels even before mine. Like a scared flock, the main body of the army was hastening in the greatest disorder towards the Fischa for safety." Vain were all Georgey's efforts, with a small rear-guard of about a thousand men, whom he hastily got together, to stop the rout. The army fled in utter confusion, and only got off from the pursuit with the loss of 3000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Had the pursuit by the thirty-five squadrons of Prince Lichtenstein on the left been more vigorous, hardly any of the Hungarians would have escaped. Kossuth was one of the first who took to flight; which, however, could not be urged as a fault, as his post was at the council-board, not in the front with the grenadiers.

73. After this decisive defeat, there remained, of course, no alternative to the rebels in Vienna but surrender at discretion, and the Imperial general

sternly refused to accede to any other terms. The surrender was going on when the tocsin, in violation of the orders of the Committee of Students, suddenly sounded from the tower of St Stephen's. Crowds of ardent republicans immediately hastened to their rallying-points on the bastions and the barricades, and the firing on their side recommenced at all points with as much vigour as ever. It was not any deliberate act of treachery on the part of the insurgents, but an unauthorised burst arising from uncontrollable excitement among the people, in whose ranks the cry of "Treason, we are betrayed!" was constantly heard. It was, however, speedily and terribly revenged. Windischgratz immediately brought up fresh troops, which penetrated into and made themselves masters of the whole suburbs, and he established batteries in the gardens of Schwartzenberg and in the Imperial stables, which opened fire on the city. The fiery projectiles sweeping through the air, the hissing of the rockets which searched out every part of the buildings which they penetrated, diffused universal consternation. Before one o'clock the town was on fire in several places, and white flags were displayed from all the bastions. A deputation of the magistrates went out to the glacis, and formally surrendered the keys of the city to the Imperial general; and this time the surrender, which was unconditional, was its own guarantee, for the victorious troops took military possession of the whole city. The prophecy was already accomplished: the agony of Count Latour had proved that also of the Vienna revolution.

74. The victorious Imperialists were received with transports of joy by the vast majority of the respectable inhabitants of the capital, with sullen but impotent indignation by the students and republican sections of the community. The disarming of the National Guard went on quietly and without opposition. The Imperial Government made a humane use of their victory. Though the city had in reality been carried by assault, and the infamous

murder of Count Latour had justly exasperated the soldiery in the highest degree, its inhabitants underwent none of the horrors usually experienced on such occasions. No pillage or wilful conflagration took place; the troops, on the contrary, were active in extinguishing the fires which had been raised during the bombardment. Few executions, and those only of leaders deeply implicated, ensued; and although it is deeply to be regretted that any should have tarnished the lustre of so glorious a victory, yet it is to be recollected that the insurgents had brought severity upon themselves: by the murder of Count Lamberg and Count Latour, they had put themselves out of the pale of humanity, and they could not complain if the ruthless maxim *Vix victis*, which they had applied to others, now recoiled upon themselves. Among those executed was Robert Blum, the deputy from Frankfort, who was tried by a court-martial on the 8th instant, and next day shot. He was convicted, on his own admission, of having instigated the rebellion by his seditious speeches, and taken an active part by combating with the insurgents against the Imperial troops in the defence of Vienna. He died with unshaken fortitude. His execution, as already mentioned, excited a great sensation in Germany, and by many is still regarded as a political fault, chiefly as being a defiance thrown down by Austria to the central government in the German Confederacy, as he was a member of the national parliament. Yet is this view clearly erroneous: for it never was supposed that a member of the legislature in one country was at liberty to commit high treason, or aid in its commission, with impunity in another; or that even in the same state a member of parliament is at liberty to rise in rebellion against his sovereign.* Messenhausen, com-

* When sentence of death was pronounced against Blum, he said, without exhibiting the least fear, "I fully expected it; the sentence was not unforeseen." He entreated, as a last favour, that he might be permitted to write a letter to his wife, which was agreed to, and it concluded with these words: "Let not my fate discourage you; but bring up our chil-

mander of the armed force in Vienna, was also condemned (Nov. 16), and met death with the like fortitude. He was fearful of the disgrace of being hanged, and uttered a cry of joy when he heard he was to be shot. "It is a sad fate mine," said he: "on 29th October I was threatened with death by the *Proletaires* of Vienna as guilty of treachery, and now I am condemned to the same punishment for treason to the Emperor." He died bravely, standing erect, with his hand on his heart, and himself gave the word of command to the soldiers charged with the melancholy duty.

75. The restoration of the Imperial authority in Vienna was immediately followed, as was to be expected, by an entire change of ministry. Prince Felix of Schwartzenberg was, with the cordial concurrence of the Imperial party, placed at the head of the Government, and Count Francis Stadion was made minister of the interior and of public instruction; Krauss, finance minister; Baron Cordon, of war; Bach, of justice; Chevalier Bruck, of commerce and public works; the Chevalier Thienfeld, of agriculture. The character of all the persons composing this cabinet, especially of its very eminent chief and of M. Bach, the minister of justice, were a guarantee for its due discharge of the arduous duty with which it was intrusted, of reconstructing the monarchy out of the scattered fragments into which it had been broken. And in truth this duty was more arduous in reality than it seemed in appearance; for the coalition of forces by which the insurrection had been conquered in Vienna, so far from being thoroughly united, itself laboured under secret but most serious causes

dren so that they may not bring disgrace on my name." "Now I am ready," said he, addressing the officers of justice, when the letter was done. Arrived at the place of execution, he said to one of the cuirassiers of his escort, "Here, then, we are come to the last stage of my journey." He desired not to have his eyes bandaged; and this being refused, lest his unsteadiness should cause the men to miss their aim, he blindfolded himself, and knelt down with manly courage. He fell pierced by three balls, and died instantly.—*BALLEYDIER*, ii. 366, 367.

of division. Austria, in its last extremity, had been saved by the fidelity of the army, and the heroic devotion of the Slave population, numbering nearly half the inhabitants of the Empire. But out of the victory of their united forces arose, as is so often the case with successful coalitions, a new cause of discord—who was to lead the combined forces, and what interest was to predominate in the government which they had re-established? Windischgratz had the command, and directed the army which was to act against Hungary; but Windischgratz had conquered at Prague as well as at Vienna; his cannon had dissolved the Slave congress, and the Croatsians beheld with jealousy their beloved Ban, whom they regarded with justice as the saviour of the Empire, obeying the orders of a German prince who had proved himself the worst enemy of their race.

76. The thorns with which his crown was still beset, and the dreadful scenes which he had been compelled to witness in his capital, induced the Emperor finally to relinquish the sceptre, which he felt he could no longer wield with comfort to himself or advantage to his country. On the 2d December he came with the Empress into the saloon of audience of the Archbishop at Olmutz, where the whole Imperial

family, and the Prince Windischgratz, Baron Jellachich, and the chief dignitaries of the Empire, were assembled, and announced his irrevocable determination to resign the crown in favour of the young Archduke Francis Joseph, the next heir to it, after his father the Archduke Francis Charles, whom similar reasons had determined to waive his right to the succession. Having said these words, the Emperor took the oath of fealty to, and conferred his benediction on, the young Emperor, called at so early an age to wield the destinies of the ancient and time-honoured Empire of Austria. The President of the Council then read aloud the formal act of abdication and renunciation of the Emperor and the Archduke Francis Charles, which was immediately signed by both princes, Prince Schwartzberg, and the other dignitaries present. The *ci-devant* Emperor and Empress set off the same day, in a private carriage, for Prague, which he had fixed on as his future residence. The new Emperor was only eighteen years of age when he entered on his arduous duties: but he at once evinced a courage and sagacity above his years, and to his energy and determination the salvation of the monarchy, amidst the perils by which it was still beset, is in a great measure to be ascribed.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE WAR IN HUNGARY, TO THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN AUGUST 1849.

1. On the 5th December the new Emperor issued a proclamation, in which he said: "We are convinced of the necessity and value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous restoration of the monarchy. On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of

all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their *equally partaking in the representation and legislation*, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur; it will acquire new strength to resist the storm of the time; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues, united under the sceptre of our fathers. Jealous of the glory of the crown, and

resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privileges with the representatives of the people, we hope, by the assistance of God, and with the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral state. We have had many trials; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in various quarters of the Empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to restore legal order everywhere. The conquest over rebellion, and the return of domestic peace, are the first conditions of the great work which we take in hand. We confidently rely on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation through its representatives. Austria at the close of this memorable year might proudly claim for its motto, '*Mergens profundo pulchrior evenit.*' It has crushed the rebellion in Lombardy, driven back the Piedmontese into their own territory, planted the Austrian flag again in triumph on the walls of Milan, which had for centuries been a fief of the house of Hapsburg. Compelled in self-defence to assault his own capital, the Emperor has found his troops as loyal as they were brave, and the cannon of Windischgratz and Jellachich have effectually silenced the voice of insurrection. In Hungary the Imperial arms have been uniformly successful, and there is every reason to expect a victorious issue to the campaign. And now fresh and healthy blood has been poured into the veins of the monarchy by the elevation to the throne of a young Emperor whose disposition and character are of the happiest augury, and who is surrounded by ministers determined to pursue a course of constitutional policy, and abandon the Metternich system of despotism and exclusion."

2. The acts of the young Emperor and his cabinet did not belie these liberal professions. The committee appointed by the Diet to draw up a constitution had prefaced their report by a preamble to this effect: "All the powers of the State proceed from

the people alone." When the matter came to be discussed in the Diet in the beginning of January 1849, Count Stadion, the Minister of the Interior, moved, on the part of the Government, that these words should be omitted. M. Pinkar, on the part of the Opposition, moved a declaration condemnatory of the counter-revolution; and Count Stadion moved an amendment, which substantially approved of it. The debate was conducted with as much freedom as any in the House of Commons; and M. Pinkar's motion was carried by a majority of 196 to 99—a result which sufficiently proved the democratic character of the great majority of the assembly. Having gained this victory, the Opposition, fearful of a dissolution, which, in the altered temper of men's minds since the former elections had taken place, would probably have thrown them into a minority, did not press the retention of the article, and the consideration of it was of consent postponed. The other articles of the report were then considered *seriatim*, and the constitution was finally approved of and signed by the Emperor at Olmutz on the 4th of March. Certainly the friends of freedom had no reason to complain of its provisions. It provided, in the first instance, for the *unity* of the Austrian Empire, a condition obviously essential to its independence, and which all the Liberals in the Empire, if they had been actuated by public spirit, and not private ambition, should have been the first to support. Entire freedom in religion, and universal education by public institutions, were established; "the instruction in religious matters in the public schools being intrusted to the respective churches or religious institutions." Freedom of the press without the censorship was guaranteed in the most unlimited extent, as was the right of petitioning, meeting and forming associations, if not opposed to the law or dangerous to the State. Individual liberty was secured, as was the sanctity of private domiciles, and all persons apprehended were to be liberated in forty-eight hours, if not de-

livered over in that time to the judge of the district. The Emperor was to take the oath to the constitution when he was crowned; he was irresponsible, decided on peace and war, concluded treaties with foreign powers, and published decrees, the same being countersigned by a responsible minister. He appointed the ministers and dismissed them, and appointed to all offices, civil and military. Equality of all citizens before the law was established. The legislature was to consist of two houses, both elective; the members for the upper house were chosen by the provincial diets; those for the lower by the direct election of the people in the proportion of one deputy for every 180,000 souls. The elective franchise was extended to all the citizens paying the statutory amount of direct taxes, which was only a few florins. The members of the lower house were elected for five years, those of the upper for ten. Laws required to be passed by both houses, and have the Emperor's consent, to become valid; and either the Emperor or either house might propose laws. The Emperor had the power of dissolution; and the public accounts were to be annually brought forward in a budget submitted to both houses.

3. This constitution was much more democratic than that enjoyed by Great Britain at this time; for it established household suffrage, all but universal equality in all matters civil and religious, a free press, the right of meeting and petitioning; and universal education, detached from sectarian divisions, at the public expense. It was at least as liberal a constitution as Austria, yet in popularity in the ways of freedom, could bear. It was far, however, from meeting the views of the Hungarian insurgents, who desired a virtual *severance of Hungary from Germany*, in order that they might obtain a monopoly of offices, honours, and emoluments to themselves. How they were to maintain their ground against Russia and France and Germany, in a state of isolation, was a question which never

entered into their consideration, though Georgey confesses that the difficulty of doing so would probably have proved insurmountable.* In truth, matters had gone too far between the two powers, before the new constitution was promulgated, to admit of a compromise. But in the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, the new constitution, save to the revolutionists of Vienna, gave general satisfaction, and contributed much to the unanimity with which its inhabitants prosecuted the war against the Hungarian insurgents.

4. The kingdom of HUNGARY consists of 133,000 square English miles, or about a tenth more than Great Britain and Ireland. It forms an irregular parallelogram, stretching about 400 miles in each direction. It is bounded on the north by Moravia and Galicia; on the south by Croatia, Slavonia, and the Banat; on the east by Transylvania and Bukovina; on the west by Lower Austria and Styria. Thus it is entirely surrounded by the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, and, if detached from them, would form a separate state, like one composed of the midland counties in the centre of England, and would entirely isolate several of its most important provinces from the dominion of the house of Hapsburg. It was this circumstance which rendered resistance to the severance a question of life or death to the Austrian monarchy. The Danube, which flows from north-west to south-east through its whole extent, is the great artery of the country and the principal channel for the exportation of its produce. It enters the Hungarian

* "Whether the Austrian monarchy could pursue its former importance as a great European power after the isolation of the Hungarian Ministries (chiefly of war and finance) from the governing power constituted in Vienna for the other provinces, and whether Hungary, recognising the guarantees of Austria's influence as the main condition of its own existence, would not have to sacrifice to the consolidation of collective Austria a part of its newly acquired advantages, were questions, the answers to which lay beyond my sphere, nay, which I never put to myself."—GEORGEY, i. 6.

plains at Presburg, at a short distance from Vienna, and flows due east till it reaches Waitzen, when it makes a sudden and sharp bend to the south, and continues this course till it reaches the borders of Slavonia, where it is joined by another great river, the Drave, and their united waters, turning again to the east, flow in a vast volume to the Euxine. The other main river of Hungary is the Theiss, which runs in the north-east of the country, and flows nearly due south till it joins the Danube between Peterwaradein and Belgrade, on the confines of Slavonia. Pesth is the capital of Hungary, but it is a place of no great strength, and is completely commanded by its suburb Buda, a citadel strongly fortified, and which in every age has formed a position of vital importance in Hungarian wars, besides being associated in the minds of the people with many of their most interesting historical recollections. The other fortified places in Hungary are Raab, Leopoldstadt, Eszsek, and Komorn, the last of which was extremely strong, and had acquired the name of the Maiden, from its never having been taken. Peterwaradein, on the Slavonian frontier, is also a place of great strength. Arad and Temesvar, in the south-east, were fortresses of considerable strength, but their garrison had declared for the Imperialists. From the nature of their country, its central position in the heart of the Austrian Empire, and the barrier which the Danube and Theiss opposed to an invading army, as well as the number and strength of its fortresses, all of which, except the two above mentioned, with the arsenal, were in their hands, the Magyars entered upon the war with very great advantages.

5. It was not till the 9th December that Prince Windischgratz, who had the command of the principal army destined to act against the Hungarians, was in a condition to commence operations. His force, with the reserve which was forming under Prince Serbelloni, numbered on paper

49,000 infantry, 7236 cavalry—in all, 65,000 men, with 260 guns; but he had not more than 50,000 present under arms under his immediate command. A second corps of 20,000 was stationed, under Count Nugent, on the frontiers of Styria and Croatia, to operate on the banks of the Drave, serve as a reserve for the main army, and act as circumstances might require. A third force of 14,000 men, under General Schlick, was to descend from Galicia, on the north-east of Hungary; 5000 men were in the Banat; and 16,000 men in the Bukowina and Transylvania, under the orders of Colonel Urban and General Pückner, were to make head against the insurgents there, who, under General Bem—who had escaped from Vienna—were acquiring a formidable consistency. Thus the entire forces of the Imperialists were very considerable, but they were detached from each other, and the Hungarians occupied a central position between them. The troops of the insurgents, however, were much less numerous, and, being for the most part new levies, were still more deficient in discipline, experience, and warlike and mutual confidence. The regular troops of the Austrian army who had gone over to them amounted to 21,000 infantry, and 7198 cavalry, and they had 2402 guns, including those in the forts and arsenals. Those in the field were harnessed by splendid horses furnished to them by the Magyar nobles. Besides this, the levies ordered in the preceding year had amounted to 200,000 men, and actually brought 150,000 into the field. Their main army was on the Danube, opposed to Windischgratz, under the orders of Georgey, whose military abilities had become known, and who had succeeded to the command after Moga had resigned in consequence of his defeat. It consisted nominally of 30,000 men, but he never had more than 20,000 around his banners, and those for the most part young recruits, half-disciplined, deeply depressed by their rout at Schwechat, and wholly unable to face

the enemy in the field. To reinforce it, 10,000 men, under Perczel, were hastening up from the banks of the Drave. A second army, much more efficient for military operations, lay in the Bats country, which had been trained to war in the conflicts with the Razen, and consisted of 24,000 combatants. In addition to these, various small corps were in the course of formation in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, which might amount in all to 18,000 or 20,000 men. These forces were much inferior, at all points, to the Imperialists opposed to them; but they had the advantage of a central position and strong fortresses, and the assistance, active or passive, of the whole inhabitants of the country, who, in the Magyar district of central Hungary, were all enthusiastic in the national cause of the insurrection.

6. The Austrian plan of operations was for Windischgratz to advance with the mass of his army on the high road to Pesth; while to the north, on the opposite bank of the Danube, Count Simonich was to move with his division on the line of the Waag and secure the fortress of Leopoldstadt. Everything seemed to promise an early victory to Windischgratz, who was marching on Raab in the last week of December. He had an engagement with the Hungarian rear-guard on the 18th, in which the latter were worsted, after a severe contest, by his advanced-guard under Jellachich, and continuing his advance, arrived on the 26th of that month within half a league of that town, and had already begun his movements with a view to cut off the retreat of the enemy from it, when he found that it was evacuated by the Hungarians, who continued their retrograde movement towards Komorn and Pesth. The object of Georgey was not to fight, which he well knew he could not do with advantage with the raw troops under his command, but to gain time for the formation of armaments in the interior. This he did effectually by the show made of defending Raab, which gained for him a delay of eight days. During the retreat to Pesth, which was carried on in

the worst weather, and over execrable roads, he was attacked at Babolna on the 28th by General Ottinger, and lost 700 prisoners in the encounter. This loss, however, was likely to be more than compensated by a reinforcement of 10,000 men and 24 guns under General Perczel, who was awaiting his arrival at Mour. But the Ban, who was detached to the southward to intercept him, fell on Perczel's corps two days after (Dec. 30), and defeated it with such ease, that the greater part was dispersed, and 2000 prisoners made, by two brigades only of Jellachich's army. Had Windischgratz pursued Georgey vigorously, he might have prevented him from effecting a junction with Perczel, and destroyed them separately; but the old Austrian fault of slowness in movement here interposed, and reft from Jellachich all the fruits of his victory. By changing the direction of his march, and falling back straight on Buda, where he had designed to give battle, Georgey succeeded, some days later, in effecting a junction with Perczel's corps. But the consternation produced by these repeated defeats was so extreme at Pesth, that even the most zealous supporters of Hungarian independence began to despair of maintaining it against the overwhelming force of the Imperialists.

*7. In the course of the advance from Raab to Komorn, the usual and deplorable horrors of civil war began to appear. The Magyars, who were incensed in the highest degree at the retreat of their army and the bad success of their arms, murdered fifty-three Croats who had fallen into their hands, and were even accused of having poisoned wells on the line of advance of the Imperial troops. Windischgratz replied by a stern proclamation, in which he declared that "any inhabitant who is taken with any weapon of any description in his hands, shall be immediately shot, and any village whose inhabitants shall attack any single officer or courier shall be instantly levelled with the ground." Meanwhile the Imperial army advanced to Komorn, which they reached

on the 30th, and summoned to surrender. The place, however, which was one of the strongest in Europe, and amply supplied with artillery and provisions, as well as defended by a large garrison, refused to listen to terms. Upon that Windischgratz, leaving a division with the siege-train to commence operations against it in force, continued his advance to Buda-Pesth. He reached it on the 4th January 1849, and, while making preparations to attack the place, it was discovered that the Government and Diet had evacuated it, carrying with them the regalia of Hungary and the treasure, and retired to Debreczin, which thereafter became the headquarters of the insurgents during the remainder of the war. Kossuth delayed his departure till five minutes past twelve on the night of the 31st, and then drank a toast "To the first year of Hungarian independence."

8. Upon leaving Pesth, the insurgents, instead of retiring in one body, divided into two parts—the one moved northwards towards Waitzen, the other eastward to Debreczin behind the Theiss. The first was commanded by Georgey, the last by Perczel. Their plan was, by retreating from the capital, and by withdrawing the troops in the Banat and the Bats country up to the line of the Maros, to concentrate the whole force of the Magyars behind the Theiss, and defend that river to the last extremity. The movement of Georgey to the north was intended to deceive Windischgratz as to their intentions, and divert his attention from the Theiss. Georgey exerted himself to the utmost to draw the attention of the enemy upon himself, and he did this with such success that the column which retired to Debreczin was merely observed by a small Austrian corps under General Ottinger. The retreat to Debreczin was conducted under the most disastrous circumstances, the weather being dreadful, the cold at five degrees above zero of Fahrenheit, and the army encumbered by an immense multitude of old men, women, and children, in the last stages of starva-

tion and suffering. They at length reached the Theiss, however, and got to their journey's end at Debreczin, where Kossuth addressed an animated proclamation to the people, calling on them to rise, and, "like an avalanche which rolls down the sides of a mountain, crush their enemies without leaving a man to carry back tidings of the disaster." While the eloquent tribune was thus electrifying the inhabitants of central Hungary on the banks of the Theiss, Georgey retired beyond Waitzen, by Ipolysagh, towards Leva, where he collected a very considerable body of men from the whole north of Hungary, about 20,000 strong. His line of march was thus directed towards the north-west, in such a manner as to threaten the communications of Windischgratz with Vienna and his base of operations. This movement alarmed the Austrians, always nervous about their communications, and the consequence was, that the main Hungarian army was allowed to retire unmolested, and remain six weeks recruiting its losses and filling up its ranks behind the Theiss; while General Csorich, with 10 battalions, 10 squadrons, and 48 guns, was detached in pursuit of Georgey. Meanwhile Windischgratz, deeming the war ended, and deterred from moving by the excessive severity of the weather, remained with the main body of his army for seven weeks in a state of inactivity at Pesth. In truth he had some grounds for his fancied security. Leopoldstadt and Esseck, two of the chief fortresses of western Hungary, had surrendered—the first to Marshal Simonich on 2d February; the latter, with 614 guns, on the 14th to Count Nugent; and Komorn and Peterwaradein, the two remaining strongholds of the insurgents, were closely blockaded.

9. The war, meanwhile, in Transylvania was gradually assuming great proportions, under the able and energetic direction of General Bem. The Imperialists were there completely overmatched, and reduced, in consequence, to a painful and losing defensive. Bem had succeeded, amidst its

warlike and enthusiastic inhabitants, inured to a military life by their constant contests with the Turks, in collecting thirty thousand men, principally Szecklers, round his standards, who had already acquired somewhat of the consistency of old soldiers. Against these formidable forces General Pückner, who commanded the Imperialists in that quarter, could only oppose six regular battalions, eight squadrons, and forty guns. He had, it is true, a much larger irregular force under his orders, but they were new levies, ill disciplined, and worse affected, upon whose fidelity or steadiness in the field little reliance could be placed. Colonel Urban, with a force of four thousand men, had maintained the contest in the north of that province with much difficulty ever since the war broke out; but after having gained considerable successes in the outset, he had been attacked by such superior numbers that he was forced to retire, with severe loss, evacuate Clausenberg, and fall back into the Bukovina (January 3). The Magyars, meanwhile, had concentrated a force of thirty thousand men in the Banat, in the neighbourhood of Temesvar, the original cradle of the Slave insurrection, and had laid siege to that town. Arad, a strong fortress in central Hungary, was at the same time besieged by a portion of the same force, and was defended with heroic courage by General Berger. Five hundred soldiers, of whom three hundred only were fit for duty, and very badly supplied with ammunition and provisions, defended that fortress with thirty-nine guns, during two months, against the assault of fifteen thousand insurgents, when at length they were relieved from the south, and its communication with Temesvar restored, by General Count Leiningen. But in other quarters the Imperialists were not equally successful. After various alternations of success, Bem finally established himself in southern Transylvania, and drove the Austrians, under Pückner, back upon Hermanstadt in the south-west corner of that province.

10. While these affairs were passing in eastern and southern Hungary, Georgey, in the north, was pursuing that able campaign which has secured him a lasting place in the archives of military glory. The spirit of his troops had been extremely depressed by their numerous disasters in the retreat to Pesth, and their number did not exceed sixteen thousand men when they reached Waitzen. Already, too, the seeds of divisions between him and Kossuth had become serious and prolific of evil. The dispositions of the latter were entirely democratic, whereas Georgey was decidedly monarchial; and he had recently published a proclamation to the effect that his army "would obey no orders but those prescribed by law through the responsible *royal* minister-at-war, and would oppose itself to all those who may attempt, by *republican intrigues* in the interior of the country, to overthrow the constitutional monarchy."* Kossuth's instructions were "to act on the offensive against the corps of Marshal Simonich, and relieve the fort of Leopoldstadt, blockaded

* At Waitzen, in the beginning of January, Georgey issued the following proclamation in the name of his corps, which is of the utmost importance in the political history of this war, as embodying the views of the old soldiers in the Hungarian army and the conservative party in that country, of which he was the head:—

"1. The corps d'armée of the Upper Danube remains faithful to its oath, to fight resolutely against every external enemy for the maintenance of the constitution of the kingdom of Hungary sanctioned by King Ferdinand V.

"2 With the same resolution the corps d'armée will oppose itself to all those who may attempt to overthrow the constitutional monarchy by untimely *republican intrigues* in the interior of the country.

"3. It is a natural consequence of the right understanding of constitutional monarchy that the corps d'armée can obey only those orders which are forwarded to it, in the prescribed form, through the responsible royal Hungarian minister of war.

"4. The corps d'armée declares finally that it will adhere to the result of any convention made with the enemy only if it guarantees, on the one hand, the integrity of the constitution of Hungary, and on the other, if it is not inimical to the military honour of the corps."—GEORGEY'S *Mémoires*, i. pp. 167, 168.

by him, in order by this diversion to withdraw the main hostile forces from the Theiss, and render possible the organisation of new troops behind that river." But when he reached Léva, Georgey found that his forces were not adequate to *both* these objects, and therefore he wisely renounced all thoughts of relieving Leopoldstadt; and, abandoning that fortress to its fate, he resolved to retreat "sideways," as he himself says, "into the district of the mountain towns." By this district was meant the tract of land containing the towns of Kremnitz, Schemnitz, and Neusohl, in the valley of the river Gran, which flows in a south-westerly direction from the lower spurs of the Carpathian range into the great valley of the Danube. This route had the double advantage of leading the enemy into the rocky and inhospitable region of the mountains, and of affording the Hungarian corps the means of uniting with the reorganised and recruited army which was collecting behind the Theiss.

11. But the difficulties of the march at this rigorous season were immense, and such as would have deterred any less energetic general and army from attempting it; for the troops had to force their way through roads covered with ice, and to cut through deep wreaths of snow in narrow valleys overhung by precipices on either side, down which avalanches were falling. The passes in the mountains in his front were occupied by Austrian detachments, under General Schlick, who had come down with twelve thousand men from Galicia to act against the main Hungarian army on the upper Theiss; while his rear was pressed by the hostile columns of Simonich and Csorich; and his flank was threatened from the north by that of General Gotz. Georgey, on one occasion, took five guns and two hundred prisoners. He says, in a bitter spirit, that no one could have believed, seeing how badly his troops fought, that a Russian intervention could ever become necessary. To add to their difficulties, the frost, which had been so

severe, suddenly broke up on the 20th January, and was succeeded by a thaw which produced such floods as rendered it almost a matter of impossibility to stem them in the narrow and steep valleys up which the Hungarians were toiling their arduous way. On one occasion Count Guyon's corps met so formidable a *débâcle* that the troops recoiled before it, and were only turned, and in a manner forced through, up to their middles in floating ice, by the still more formidable cry in their rear, "The enemy are coming!" Georgey, after surmounting with heroic constancy incredible difficulties, at length forced the barriers at the summit of the mountain ridge, and descended in two columns by Poprad and Iglo, down the valleys, the waters of which floated into the Theiss. He there encountered General Schlick, who had come down from Eperies to Kaschau, and had for some weeks been operating against the Hungarian forces in the direction of Tokay. After several bloody combats, particularly one at the pass of the Branicz, in which the élite of the regular Hungarian troops were brought into action, he at length succeeded in forcing back the Imperialists, who, abandoning Eperies and Kaschau, retired towards Rima, Szombat, and their main army. Weary, dejected, and destitute of everything, the troops of the Hungarian general, more like a crowd of beggars than a military array, reached Kaschau on the 10th February, where they effected a junction with the corps under the command of Colonel Klapka, which raised the united forces to about twenty-one thousand men.

12. While Georgey was thus with consummate skill forcing his way through the defiles of the Carpathian Mountains, and drawing the attention of such numerous bodies of Windischgratz's army upon his track, as rendered any advance against the main body of the army which had retired behind the Theiss impossible, Kossuth and the other members of the Government who had reached Debreczin were equally energetic in the exercise of

their great talents to reorganise and recruit the dejected and disorganised force, which, encumbered with sick women and children, had contrived to escape behind the barrier of that river. The measures of Kossuth at this critical moment were as skilful as his conduct and language were energetic. He made full use of the unlimited issue of paper money which the decree of the Diet had put at his disposal, and which, as it passed current at full value in every part of Hungary, put ample funds for the prosecution of the war at his disposal. By a skilful device he declared Austrian paper not a current medium of exchange in Hungary, while at the same time he offered, on the part of the Government, to take it for full value in exchange for Hungarian notes. Large quantities of Vienna paper currency in consequence came into the public treasury, and gave the minister the means of purchasing arms and ammunition in sufficient quantities in England and Belgium. Artillery in abundance was at their disposal in the different fortresses in their hands, and all the foundries and manufactories of powder and arms in the kingdom were in activity to furnish more. Meanwhile proclamations of the most animating kind were addressed in profusion, by the Government to the people. They appealed to their national feelings, their love of independence, their ancient glories, their martial fame; the name of the King was freely used to secure the loyal—the ambition of democracy appealed to win the republican. Every success, however trifling, was magnified by Kossuth into an important victory; every tradition, how old soever, referred to as an incitement to fresh exertions. Immense was the success of these persevering efforts in drawing forth the military strength of the ancient and warlike Hungarian nation. Armed bands sprang up, as if by magic, from their mother earth; old weapons, which had hung undisturbed for centuries since the Turkish wars, were taken down and furnished up; and the spectacle was exhibited

of an entire nation taking up arms to combat, as they thought, for their King, their freedom, and their independence.

13. While these active measures were in progress for the future prosecution of the war, a mournful tragedy was passing at Pesth under the orders of Prince Windischgratz. By a strange infatuation Count Bathiany, instead of retiring with the Diet to Debreczin, and disregarding a positive injunction by Prince Windischgratz not to appear before him, presented himself on the 3d January, at the head of a deputation, to the Imperial general as he approached Buda. He was immediately arrested, for the Government were extremely incensed at him as the first leader and supposed author of the insurrection. After a long confinement, first in Buda and afterwards in Laybach, he was, when the war ended, brought back to Pesth, tried by court-martial there, condemned, and on the 6th October executed. He was apprehensive of being sentenced to be hanged, and uttered a cry of joy when he heard he was to be shot. Like so many other leaders on both sides in this melancholy war, he died with heroic courage. History must ever mourn the death on the scaffold of any man of noble character combating for what in sincerity he believed to be the cause of duty; and it will be a blessed time when more humane maxims obtain in civil, as it is the glory of modern civilisation to have effected in national conflicts. But, in vindication of the Austrian Government, it must be recollected they were only retaliating upon their enemies what they had suffered at their hands. The Hungarians began by murdering Count Lamberg; they had judicially massacred Count Zichy; and they had advanced to the relief of Vienna when its insurgents were reeking with the blood of Count Latour. When in their turn defeated, they could not complain if they underwent the severe but just law of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

14. From the beginning of January,

when he arrived in Pesth, to the 20th February, Windischgratz remained stationary in that capital. This delay is usually considered as a serious fault in a military point of view, and as the main cause of the disasters which afterwards befell the Imperial arms. But before concurrence is expressed in this disapprobation, it is to be recollected with how small a force, comparatively speaking, he was intrusted, considering the arduous task which lay before him of invading a martial nation in arms. The fifty thousand men with whom he started from Vienna in the middle of December had melted away under the hardships of a winter campaign, in a marshy and unhealthy country, to less than forty thousand effective soldiers when he reached Pesth; and with these he not only had to garrison that capital and its citadel Buda, but to detach largely to the right to aid Nugent for the siege of Esseck and to keep up the communication with Croatia, and on the left, towards Waitzen, to support Simonich in the siege of Leopoldstadt, and pursue Georgey in the Carpathian defiles. In these circumstances, to have advanced with the centre towards Debreczin through a difficult and marshy country in the depth of winter, would have been an extremely hazardous operation, which might have caused, earlier than they actually occurred, the disasters which ensued. And if it be said the weather and the bad roads were as severe upon the Hungarians in retreat as on the Austrians in advance, the answer is, that that is no doubt true; but the former were every day drawing nearer to their resources and getting reinforcements from the rear, while the Austrians were moving farther from theirs, and becoming more weakened by being obliged to leave detachments to keep up their communications.

15. At length, Buda having been put in a proper state of defence, and garrisoned by two battalions, and Esseck on the right, and Leopoldstadt on the left, having been taken, Windischgratz moved forward towards De-

breczin. He had given orders for the concentration of all the disposable force at his command, but it did not exceed twenty thousand men, and they were widely scattered, so great had been the losses from fatigue, sickness, and the sword during this winter campaign. The Imperial general moved forward from Pesth in the end of January, and several considerable actions took place during the first three weeks of February, while he was advancing towards the Theiss. Schlick, too, whom he had summoned to join his standards, had a rude encounter to sustain as he was marching to effect the desired junction, in a defile of the Carpathian Mountains, which was occupied by Georgey's troops; but he had now reached Petervasar, and was in communication with the Imperial headquarters. At length, having got all his troops in hand, Windischgratz advanced to deliver a decisive battle to the combined forces of Georgey and Dembinski, who had effected a junction on the Tarna, and concentrated 40,000 men, with 225 guns, with which they, on their side, were preparing to resume the offensive by an advance on Pesth. The two armies met at KAPOJNA, between the Danube and the Theiss, about two-thirds of the way from Pesth to Debreczin, on the direct road between these two places. The Hungarians were greatly superior in numbers, and especially artillery; but the Imperial general, with reason, reckoned on the better quality of his veteran troops to counterbalance this disadvantage. Both armies were animated with the best spirit, and a decisive battle was expected and prepared for on either side. But the Hungarian generals were on very bad terms with each other; and Dembinski, in particular, had quarrelled with both Georgey and Klapka to such a degree as augured ill for their combined operations.*

16. The battle began at daybreak on the morning of the 26th by an ad-

* Dembinski had been recently appointed by Kossuth commander-in-chief of the Hungarian armies.

vance of General Wrhna with ten battalions and seventy-eight guns direct on Kapolna. The Hungarians were strongly posted behind the Tarna on the heights near that town, with their right resting on the ruined village of Dobro, their left on that of Kal, and a numerous and magnificent artillery, supported by several squadrons of hussars, covering their front. The battle which ensued was one of the most obstinate and sanguinary which had occurred in Europe since the fight at Waterloo; for the Imperialists advanced with great determination and all the confidence of victory to the attack, and the Hungarians fought with the stubborn resolution of patriotic enthusiasm. In the centre especially, where forty guns were placed on each side, and the élite of either army was grouped together, the combat was of the most desperate kind. The Austrians at one time were on the point of being ruined by the separation of two of their brigades by a wood, of which the Hungarians had got possession, and affairs were only restored by a rapid advance of General Wyss, who attacked the columns of the enemy which had penetrated into his lines in front and flank, with his lancers, and succeeded in driving them back. After six hours' hard fighting both armies retained their positions, and success had declared for neither. The soldiers, wearied with the struggle, on both sides lay down beside their arms, guns, and horses, without either shelter or covering; and soon the din of the battle was hushed, and the light of the tranquil stars of heaven succeeded to the lurid discharge of the artillery.

17. The night was extremely cold, and the soldiers lay on the frozen ground without covering. Austrians and Magyars bore their suffering with fortitude: the first, supported by the feeling of loyalty and the honour of a soldier; the last, by the enthusiasm of independence and the glow of patriotism. Reinforcements to a considerable extent, chiefly from Georgey's army, arrived in the Magyar lines

during the night; but the Imperialists in vain looked for the corresponding arrival of General Schlick on their own side. Before daybreak the following morning, Windischgrätz rode through the lines, and addressed a few words of encouragement to the soldiers, who received him with cheers. He directed his first attack against the town of Kapolna, but all eyes were turned to the left, towards the road of Verpeleth, where the heads of Schlick's column were expected to appear. At length, at eight o'clock, a column of smoke was seen to arise on the extreme left, followed by a loud explosion; it was Schlick's column which had now arrived on the ground, and was prepared to take a part in the action. Windischgrätz immediately ordered an attack on Kapolna, and commenced it by the fire of three batteries, which opened upon it with great vigour. After an hour's fire the assault was ordered, and the town carried with great gallantry by two Austrian battalions. Twenty-seven officers and a thousand men were made prisoners on this occasion; Dembinski made several efforts to regain it, but in vain. From this the Imperialists pushed on to a farmhouse in its rear, which was also carried and held, after an obstinate struggle. Following up his success, the Austrian general pushed forward Colloredo with two brigades across the Tarna, above Kapolna, so as to turn the right flank of the enemy; while Schlick, who had reached Verpeleth, combined his movement so as to aid in the attack. The united forces made an onslaught on the Hungarian right, and in spite of a vigorous defence by Georgey with the best troops in the army, the latter were driven back, and a general retreat began, which soon turned into a confused rout, the infantry and artillery flying in confusion, the cavalry alone retiring in échelons in a soldier-like regular manner.

18. Had Windischgrätz been in sufficient force to have followed up his advantage as resolutely as he had gained it, and pressed vigorously next day on the enemy, who retreated towards

the Theiss, the Hungarians would, by the confession, their own generals, as well as the assertions of their enemy, have been totally ruined, the war finished on the 1st day, and Austria saved the humiliation of a Russian intervention. But the Austrians are proverbially slow in their movements, and Windischgratz was far from imitating the energy and vigour of Schlick, to whom the real credit of the victory of Kapolna belongs, and who marched twenty-four miles that day and on the preceding night to take part in the action. The Hungarians, too, though defeated, were still greatly superior to the enemy in numbers; and, with a few exceptions, the new levies, until the retreat began, had fought bravely, and emulated the courage of the veteran soldiers. Influenced by these considerations, Windischgratz remained inactive on the 28th, and lost the opportunity, never destined to recur, of driving a defeated army, encumbered with artillery, baggage, and wounded, back on the Theiss, swollen with the winter rains, and traversed only by a few bridges in the rear. He sent General Zeisberg with a brigade to threaten their flank at Poroszló, but no general movement in pursuit was attempted. Zeisberg had not sufficient force to attempt anything decisive, and thus this important victory remained without results. Favoured by a thick fog, which covered their movement, the Hungarians leisurely continued their retreat by Poroszló to the left bank of the Theiss without being disquieted on their march by the Imperialists; while Windischgratz, feeling the disastrous consequences of his numerical weakness, especially in cavalry, addressed the most pressing instances to the Emperor to send him reinforcements, especially in that arm, offering to send in exchange two thousand Magyar prisoners, who would gladly enter the ranks of the Imperialists.

19. While the Imperial general was thus earnestly entreating for reinforcements, and constrained to inactivity by their want, the most violent dissensions had broken out in the Magyar ranks. Georgey, Vetter, and

Klapka, their principal generals under Dembinski, loudly accused the commander-in-chief of mismanagement of the gallant troops under his command. The soldiers joined in the general outcry; and the result was that Dembinski was deprived of the command, which, to shun the rivalry of Georgey and Klapka, was bestowed on Vetter, a man inferior in capacity to either. "You have given yourself a rival," said the disgraced general to Kossuth when he announced his dismissal to him, "who will soon overturn you; God grant it may not be on the ruins of Hungary." The new commander-in-chief made good use of the breathing-time afforded him by the compulsory inactivity of the Imperialists, in reorganising and recruiting his troops and restoring their spirit. With such success were these efforts attended, and so ably was he seconded by the zeal and energy of Georgey and Klapka, that after having entirely evacuated the right bank of the Theiss, Vetter was in sufficient strength to detach 10,000 men, under General Vecsey, again across that river, who attacked in front and flank the brigade of Karger, which lay at Szolnok, on the extreme Austrian right, whom they drove out of that town with considerable loss, and regained for the Hungarians a firm footing on the right bank of the river. At the same time (March 2) the Hungarians resumed the offensive on the lines before Arad, where the Imperialists were seriously weakened by the detachments which they had been obliged to send into Transylvania to the relief of General Pückner, who had become hard pressed by the indefatigable Beni in that quarter. These successes went far to restore the spirits of the Magyars after their defeat at Kapolna.

20. In truth, the successes of Bem in that province had been such as to threaten total destruction to the Austrian interests in the east of Hungary. Having concentrated 12,000 men and twenty-four guns, after dispersing the Imperialists in the north of the province, he had moved to the south, made an attack (Jan. 21) on Pückner, who had thrown himself into Herman-

stadt with 4000 men and eighteen guns of light calibre. Notwithstanding this great inferiority of force, Pückner, in the first instance, defeated Bem, after a bloody conflict, with the loss of five guns; and the arrival of General Gideon with a brigade, the day after the battle, sensibly improved his situation. The numbers of the enemy, however, swelled so rapidly, that even after this success the Imperialists soon found themselves in a most precarious situation. The Szecklers, who had now openly declared for the insurgents, threatened to lay siege to Kronstadt on the Russian frontier; while Bem, who was daily receiving reinforcements, still menaced Hermanstadt from the side of Stolzenberg, and strong bodies of insurgents coming from Arad, entirely cut off Pückner's communications with the main Austrian army. In these circumstances the inhabitants of Kronstadt and Hermanstadt earnestly implored the INTERVENTION OF THE RUSSIANS as their only chance of safety; and Pückner, despairing of ability to defend them himself, and yet unwilling to incur the responsibility of himself calling in these formidable allies, summoned a council of war, which warmly approved of their intervention. They had already received instructions from St Petersburg to grant the requisite assistance when requested; and a formal requisition having been made by Pückner, General Luders, who commanded the Russian forces in Wallachia, gave orders to two detachments of his troops to cross the frontier, and occupy Kronstadt and Hermanstadt, which was done on February 1st and 5th. Thus did the third French Revolution terminate, as the first had done, in the intervention of the Muscovites, and the bringing down the battalions of the Czar to the centre of Europe.

21. Encouraged by this powerful support, Pückner, notwithstanding his great inferiority of force, resumed the offensive, and made a sudden attack on Bem as he was marching from Stolzenberg with 4000 men to effect a junction with a corps of Szecklers, and defeated him, with the loss of twelve

guns and a large quantity of ammunition. On the same day General Engelhardt, who commanded the Russian force in Kronstadt, sallied from that town and defeated a corps of Szecklers, which was advancing against it; while General Urban, in the north of Transylvania, successfully made head against the greatly superior forces of the insurgents by which he was beset. These successes encouraged the hope that the career of the insurgents had been checked in that province, and that the physical weight and moral influence of the Russians would decisively reinstate the affairs of the Imperialists in the east of Hungary. Vain hope! The unconquerable Bem, gathering strength from every defeat, ere long reappeared on the scene with 14,000 men and twenty guns, and after experiencing a check in the first instance from Pückner, succeeded in worsting him the next day, and was in his turn defeated by him at Mediasch, on the 3d March. Being pressed after the last unsuccessful engagement by Pückner, Bem, skilfully eluding the pursuit of the Austrian general, threw himself with his whole force on the Russian general, Skariatine, who had been left in charge of Hermanstadt with 2500 men. The brave Muscovite, attacked by forces five times his own, accepted the unequal combat, and having made Pückner aware of his critical position, maintained his ground for a considerable time with unconquerable resolution. But while he was fighting with great bravery in front, a corps of Szecklers penetrated into the town in his rear, and left the Russians no chance but of cutting their way through in order to join Pückner. Skariatine succeeded in forcing a passage through Bem's columns; but meanwhile the Austrian general, having heard that Hermanstadt was taken, had retreated in a most miserable plight to Rimnik in Wallachia. Finding himself thus isolated in the midst of enemies, Skariatine retired by the celebrated Rothen-thurm Pass, so well known to travellers for its sylvan and rocky grandeur, into Wallachia; Kronstadt also was abandoned; and the whole of Transylvania

fell into the hands of the Magyars. They immediately separated their army into different movable columns, which overran the country in every direction, pillaging, burning, and massacring the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, and renewing on the fields of Europe the horrid barbarities which, in every age, have characterised Eastern warfare.

22. These brilliant successes, and the universal enthusiasm which they excited in the east of Hungary, encouraged the Hungarian generals in the centre of the country to resume the offensive. Having crossed the Theiss at Porosozo, they moved forward accordingly, in the middle of March, in one huge column, along the road from Kapolna to Pesth as far as Gyöngyös and Hatvan. Their forces were very considerable, for they numbered at least 45,000 effective combatants, with 188 guns, actually present in the field. These were divided into four corps. The Austrian general had scarcely half the number to oppose to them, and they were sensibly discouraged by the fatigues and hardships of a winter campaign, and the disastrous intelligence recently received from Transylvania, which made it evident they would soon have the whole Magyar force on their hands. Sensible of his weakness, Windischgratz retired gradually as the enemy advanced, and reached the neighbourhood of Hatvan without serious opposition. At this critical period a change of vital importance to the issue of the campaign took place in the direction of the Hungarian army. The newly appointed commander-in-chief, Vetter, having fallen sick, resigned the command, and was succeeded, at first temporarily, and in the end permanently, in that important post by Georgey. Arrived at Hort, Georgey left his own old corps (the 7th) at that town, and with the three other corps moved towards his own left, towards Szolnok, with a view to interpose between the main army of the Imperialists, which was at Godolo on the Kapolna road, and Jellachich's corps, then at Alberti, and menace the communication of both

with Pesth. Schlick, who commanded the Austrians in Hatvan, first came into collision with Georgey's advanced guard at Hort, a village a short distance to the east of Hatvan; and after an obstinate conflict, he was driven through the streets of that town and forced to seek refuge behind the Zagywa, the bridge over which was defended with obstinacy by the Austrian rearguard under Captain Kalchberg. Apprised of this check, the Austrian general-in-chief moved to Godolo to lend a hand to Schlick, and despatched orders to Jellachich to concentrate his corps on the right, and move so as to re-establish his communications with the centre and left of the army.

23. These untoward events, and the evident superiority of the Hungarian force, which had now from extended experience, and long-continued service, become steady in the field, induced Windischgratz to summon a council of war, which met at Aszód, between Hatvan and Pesth, on the 3d April. Opinions were there divided as to the course which should be pursued in presence of the great and hourly-increasing forces of the enemy. Some held that the more advisable course would be to concentrate the whole troops at Waitzen, where they would be in a situation alike to cover Vienna and to defeat any attempt on the enemy's part to advance beyond Pesth. But the majority, among whom was the commander-in-chief, were of opinion, that though these views, in a military point of view, were well founded, yet they were overborne by considerations of a political kind of still greater importance, founded on the moral influence of the possession of the capital. It was accordingly resolved to concentrate the bulk of the army in the plain of Rakos, in front of Pesth, intrusting its defence to the valour of two brigades.

24. The plan of attack proposed by Klapka, and adopted by Georgey, was to leave the seventh corps only to make head against Windischgratz, on the Gyöngyös road, and move the three other corps in hand by Arokszyllas and Jasz-Bereny, so as to turn the

right flank of the enemy, which rested on the Galga. Georgey was to command these three corps, which numbered 28,000 combatants, in person; while the seventh corps, 15,000 strong, was to remain in the position of Hatvan, which was very strong, and would, it was hoped, successfully impose upon the enemy in that quarter. Georgey confesses that this dislocation of the army in presence of the enemy was a hazardous movement, which he would not have ventured upon if he had had to deal with a more enterprising opponent; but he thought, "in presence of Windischgratz many a strategic sin might be committed with impunity." Meanwhile the Austrian general was concentrating his army according to the plan agreed on in the plain of Rakos, and he despatched orders to Jellachich to join him from the extreme right with all possible expedition. These opposite movements brought the two armies into collision at ISASZEG, and induced the most important battle yet fought in the war.

25. The Hungarian force, consisting of Klapka's, Aulich's, and Damjanics's corps, moved, early on the morning of the 4th April, direct on Pesth by the highroad from Jaszy-Bereny, with a view to interpose between the bulk of Windischgratz's army and Jellachich's corps, which was hastening to form a junction with him in order to cover that capital. They first came into collision with Jellachich, who, finding himself hard pressed, notwithstanding a brilliant charge by his rearguard, which captured four guns, sent notice to the commander-in-chief that he was obliged to halt to defend himself. Returning with the bulk of his corps to the support of his rearguard, Jellachich encountered Klapka's corps near Tapio-Biscke, and totally defeated him. Crushed by a prodigious fire from two Austrian batteries, which were admirably served, the head of the Hungarian column recoiled in disorder, and the panic soon communicated itself to those which followed. The whole corps, 12,000 strong, took to flight in the utmost disorder, closely

pursued by the Austrian cuirassiers, who captured twelve guns during the pursuit. Georgey, attracted to the spot by the outcry, was nearly overwhelmed by the mass of fugitives running to the rear, who were vociferating that all was lost, a battery taken, and Klapka slain. But then appeared in full lustre the brilliant qualities of that commander. Personally exerting himself to the utmost to arrest the fugitives, he stationed Damjanics's corps in an oblique line, half facing the flying mass, and brought up the best old troops in that division to stand the first shock. They did so with eminent success. The veterans of Schwartzberg's Hungarian regiment not only brought to a stand the victorious Austrians, who had recently routed the whole of Klapka's corps, but stormed and regained the bridge over the Tapio, by which they had crossed, and drove them back beyond Tapio-Biscke, towards Koka, where the Imperialists took post behind some low sandhills for the night.

26. The next day Jellachich fell back to Isaszeg, near the Gyongyös road; while Windischgratz withdrew from Aszód to Godolo, on the same road, so as to be able to unite with him. Notwithstanding the disturbance which Klapka's defeat occasioned in his army, and the premature disclosure of his plan of attack which it occasioned, Georgey resolved to persevere, and accumulate every disposable man and horse against the Austrian right, so as to outflank them, and threaten their communications with Pesth. Following up his movement on the 6th, the two armies came into collision. Georgey had directed the corps of Klapka and Damjanics on Isaszeg, and moved up that of Aulich in support. They came upon the Ban, who was at first alone, but as the action continued was supported by Windischgratz with the main body of the Imperial army. The first onset of the Hungarians was most disastrous. Damjanics, on their right, indeed, held his ground; but Klapka, on the left, was utterly overthrown, and driven back in the greatest confusion, so that his retreat was only arrested

by the arrival of two battalions detached from the right, and by the most energetic exertions of Georgey in person, who, sword in hand, turned the fugitives, and supported them with the whole of Aulich's corps, which fortunately was close at hand. Klapka wished to retreat, but Georgey determined to persevere. The throw, however, was to the last degree perilous; a second defeat similar to that sustained on the preceding day but one, and all was lost. But Georgey, without hesitation, accepted the alternative. "Conquer to-day, or back behind the Theiss; such is the alternative—I know of no third. Damjanics still continues the battle: Aulich advances; Klapka has stopped his retreat. Forward! we *must* conquer." Such were the words by which he reanimated his men to make a last effort for the independence of their country. The Magyar three corps, now concentrated in one battle-field, occupied the two last northern spurs of the forest of Isaszeg, which projected towards the enemy. The centre was covered by a part of the forest in flames, which had caught fire during the conflict, the smoke from which spread in vast volumes over the Hungarian right. The infantry of both armies occupied the spurs of the forest; in the centre, in front of the fearful conflagration, stood the cavalry and artillery.

27. Georgey, seeing that the bulk of the Imperial army was concentrated in the centre behind Isaszeg, ordered his right, consisting of the wreck of Damjanics's men, to stand firm on the defensive; while he reinforced the wreck of Klapka's corps with the whole of that of Aulich, and ordered them to assume a vigorous offensive on his other flank; and soon the advancing sound of the cannon announced that the Hungarian left was making progress in its spur of the forest. The Hungarian general was still anxious about the result, when he beheld the head of Aulich's corps emerging from the flaming part of the forest, and the left spur, which stretched towards the enemy. He now felt assured of victory; his two corps had accumulated against the

Austrian right, who had no adequate force at hand to oppose them. His expectations were ere long realised. A violent infantry fire was heard in the spur of the forest on the extreme Hungarian right; the fire of the Austrian artillery in the centre was silenced by the Hungarian guns; cries of "Forward," in *Hungarian*, were heard on all sides; and Aulich's men with loud shouts were seen driving the Imperialists before them on the spur on the left. Still Isaszeg was not taken, and till it was stormed the battle could not be said to be gained. Darkness closed on the scene without the commander-in-chief being assured on this vital point, and in his extreme anxiety to learn who remained master of it, Georgey, with a few officers, rode forward in the dark to its vicinity. A challenge in *German*, as it seemed, from a sentinel, made them start; it sounded like *Halt! wer da?* (Halt! who's there?)—but it might be the Hungarian "*Ally - ke - vagy,*" which was not very dissimilar in sound. Georgey answered in Hungarian, and the joyful rejoinder, "Aulich," told that the victory was gained. It proved to be that general himself, who, returning from Isaszeg, brought the joyful news that that village was taken, and the right wing of the enemy in full retreat to Godolo.

28. It could not be said that the Hungarians had gained a decisive advantage: they had been victorious with their left over the Austrian right; they had withstood a vigorous attack on their own right; in the centre, where the cavalry and artillery combated, no material advantage had been gained on either side. But they reaped from it the fruits of the most complete victory. Georgey's strategic movement had entirely succeeded: by accumulating forces on his own left, he had forced back the Austrian right to such a degree as entirely to turn their flank, and lay open to the victorious wing on his left the road to Pestff. This favourable position of affairs for the Magyars was much improved by their great superiority of force, which enabled them, now that they had got

the prestige of victory on their side, to assume the offensive at any point. Sensible of his danger, Windischgratz fell back on all sides, and concentrated his troops behind the Rakos in such a position as to cover Pesth from every direct attack; and he hoped to be able to maintain himself there till reinforcements from the rear might enable him to resume the offensive. But he had to deal with an able adversary, who, by another admirable movement, turned his left flank, and forced him to abandon his covering position, evacuate the capital, and lay bare the road to Vienna.

29. Rapidly moving the bulk of his forces from his own left to the extreme right, Georgey, while he advanced in person to, and established his headquarters in Godolo, directed the corps of Klapka and Damjanics on Waitzen, which was occupied by the Austrian general, Gotz, with two brigades. The object of this advance on the Hungarian right was to press round the extreme Austrian left, and threaten their communications not only with Pesth, but with Vienna itself, and thus compel the Imperialists, without firing a shot, to evacuate both Buda and Pesth, and concentrate their troops at Presburg to cover the capital of the whole Empire. While the two corps charged with this important movement were heading the line of march, and attacking Waitzen, the centre and left, under Kmety and Aulich, were to move to their own right, so as to be at hand to support them; and at the same time, by menacing the Austrian covering army behind the Rakos, prevent them from despatching any material succours to their own left at Waitzen, the real point of attack. Having taken Waitzen, Klapka and Damjanics were to continue their advance on the left bank of the Danube to Leva, closely followed by the seventh corps; while Aulich occupied Buda and Pesth, which it was expected the enemy would evacuate without resistance.*

* The 7th corps, advancing along the Gy-öngyös road, rejoined the main army on the 7th April at Godolo.

30. These able dispositions met with entire success. The head of Klapka's corps reached Waitzen on 9th April, and immediately made an attack on the town, which was defended by General Gotz with his two brigades. They soon penetrated into the streets, as the town was unfortified; but a desperate struggle of some hours' duration there took place, in the course of which the Austrian commander fell dead by a ball in the forehead. The Austrians were driven out of the town by the sheer pressure of numbers, and would have been totally destroyed but for the able dispositions of the second in command, Jablonowsky, who contrived to draw his men out of the streets without any material loss. But the consequences of his retreat were nearly as disastrous at this crisis as their destruction would have been, for they were driven to an eccentric retreat up the valley of the Danube, towards the Gran river. Thus the Hungarian general had succeeded in detaching its left wing from the Austrian centre, driving the former away to the north-west and the latter back upon the Danube at Pesth. Nothing could now prevent the occupation of Pesth by the Hungarian centre, and the advance of their powerful right to raise the siege of Komorn, and threaten both Presburg and Vienna. Georgey enhanced the lustre of his glorious victories by his generous conduct to a noble adversary, in according a splendid military funeral, followed by the discharge of a hundred guns, to the remains of General Gotz, and the transmission of all his private papers and effects to Prince Windischgratz. It is to the honour of the Hungarians to have shown, and refreshing to the historian to record, the first return to humane usages in a war hitherto characterised by such savage cruelty, but worthy, by the valour displayed on both sides, of being placed beside the brightest pages of chivalry.

31. Immense was the consternation excited in Vienna by these repeated victories, and the formidable position, threatening both Komorn and Pres-

burg, taken up by the Hungarian right wing. The war seemed to be interminable. The insurrection, which they had so often been told was crushed, was now raising its hydra head more formidable than ever: it was no longer a question as to subduing Hungary, but saving Vienna. Under the influence of these feelings, several cabinet councils were held at Olmutz, where the Emperor still was, as soon as the disastrous intelligence reached them. It was there resolved, on the advice of Prince Schwarzenberg, that notwithstanding the great merits and services of Prince Windischgratz, he had, by a long train of disasters, lost the confidence of the troops, and that a change in the direction of the army had become indispensable. He was accordingly deprived of the command, which was bestowed on General Baron Welden, and, till his arrival at headquarters, Jellachich provisionally took the direction.

32. This great victory of the Hungarians was followed by a serious division between the Magyar chiefs themselves, which in the end proved fatal to Hungarian independence. On the 7th April, Kossuth and Georgey met at Godolo to discuss the line which should be adopted, now that the independence of the country seemed in a fair way of being established. Their ideas, as those of the parties which they respectively represented, were as opposite as the poles are asunder. "Now," said Kossuth, "is the time when it becomes us to answer the pretended constitution of 4th March 1848, by the declaration of our independence. Austria was encouraged to publish that burlesque of a constitution by the victory of Kapolna; let us celebrate that of Isaszeg by the open shaking off of their yoke. The patience of the nation is exhausted; if it would show itself worthy of liberty, it cannot for a moment tolerate that pretended constitution. The people of Europe will judge of the people of Hungary according to the answer which it gives to that insidious proposal. England, France, Italy,

Turkey, Germany itself, not excepting even the hereditary states of Austria, are only waiting for Hungary to proclaim itself independent to lend us their material aid, and that the more abundantly that hitherto they have been so sparing in affording it. The sore-tried, oppressed nation of the Poles will unite with us, and will find a powerful ally in the Turks, who have so often suffered from the policy of Austria and Russia. With the freedom of Hungary the freedom of Europe will fall; with its triumph, there will be as many insurrections against hated tyranny as there are oppressed peoples in Europe!

33. "Our victory is certain; but we have it in our power to do much more than for ourselves alone. We can and must fight for the freedom of the whole world—for all who wish us victory. Our words, however, must precede our deeds; our cry of victory, the precursor of triumph, must anticipate our successes; they must announce its approach to all enslaved people, in order that they may be watchful and vigilant, and not allow the golden opportunity of universal liberation to pass away. We must not permit our enemies, the enemies of freedom in every land, to assemble again, after having been scattered, and to gather strength anew. We can no longer remain silent after the pretended constitution has destroyed our very existence. Our silence would be a passive recognition of our enemies' claims—a repudiation of all our victories. We must therefore declare ourselves. A declaration such as I wish will at once raise the nation in its own esteem, destroy all the bridges behind the wavering and yet undecided part of the nation, and, by the overwhelming force of a common object, satisfying every wish, embracing every interest, drive into the shade all mere party interests, and thus facilitate and insure our common victory."

34. "I by no means see things in the same light," replied Georgey. "Words will not make Hungary free; deeds alone can do that. No arm out of Hungary will be raised to perform

those deeds; rather armies will be raised in foreign states to prevent their execution. Even supposing that Hungary at the present moment were strong enough to detach itself from Austria, would it not be too weak to maintain itself as an independent power in a neighbourhood in which the Porte, with a much more favourable position, has already been reduced to an existence by sufferance only? We have lately, it is true, repeatedly beaten the enemy, but it has taxed our utmost strength to do so. The consciousness that our cause was just has alone enabled us to gain these advantages. *If Hungary is separated from Austria, our cause is no longer just; our struggle would no longer be for, but against the law; we should not be fighting for, but against the country; we should be engaged in an assault on the united Austrian monarchy. In doing so, we would mortally wound innumerable ancient interests and sympathies; we would conjure up against our country the consequences of a revolution uncalled for under any circumstances; we would force the old troops, the very kernel of the army, to violate their oaths, and thus shake their fidelity; we would become weaker every day, while at the same time every neighbouring state would rise up against us as the disturbers of the balance of power in Europe. We cannot, it is true, acquiesce in the pretended constitution of 4th March; but can we repudiate it more decisively than by the victories we have gained? Battles won for the legitimate king, Ferdinand V., and the constitution sanctioned by him, are the best answer that Hungary can give to the chimeras of the Austrian ministers.*

35. "Of what other use was my proclamation from Waitzen, immediately after the evacuation of the two capitals? It was issued by me because it was the only means of retaining to their colours the old soldiers, the bone and muscle of the army, to whom it had been principally indebted for its successes. What was the object of that demonstration which my corps,

without my knowledge, proposed to make against Dombinski in Kaschau, but their anxiety not to lose a commander who respected their military oaths? I have shared prosperity and adversity with these troops; I know their feelings; and should King Ferdinand V. stand before us now, I would without a moment's hesitation invite him, unarmed and unprotected, to follow me into the camp to receive their homage, certain that no one would refuse to render it to him." *

36. It was too late, however; Kossuth's determination had been already taken; and on the 14th April appeared from the Diet the proclamation of HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE. This important instrument set forth that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine—having been guilty of perjury, made an appeal to arms, and pushed its audacity so far as to strive to detach from Hungary the important provinces of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Fiume, and the sea-coast—is hereby declared to have forfeited its rights to the throne of Hungary, and its members are for ever banished from its territory. Hungary, with all its dependencies, was declared an independent state, governed by Kossuth—elected Governor by acclamation, and the universal consent of the nation—on his own responsibility, in concert with his ministers, accountable only to the National Diet, and all the civilised world taken as witnesses of its assuming the rank of an independent power. Every one who should hereafter support the cause of the dethroned house was declared guilty of high treason, and this proclamation was ordered to be sent to every town and village in the kingdom. This proclamation, coming from the National Diet sitting at Debreczin, could not be openly disobeyed by the national forces; but it excited the most profound indignation in the breasts of Georgey, Damjanics, Vecs-

* Speeches of this sort by two persons in private conference are too often spun only out of the author's brain; but in this instance they may be relied on as genuine, being given by Georgey himself in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 367, 368; and they have never been gainsaid by Kossuth.

zey, Linange, and nearly all the officers of the old Hungarian army, who still had the feelings of loyalty, in their hearts, and the initials of their king on their banners; and who combated Ferdinand the Emperor in the name of Ferdinand the King. Thenceforward the ground of the war was entirely changed; it had become not national, but social; the Magyars no longer fought for the ancient cause of Hungarian independence, but the modern one of French democracy. To this change in the spirit and object of the contest, its subsequent calamitous issue to the Hungarians is mainly to be ascribed.

37. If the democratic leaders of the Hungarian Diet threw down the gauntlet boldly to all the monarchical powers of Europe by this declaration of independence, it must be confessed that they made corresponding preparations to support the cause in which they had engaged. Their first care, in imitation of the French Convention, was to declare the government revolutionary—that is, dictatorial and despotic. The absolute power, however, was to continue only as long as the war lasted; it was then to give way to a more regular regime. “The ministry was bound to follow the republican path. They shall oppose with all their strength every reaction in favour of the monarchy, and also every attempt to escape from the organisation of labour by attaching it to property. The ministry is to adopt democratic tendencies in their full extent. All the laws which they shall bring forward shall be with that view: they shall recognise the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and engage to retire rather than depart from it.” The deeds of Kossuth and the ministry did not belie these professions: they were energetic in the extreme. He took possession of the whole specie in the public coffers; issued paper money without bounds, in which all the payments of Government were made; and daily published eloquent proclamations, calling on the friends of freedom all over the world to come forward to

his support. With such success were these efforts attended, that numbers, not only of Hungarians, but Poles, Italians, French, and Irish, flocked to their standards; and in a few weeks the revolutionary Government found itself at the head of 107 battalions, 124 squadrons, and 800 guns, of which 200 were horsed and harnessed and ready for the field. Their forces presented a total of 90,000 infantry, 13,000 cavalry, and 18,000 artillery, great part of which was by this time inured to war.

38. The Austrian Government, hard pressed at this time with the war in Lombardy, had no forces at their disposal capable of making head against such an array. It was hard to say whether Radetsky or Windischgratz was most pressing for reinforcements, or on which side the necessity for them was the greatest; while the Government was reduced to the resources of Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, to make head against this hourly-increasing mass of enemies. Assistance from England, so often afforded in former crises, was not to be looked for. Its Government preserved a cold neutrality; its people openly and enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause. France, distracted by revolutionary passions, was in no condition to afford any effectual succour. The government of the President, as yet feeble, and struggling with an adverse majority in the Chambers, could with difficulty maintain its ground against its domestic enemies. Prussia beheld with secret satisfaction the mortal throes of a power which had so long proved its successful rival in the German Confederacy. In these circumstances, Russia was the only state to whom recourse could be had for assistance, and fortunately her armies were at hand in great strength in Poland, ready to give the required succour. And though it was doubtless a humiliating circumstance for the Cabinet of Vienna to be reduced to the necessity of invoking the aid of a foreign and rival power to make head against its

own subjects, yet the mortification they experienced was much alleviated by the consideration that it was not the rebellious Magyars alone with whom they had to contend, but a coalition of Hungarians, Lombards, Poles, French and German Liberals, who were arrayed against them from every part of Europe.

39. On the other hand, the same considerations which led the Austrian Government to ask, induced the Russian to afford, the requested succour. It was well known that nearly the whole Polish exiles enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause, as not only were many of their best officers drawn from that brave and enterprising body of men, but great numbers of volunteers were daily crossing the frontier, and carrying into the Magyar ranks the succour of their arms, and the intensity of their hatred at their oppressors. There were many reasons, therefore, to apprehend that the democratic movement, if victorious in Hungary, would speedily cross the Carpathian range, and spread over the Sarmatian plains; and if the interior of Russia were once convulsed, the passage of arms at St Petersburg in 1825 might be renewed, with a different result to the reigning power. Influenced by these considerations, the Cabinet of St Petersburg arrived at the conclusion, which was cordially acquiesced in by the Emperor, that their greatest enemy in Europe was the democratic spirit, and their first duty to suppress it; and that this could never be done so effectually as by powerfully aiding the Austrian Government in their contest with the Hungarian insurgents. Accordingly, the Russian Cabinet resolved to make common cause with the Austrian in the Hungarian war; by a proclamation issued from St Petersburg on 8th May, this determination was announced to Europe; and the Russian army in Poland, one hundred and sixty thousand strong, received orders to cross the frontier, under the command of the veteran Paskewitch, to support the Austrian forces.

40. Long, however, before the Muscovite succour could reach the scene of action on the banks of the Danube, disasters had accumulated to such a degree that it had become evident that, without foreign aid speedily administered, the Austrian Empire would be irrevocably ruined. After the capture of Waitzen, and the driving of the two brigades which defended it back on Gran, Georgey advanced to Leva, crossed the river Gran at three points, and on the 19th April attacked and defeated Wohlgemuth at Nagy Sarlo, who, with a slender corps, was covering the siege of Komorn.* The Austrian general being obliged to retire behind the Waag, the blockade of that fortress, on the left bank of the Danube, was at once raised, and the garrison, under its enterprising commander, Count Guyon, was enabled to take a part in active operations in the open country. On the night of the 25th Georgey threw a bridge over the Danube at Komorn, and, debouching with the main body of Klapka's and Damjanics's corps, attacked on the following day the Austrian blockading force in their lines on the right bank, which he carried, forcing them to retire towards Raab. In this way Georgey, by directing the bulk of his forces on the left bank of the Danube round the bend at Waitzen, so as to turn the Austrian left, and threaten their communications with Vienna, rendered the retention of Pesth and Buda impossible. At the same time the insurgents were daily assuming a more menacing position in central and southern Hungary. Arad was blockaded by a considerable body of their forces. General Leiningen, in haste, and with no small difficulty, threw himself into Temesvar, which was immediately beleaguered, and its garrison

* The division Goritch had advanced from Gran, up the right bank of the river of the same name, to support Wohlgemuth, but was encountered at Kemend on the 20th (the day after the battle of Nagy Sarlo) by the Hungarian 7th corps, defeated, and driven back on the Danube, which it crossed, destroying the pontoon bridge behind it, and taking post in the town of Gran.

kept strictly on the defensive; while General Theodorowitch, assailed near Szegedin by a considerable body of insurgents, was thrown back upon the Danube. The detachments of Generals Nugent and Mamula, threatened with destruction, were driven towards Servia, and the frontiers of that province and Croatia were at all points laid bare to the incursions of the insurgents.

41. In these circumstances it was altogether impossible for the Austrian general to retain possession of Pesth; for though the force under his immediate command was superior to the corps of Hungarians by which it was immediately threatened, yet the three corps under Georgey, which had turned his left flank, and threatened to interpose between him and Vienna, rendered any further stay there hazardous in the extreme. Orders were therefore given for the evacuation of that capital, which was carried into effect on the 23d April. This necessarily led to the dislocation of the Imperial army—Welden, with the main body, falling back towards Raab and the Austrian frontier; Jellachich descending the right bank of the Danube, so as to cover Croatia. The defence of Buda was intrusted to General Hentzi with a brigade of veterans, who, it was hoped, would be able to maintain it till the Russian succours arrived; and Welden himself, with the rest of the army, now not more than eighteen thousand strong, took the road to Raab. Jellachich with his corps was directed to descend the Danube to Esseeck with the heavy artillery and stores of the army, which were transported by water to that fortress. Welden's division was to retreat by the right bank of the Danube, so as to neutralise in some degree the advance of Georgey along the left bank, and having reached Gran, to form a junction there with the division of Csoritch, which, since the evacuation of Waitzen, had occupied a position on the bank of the river opposite that town, and operate from thence against Georgey's rear. But this design was soon found to be impracticable. The

Imperial army marched out of Pesth in the deepest dejection on the 23d April, and found that Csoritch had already been forced by Georgey to pass over to the right bank of the Danube, and, to avoid pursuit, to break down the bridge behind him. This rendered the projected movement from Gran across the Danube against the Hungarian rear impossible. An immediate retreat by Raab to Presburg, and concentration of their whole forces there, alone remained practicable to cover Vienna. This was accordingly done, and Hungary entirely evacuated by the Imperial forces, with the exception of the fortresses of Buda, Arad, Temesvár, Kailowitz, and Deva, which, held by slender garrisons, still remained in their hands. On the other hand, the Hungarians, in possession, on the west, of the important fortress of Komorn, in the south of Peterwaradein, and sheltered on the north by the Carpathian range, occupied a central position eminently advantageous for resisting the attacks either of the Austrian or the Muscovite forces.

42. The left wing of the Hungarian army, under Aulich, entered Pesth in great pomp and in the highest spirits on the 24th April, and immediately commenced the investment of Buda, which lies on the opposite bank of the Danube, within half cannon-shot, and completely commands the capital. Unbounded enthusiasm, both in the troops and the inhabitants, followed their entry; Hungary seemed to be delivered, and the war ended, now that their beloved capital was again in their hands. But when the leaders of the democratic and aristocratic parties met in council to deliberate on ulterior operations, the old discussion between them broke out with more violence than ever. "Kossuth forgot," said Georgey, "that Hungary, if it strove to be independent of Austria, resembled a fool who should wish to separate his head and arms from his trunk, that he might be able to walk about more easily. Kossuth has dug an impassable abyss between the king and us; Kossuth will ruin the coun-

try." "Georgey," added Damjanics, "will recover what Kossuth has lost; and for my part, I will march with my grenadiers to Debreczin and fall with the bayonet on all the declaimers in the Diet." But Kossuth took the opposite side, and insisted on the necessity of securing Buda as a centre of operations and rallying-point for the country before proceeding further. "What avails victory," said he, "if, immured as we are up to the knees in mud, we cannot enjoy the fruits of our triumphs? A district without a capital is not a country; Buda is our fatherland; let all arms be turned against it." Georgey at first combated this opinion, for he clearly saw that, in a strategical point of view, every moment was precious, and that if, in the present weakened state of the Austrian army, they marched at once on Vienna, merely masking Buda, the Austrian capital would fall, and the empire be destroyed. But the want of ammunition rendered an immediate advance impossible, and ere a fresh supply came up, political considerations induced the Hungarian general to abandon his military advantage and adopt the views of Kossuth. It has been already mentioned that the Hungarian army was divided into two parties—one consisting of the old soldiers who fought for Hungarian independence under the ancient constitution, and with a personal connection with the Austrian Emperor as King of Hungary; the other composed of the new levies desiring to make Hungary an independent kingdom, under a republican government, and to overturn the Austrian Empire. Georgey was the leader of the first, Kossuth of the second party. Georgey relied mainly on the support of the old soldiers to carry on the contest, and he believed that any attempt to make them cross the frontier and march against Vienna to dethrone the Emperor would lead to a revolt—that so long as the contest was carried on in Hungary for its independence the army would remain united, but that as soon as an offensive campaign out of Hungary was attempted it would fall to pieces. Influenced

by these considerations, Georgey determined to undertake the siege of Buda and arrest the advance of the Magyars until it was taken.* He was convinced that, in a military point of view, he was committing a great error—an opinion in which the best military authorities agree—but he obeyed a political necessity to save the rising fortunes of the state from disruption.†

43. The siege of Buda being resolved on, the Hungarian siege-train was brought up from the rear. The place was summoned on the 4th May, and Georgey, who came down to it from Komorn with the corps of Klapka and Damjanics, established his headquarters at Schwabenberg, in the vicinity, as well to cover the siege as to superintend the operations. The garrison consisted of three thousand men, with fifteen field-pieces and seventy-five guns of heavy calibre, with ammunition and provisions for two months. To the summons to surrender, the Governor Hentzi replied: "The Emperor, my august master, has intrusted to me the keys of Buda; I will return them to him alone. Meanwhile my honour and duty command me to defend the fortress, and I will do so to the last man. If the twin cities perish in the conflict, I declare you responsible for their ruin: I appeal to God, my right, and my sword. Long live

* Georgey's reasons for this momentous step are thus stated by himself: "The motives which decided me to abandon the idea of an uninterrupted prosecution of our offensive operations against the hostile main army were mainly of a political nature. My personal conviction of the impossibility of inducing those parts of the main army which were opposed to the law of the 14th April (the declaration of Hungarian independence), even assuming the most favourable course of the proposed operations on the line to Raab, to prosecute them beyond the frontier of the country, led me—considering the insignificant military importance of the western frontier of Hungary on the right bank of the Danube—to perceive that the final strategic aim, which ought to have formed the basis of those operations, was wanting."—GEORGEY'S *Memoirs*, ii. 14, 19.

† "C'en était fait peut-être de la monarchie Autrichienne, si l'insurrection, au lieu d'hésiter, eut résolument marchée sur Vienne; si surtout la Russie n'eût pas été prête à agiter son épée du côté de la faiblesse et du droit."—TOLSTOY, p. 62.

the Emperor!" The acts of the brave Austrian did not belie these gallant words. Siege operations were commenced by the Magyars on the 4th May, and from that time till the 12th there was an incessant combat of the outposts, sustained on either side with equal intrepidity. On the 12th the breaching batteries were opened at five hundred yards from the gate of Stuhlweissenburg; and from that time till the 17th, an incessant fire was kept up night and day on both sides, which speedily wrapped both capitals in flames. By the lurid glare of the conflagration the gunners on either part pointed their pieces; and with such effect was the cannonade maintained that on the evening of the 17th the breach was declared practicable. Upon this Georgy gave the signal for assault; and at four on the following morning four columns moved forward to the attack. The first, however, missed its way in the dark; the scaling-ladders of the others were too short; and the assault was repulsed at all points with great slaughter. Taught by this failure the quality of the antagonists with whom he had to deal, Georgy renewed his operations with larger force. The fire continued with the utmost vigour till the night of the 21st. At midnight thirty-four battalions, numbering twenty thousand combatants, were in the trenches for the assault; and the leading columns rushed forward to the breach to the sound of the martial music of all the bands placed behind the lines, which played the patriotic march of Rakotzy. The Croats, headed by Hentzi, met them with equal resolution on the rampart; the conflict was long and doubtful; but at length, the brave Austrian general having been mortally wounded on the breach as he was encouraging his men to combat to the last, the pass was carried, and the place fell. The garrison, after the bloody strife was ended, was not put to the sword, as had been threatened, much to the honour of Georgy and the Magyars, who were much exasperated by the bombardment of Pesth, which they re-

garded, not without reason, as an unnecessary exercise of military severity.

44. While this important success was being achieved in the centre, Poltenberg, who now commanded the Hungarian right, consisting of the 7th corps, had advanced from Komorn to Raab, where he established himself. The whole right bank of the Danube had been evacuated by the Imperialists as far as Presburg, but they still held the left bank down to the confluence of the Waag, and the command of both was essential to a safe advance against Vienna. Georgy, accordingly, immediately after the fall of Buda, directed the three corps composing the besieging army to cross to the left bank of the Danube at Gran, and march upon the Waag. Before the middle of June this movement was completed, and the Hungarian army established *à cheval* on the Danube; their right, consisting of the 1st, 2d, and 3d corps, observing the course of the lower Waag; the centre, composed of the 8th corps, holding Komorn, and connecting the two wings; the left, formed by the 7th corps, guarding the line of the Raab; the whole (including the garrison of Komorn) forming a mass of about 55,000 men. The fall of Buda, and subsequent concentration of the Hungarian army on the lines of the Waag and the Raab, excited the utmost consternation at Vienna, and the headquarters of the army were withdrawn to Presburg, within a few leagues of the capital, where the most energetic efforts were made by the Government, warmly seconded by the citizens, to reinforce it by every disposable man and gun.

45. Successes also of a less material but still important kind were gained by the Magyars in the south. Jellachich arrived at Esseeck on 9th May, and there, found the corps which had been left to guard the frontiers of Croatia and Slavonia almost destroyed. Colonel Puffer, after having been rudely hampered by Perczel, could hardly muster 2000 men around Karlowitz; and Mayerhofer was shut up in Semlin, before Belgrade, with 1200.

This was all that remained of 12,000 men who had been left in the south, under Theodorowitch, to guard the left bank of the Danube; and who had been driven back in person with a small force to Panesova. Before Peterwaradein, Colonel Mannula, with 2000 men, maintained the blockade in strong intrenchments, constructed with skill and defended with resolution. These trifling bands were the sole obstacles which prevented the insurgents of central Hungary, 30,000 strong, from throwing themselves on Slavonia and Croatia. Nothing, in these circumstances, could be hoped from the south; the deliverance of Vienna, and salvation of the Empire, could be looked for only from the north.

46. Fully sensible of the extreme danger of their situation, the Cabinet of Vienna were unremitting in their efforts to bring into immediate operation the succour of the Russians, as well as to recruit their army with every disposable man to fill up the wide chasm produced by the losses of the war. The plan of operations concerted between the Cabinets of Vienna and St Petersburg was this: A Russian corps concentrated at Dukla in Galicia, under Field-Marshal Paskewitch, was to penetrate through the Carpathian Mountains, and descend on central Hungary. A second Rus-

sian corps, under the orders of General Luders, was to enter Transylvania by Kronstadt and the Rothenthurm Pass, and co-operate with another Russian corps, which was to advance from the Bukowina on Bistritz, and an Austrian division, under General Clamm, composed of the slender remains of Pückner's corps. The main Austrian army, which had recently been put under the orders of Baron Haynau, reinforced by the veteran Russian division Paniutine, was to form the third attacking column which was to penetrate into Hungary from the westward in the vicinity of Raab. A detachment under General Grabbe was to form a link of communication between these distant though converging columns, by operating in the valley of the Waag and on the plateau of the Schemnitz. The forces which the Russians brought to support this intervention were immense, and forcibly illustrated the disastrous effects of those democratic transports, which, spreading as from a common centre from Paris, had thus a second time brought the forces of the desert to decide the strife of civilisation. They amounted in all to 161,800 men,—almost exactly the number of Russians which, in its final result, the first Revolution brought to the plains of Ver-tus in Champagne.

CHAPTER LXXV.

RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY, AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

1. IMMENSE as was the addition which the accession of Russia made to the power of Austria, the chances of the conflict to the Hungarians were by no means so unequal as might at first appear, and not nearly so much so as those of Frederick the Great had been in Prussia in the Seven Years' War, or those of Wellington in Por-

tugal in that of the Revolution. The Hungarian forces on paper amounted to 190,000 men, and they could bring of these 120,000 effective into the field. They had an inexhaustible supply of siege-artillery and 200 field-pieces, admirably horsed and equipped ready for action. Their central position, covered by several strong for-

tresses, amply supplied with all the means of defence, gave them the great strategical advantage which Genius has so often made to compensate inferiority of numbers, of having an interior line of communication to move over, while the enemy was toiling round an outer and longer line. They were under the orders of Georgey, a general of first-rate abilities, admirably qualified to make the most of every advantage which chance or situation might present; and if he gained any considerable success, a second revolution was sure to break out in Vienna, and all Germany be again involved in bloodshed and conflagration. The greatest drawback to these chances of success were the loss of Damjanics and Aulich, his best generals, who had both been disabled in this desperate warfare, and the dissension between Georgey and Kossuth, which had now reached such a pitch that the former declined the rank of field-marshal, lieutenant, and the order of the first class of military merit, tendered to him by the latter.

2. The generals whom Austria and Russia had to oppose to these formidable forces were worthy of the task to which they were called. In the front rank must be placed Haynau and Paskewitch. JULES BARON HAYNAU, born at Cassel, in Electoral Hesse, in 1786, of an ancient family, entered the Austrian service in 1801, and rapidly rose to distinction. He was in the front successively at Nordlingen and Wagram in 1809, and was wounded on both occasions. He was present in the chief battles of 1813 and 1814, and rapidly rose from merit through the various steps of the Imperial army. Already marshal-lieutenant in 1844, and distinguished at Verona in 1848, it was his charge which, in the critical moment, decided the battle of Custoza. He was subsequently distinguished both at Brescia and Malghera in the second Italian war. His stature was tall, his carriage military and imposing; and he had in full perfection the firm determination, the iron will, which, in military not less than civil affairs, is

so important an element in success. This disposition led him, in the close of the contest, into acts of severity which history must regret, but which the Hungarians had little right to condemn, for it was only an application to them of the inhuman acts with which they had commenced the contest. If, however, it be true, as the Hungarian writers assert, that he put in force an old law of Hungary which allowed women to be flogged for certain offences, and permitted the infliction of that punishment on a lady of family concerned in the insurrection, he was guilty of a crime which nothing can justify, and history must unqualifiedly condemn. When the young Emperor, in his extremest need, informed him that he had intrusted to his hands the salvation of the Empire, he answered, "And I shall save it, unless a cannon-ball reserve that honour to some one more fortunate than myself." "I have full confidence," replied the Emperor, "in your energy, your experience, and your fortune."

3. Born on the 8th May 1782, at Pultowa, in Little Russia, already celebrated in Russian annals, of a noble family settled there for three hundred years, FIELD-MARSHAL PASKEWITCH entered the army on leaving the situation of page in the palace in 1800, under the auspices of the Emperor Paul, and made his first essay in arms on the field of Austerlitz in 1805. In 1806 he distinguished himself in the bloody war with the Turks, and gained such reputation that he was intrusted with an important command in the Russian army in the invasion of 1812, and led the Russian centre at Smolensko in that year. He was not less fortunate in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in Germany and France; he was intrusted with the command of the Russian army in 1826, 1827, and 1828, in Persia, and subsequently called to repair the errors of Diebitch, and restore the lustre of the Russian arms in Poland in 1831. He possessed a rare combination of all the qualities which constitute a great general; but

among these he was pre-eminently distinguished by the two most important—caution and foresight in laying plans, and promptitude and vigour in carrying them into execution. As a natural consequence of this union, he was almost uniformly successful in all his enterprises; and this inspired the soldiers with unbounded confidence in his capacity and fortune. Severe in enforcing discipline, but equitable in considering particular cases, he with reason regarded self-control and obedience as the first of military virtues. Not less just and generous than brave, he was ever humane. After the combat was over, no acts of unnecessary severity sullied his victories; and he exhibited through life the most shining example of the practical adoption as a rule of conduct of the maxim, “Noblesse oblige.”

4. The troops on both sides remained in a state of constrained inactivity, so far as the principal armies were concerned, for six weeks after the taking of Buda, preparing on either for the new and more terrible strife which was approaching. The Austrians, evacuating Raab, which was occupied by the Hungarians, had concentrated at Presburg, ready to resume offensive operations when the principal Russian army was prepared to cross the Carpathians. Haynau's army was, by great exertions, raised to four corps, commanded by Schlick, Csoritch, Schwarzenberg, and Wohlgemuth; it contained 70 battalions, 76 squadrons, and 288 guns—mustering 60,000 men, of whom 8000 were cavalry. The corps of Schlick and Schwarzenberg were on the right, those of Wohlgemuth and Csoritch on the left bank of the Danube. To these, however, were added, before the campaign commenced, the Russian division Paniutine, which came up with great expedition, and proved of the most essential service in the course of the campaign. It numbered 8000 combatants, and was composed of the very flower of the Muscovite forces. The principal Russian army, under Field-Marshal Paskewitch, which was destined to cross the Carpathian Mountains from Galicia, and carry

the war into central Hungary, was composed of three corps, each consisting of three divisions of infantry and one of cavalry. These corps mustered in all 76,000 combatants. Thus, between the two grand armies, 140,000 men were arrayed to invade Hungary from the west and north-east respectively, independent of the corps of Jellachich in Croatia and the Russians in Wallachia, which, taken together, might amount to 40,000 men. . .

5. The forces which the Hungarians had at length, by great exertions, raised to meet this formidable coalition, were on paper hardly inferior in number. They were divided into four armies, commanded respectively by Georgey in person, Dembinski, Perczel, and Bem, besides a corps of reserve. The entire force presented a total of 174 battalions, 138 squadrons, and 488 guns, harnessed for the field—mustering 94,000 infantry, 21,000 cavalry, and 22,000 artillery. To these might be added 27,000 irregular corps and garrisons in Buda, Peterwaradein, Komorn, and Arad, which formed the principal *points d'appui* of the insurrection. The main armies, under Georgey and Dembinski, were destined to make head against the two great hosts of Haynau and Paskewitch. The former, stationed on the Upper Danube, in front of Presburg, consisted of 61 battalions, 72 squadrons, and 209 guns, and mustered 29,000 infantry, 8000 cavalry, and 9000 artillery. The second corps, under Dembinski, at Eperies, styled the Army of the North, was less numerous; it consisted of 24 battalions, 12 squadrons, and 57 guns; it could not assemble more than 20,000 combatants. Bem's forces in Transylvania contained 47 battalions, 29 squadrons, and 202 guns, numbering 34,000 effective men. Perczel's corps, in the Bannat, contained 32 battalions, 28 squadrons, and 88 guns; it could bring 24,000 men into the field.

6. Georgey at this juncture had firmly resolved to publish a declaration, saying, “The declaration of independence is invalid; long live the constitution of 1848!” and to have

dispersed, at the point of the bayonet, the democrats who signed the declaration of independence. But to the realisation of this project it was indispensable that the enemy should be driven beyond the frontier; and this was no easy matter; for the jealousy of Kossuth, and his suspicion of the hostile designs of Georgey, deprived the latter of the force requisite for a successful advance. This explains what would be otherwise inexplicable—viz., the inactivity of the Hungarians in the interval between the fall of Buda on the 28th May, and the arrival of the Russian division at Haynau's headquarters on the 14th June, which, for the first time, put him in a condition to make head against them. This interval was big with the fate of Hungary and of Europe; for, beyond all doubt, had Kossuth, in those three precious weeks before the arrival of the first Russian reinforcements, placed the bulk of the Hungarian forces at Georgey's disposal, that general would have driven the Imperialists back to Vienna and carried that capital. But Kossuth dreaded Georgey even more than the Russians; and, accordingly, the latter tells us that his inactivity during this momentous interval was owing to the want of ammunition, and the wretched condition of the new levies forwarded to him by the Government, great part of whom were unable to take the field, being hardly in a condition to go through the first rudiments of military drill. To this fatal conduct—the direct consequence of Kossuth's unjustifiable usurpation of the government—the loss of the cause of Hungarian independence is mainly to be ascribed.*

7. The division Paniutine arrived at Presburg on the 14th June, and

operations commenced on the 16th to the north of the Danube, on the banks of the Waag, where the Hungarians had established bridges, and passed over two corps with which they were preparing to push forward towards Vienna, in order to drive the enemy over the frontier. After several combats with various success, the Austrians concentrated Wohlgenuth's corps and Paniutine's division behind the Waag, and offered the Hungarians battle. Twelve battalions of Paniutine's division formed the centre. Georgey was inferior in force, but being unwilling to withdraw his troops, without fighting, to the left bank of the Waag, which they had crossed, he determined to stand the shock. The Hungarian leader rode on the morning of the 21st in front of his lines at Pered, bidding his men recollect Buda and the glories of their ancestors. The conflict for some hours was very warm, and the result doubtful. Several squadrons of Magyars charged with extreme impetuosity, and broke some Austrian battalions; Georgey for a short time flattered himself with the hopes of decisive success. Vain hope! The Hungarian left was outflanked by the capture of the village of Kiralyrew by the Austrian right; their centre, after being shaken by the fire of twenty-four guns on its left flank, and the advance by two brigades on its right, was finally routed by a charge of Paniutine's cuirassiers, supported by two Russian battalions and four guns. The Russian general upon this assumed a vigorous offensive, and after a sharp conflict drove the enemy out of the village of Pered, and took four guns. At the same time the Hungarian right, threatened with being turned by the

* "By the middle of June, scarce half the promised recruits for the main army were on the spot, and the formation of the reserve corps was in a still worse plight; for the recruits already raised were not, as Szemere had affirmed, awaiting their destination. On the contrary, the *cadres* of the battalions had to await the results of the levy only just set on foot, while of the supplies necessary for clothing, arming, and equipping these men, no traces were to be seen till about the middle of June. Not less base than the

official assurances of Szemere and Kossuth respecting it, had the latter's stereotyped asseveration, constantly recurring since the beginning of April, proved to be, that the army was to be reinforced by from twelve to sixteen thousand men, who, it was said, were unnecessary to Field-Marshal-Lieut. Bem. I saw at last—too late, unfortunately—that I had acted imprudently in delaying the long-intended offensive movement even for a single day—from relying on Kossuth's and Szemere's promises."—GEORGEY, II. 116, 117.

brigades Pott and Perin, fell back at all points, and their whole army recrossed the Waag, the fatal limit of their conquests. In this battle the Hungarians lost 2500 men and the prestige of victory. Thus early in the contest did the value of the Russian veterans of Panintine appear.

8. While hostilities were thus commencing on the Waag, the main Russian army under Paskewitch was concentrated at Dukla, immediately to the north of the Carpathian Mountains. The three corps of which it was composed broke up on the 17th June in three columns, and commenced the march into Hungary. They experienced no serious resistance in the passes of the mountains, though the strongest of them had been armed with fortifications. The Hungarians, now under Vysocki, 20,000 strong, retired before them, and the Russian advanced-guard arrived at Miskolcz. There, however, they encountered a more serious enemy than the bayonets of the Hungarians, in the form of the cholera, which broke out with such violence in the army that in a few days it carried off 5000 men. Constrained to halt his main body by this terrible disaster, Paskewitch despatched one corps to cross the Theiss at Tokay, in order to threaten Debreczin. The bridge at that place having been broken down, a hundred Cossacks stripped off their clothes, took their sabres in their teeth, and swam across. The Magyars, astonished at this act on the part of these hardy children of the desert, abandoned their defensive position on the left bank, and Tschodaeff, having thrown a bridge over, advanced to Debreczin, which he entered on the 6th July. The occupation of this city—the cradle of the insurrection, and so long the seat of government—spread general consternation in central Hungary, and, by diffusing the belief that the cause was hopeless, powerfully contributed to check the formation of the new levies and volunteer corps which was going on in the interior. The Russian troops preserved the most rigid discipline, and

protected both the persons and property of the inhabitants; which furnished a striking contrast to the savage atrocities which had signalled the passage of the Magyars through the same city some months previously.

9. Haynau, having concentrated the whole Austrian main army at Presburg, now vigorously assumed the offensive on the right bank of the Danube, and his advanced-guard, under Schlick, arrived before Raab on the 27th June, driving before it the Hungarian corps of Poltenberg, 12,000 strong. The young Emperor of Austria, who was full of military ardour, soon after arrived at headquarters, and put himself at the head of his troops. He was most anxious to lead the storming party, but the unnecessary risk thence arising was saved by the retreat of the Hungarians, and Schlick, attended by the Emperor, entered Raab on the 28th June, after a brave but not very prolonged resistance. At the same time the Emperor of Russia repaired in person to Dukla, where he passed in review the numerous reserve corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which were daily passing through that town on their way to join the grand army. On the other side Kossuth, with his lady, who sat on his right, made a triumphant entry into Pesth, in an open chariot drawn by four splendid horses, his head crowned with laurel, attended by a magnificent *cortège* of Magyar nobles on foot and horseback, and the whole troops in either capital, amidst the cheers of the multitude, and the roar of artillery on both sides the Danube.

10. Sanguinary engagements soon succeeded the approach of the chiefs on either side to the theatre of war. The insurgents, pressed by Haynau with the grand Austrian army in front and flank, had retired from Raab to Komorn. Before their arrival at that place they were joined by two corps from the opposite bank of the Danube, raising their force to nearly 30,000 men. A furious combat took place at the conclusion of this retrograde movement on the 2d July. It began by an attack on the Austrian advanced-

guard, consisting of Schlick's corps, which was suddenly assailed as it issued forth from the forest of Harkaly by Georgey in person, at the head of the whole Hungarian horse, supported by the corps of Poltenberg. So violent was the onset that the Imperialists were driven back in utter confusion to Acz, and Schlick sent the most urgent entreaties to Paniutine to come up to his assistance. The Russian general, without waiting orders from his general-in-chief, hastened to his aid, and arrived just in time to save the Austrians from a total defeat. Georgey, who charged at the head of his hussars like a simple colonel, and fought in the *mêlée* with the energy of a private soldier, was wounded in the head, and taken from the field insensible. His fall, and the vigour of Paniutine's attack, restored the fortunes of the day. The Russian guns, placed on some sandhills, opened a heavy fire on the Hungarian columns when disordered by victory. The result was decisive. The Hungarians, after an obstinate resistance, were obliged to abandon the field of battle, and retire on their intrenchments under the cannon of Komorn, leaving the Imperialists the entire command of the forest of Acz, which was indispensable to the blockade of that fortress. In this hard-fought action, which did equal honour to the troops on either side, the loss to each was 1500 men.

11. After this check, Klapka, taking the wounded Georgey with him, withdrew into an intrenched camp in front of Komorn. The Russian army under Paskewitch was now at Miskolez, that of Haynau before Komorn; each, but more especially the former, largely outnumbering the Hungarian force opposed to it. Under these circumstances, Kossuth and his military adviser Dembinski resolved to withdraw the army of Georgey from the Upper Danube, and that of Vysocki, who now commanded the corps opposed to Paskewitch, from the Upper Theiss, and to unite their whole forces at Szegedin on the Lower Theiss, in the central position formed by the junction of

that river with the Maros. To this Georgey was strongly opposed. He held that Komorn was the best strategic position in Hungary, and that the plan formed on the possession of an interior line of communications, which presented most chances of success, was for Vysocki to unite with him by forced marches, and for both to throw themselves upon the grand Austrian army before the Russians came up. To this Kossuth would by no means agree, as it involved the resignation of his communications with Transylvania and the Turkish frontier; and so indignant was he, that, as will be hereafter shown, he deprived Georgey of the command of his army, and that general retained it only in consequence of the evident determination of his troops to obey no other leader. It was finally arranged, in a council of war held at Komorn on the 6th July, to unite the army of the Upper Danube with the Hungarian forces on the Lower Theiss; but to allow Georgey, in the first instance, to try the result of an attack, with his own troops alone, upon that of Haynau. Meanwhile Perczel's corps, and the whole new levies in the interior, were to move on Debreczin, drive the Russians from that town, and restore the communication of the army with Bem in Transylvania; and Vysocki was to fall back towards Ketskemet, on the road from Szegedin to Pesth. The movement of Georgey took place on the 11th July. The Magyar general issued forth from the intrenched camp, on the right bank of the Danube, with forces superior to the Austrians, for he had 53 battalions, 70 squadrons, and 206 guns; while Haynau had only 53 battalions, 49 squadrons, and 176 guns. The Imperial battalions, too, were very incomplete, for 16,000 sick encumbered their hospitals, occasioned by the heat of the weather and the fatigue of the troops. The third corps of the Austrians was marching on Pesth, and could not take a part in the action.

12. Klapka commanded in the battle, as Georgey's wound prevented him from sitting on horseback. The object

of the attack was to gain the entire course of the Czonekzo brook from its mouth to Igmand, which would compel the Austrians to evacuate their position, which surrounded the intrenched camp. The Hungarians had the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication. At nine in the morning the Magyars, preceded by a numerous cavalry, debouched in dense columns from the *tête-de-pont*, and planted twenty batteries in position in the forest of Harkaly, while Haynan at the first cannon-shot hurried to the spot, and hastily drew up his troops in order of battle. The first onset of the Hungarians was so impetuous that the Austrians were entirely routed in the centre, and the village of Csem, the key of the position, was carried. All seemed lost, for a huge gap had been made in the middle of the Imperialist line, into which the Hungarian columns, with loud shouts, and in all the confidence of victory, were rapidly pouring. But in that extremity the Austrian support, with the Russian division of Paniutine, and all the reserve guns, hastened to the spot, and met the advancing column with the discharge of eighty pieces of cannon, "the fire of which," says Klapka, "caused the very earth to shake." The Austrians kept their ground, the Hungarians did the same; but they did not advance,—and this to them was equivalent to a defeat. Fresh troops came up to take the place of those which were weakened on either side, but the Imperialists were strongest, and at length began to prevail in the centre. General Leiningen, seeing this, placed himself at the head of the Hungarian reserve, and made a furious charge on the Austrian centre. It was attended at first with great success. But here again the Russian division Paniutine interposed with decisive effect, and changed the face of the day. Their guns, suddenly brought up, opened with terrible effect on the Hungarian flank; Georgey, wounded as he was, appeared on the field, and strove to rally his shattered columns; and after the most heroic efforts on

both sides, the Hungarians were repulsed, and the Austrians remained masters of this hard-fought field.

13. In this obstinate battle the Austrians lost 64 officers and 1536 men, and, including the Russian loss, they were weakened by full 2000 men, which was also the amount of the Hungarian casualties. But the consequences of the action were eminently disastrous to the latter. Foiled in his attempt to drive them from their position before Komorn, or arrest the march of the corps despatched against Pesth, which entered that capital on the 12th, Georgey, who had now so far recovered as to resume the command-in-chief of the army, threw Klapka, with 18,000 men and 76 field-pieces, into that great fortress, while he himself, with 28,000, moved as rapidly as possible by the left bank of the Danube to Waitzen, hoping to anticipate there the Russian advanced-guard of Paskewitch's army under General Sass, which was approaching by forced marches along the Gyöngyös road to the same town. The object was of vital importance; for if the Russians made themselves masters of that town, they were interposed between Georgey and Vysocki, the Hungarian forces were cut in two, and all the advantages of their central position lost. Arrived in front of Waitzen on the 15th July, Georgey found the town occupied by a *Mussulman* regiment, forming the advanced-guard of Sass's column, which had entered it without resistance.

14. Having collected all his disposable troops, the Hungarian general marched upon Waitzen with 30,000 men and 120 pieces of cannon. On his approach the Russian light-horse retired through the town, and the Hungarians took a position in front of and on a ridge of low hills, which were lined by their numerous artillery. The Russian cavalry, supported by a brigade of infantry under General Rudiger, and transported by ardour, assaulted this position before the main body of their infantry arrived; but the Hungarian guns were too heavy for them, and they were repulsed with serious

loss. Next day, however (July 16), the heads of the infantry column began to appear, and entered into action, having made a forced march of eight German, or *thirty-two English, miles*, in twelve hours. The Grand-Duke Constantine led one of the attacking columns, and showed an example to the troops of the most distinguished valour. For some hours the Hungarians opposed a desperate resistance, and held the position, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Muscovites. But they fought only to cover the retreat of their main body, which defiled through the town all night without intermission, and next morning their position, so obstinately contested on the preceding day, was found to be deserted. The town of Waitzen was immediately occupied, and the main body of the Magyar army retired in good order, by a circuitous mountain road, through Losonez and Miskolcz, towards the Theiss.

15. Another desperate and bloody action took place a few days after between the second Russian corps, which Paskewitch had moved up to support Rudiger at Waitzen, and the corps of Perczel, which the Hungarians sent to intercept it.* On this occasion the Magyars were superior in numbers, having 15,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with 14 guns, while the Russians were only 16,000 of all arms. The Russian advanced-guard consisted of two regiments of cavalry, under Count Tolstoy. It was suddenly assailed on all sides at Zombor on the 20th by the Hungarian horse, which charged with the utmost vigour, and, having cut off the detachment, summoned it to surrender. But the Russians indignantly rejected the proposal, and, closing their ranks, prepared to perish to the last man in defence of their standards. Their resolution met with the deserved reward. Tolstoy had a trifling reserve, which he directed by a skilful charge on the flank of the enemy, and the

shock was so violent that the Hungarian hussars yielded, and time was gained for the arrival of a division of infantry, which, by a heavy fire, completed the discomfiture of the enemy. The Hungarian main army under Dembinski, disconcerted by this repulse, retired towards Szegedin, not without experiencing considerable losses in their retreat.

16. During these repeated disasters the utmost discouragement prevailed at Pesth, where the dissension between the national party headed by Georgey, and the democratic led by Kossuth, was daily becoming more violent. Disturbances broke out, and Kossuth, with the Government, deeming themselves no longer in safety in the capital, retired to Szegedin, and both Buda and Pesth were occupied, as already mentioned, on the 12th July, by the Austrians. In vain Kossuth strove to revive the spirits of the people by a proclamation, in which he announced that the "brave French, and the not less brave English, were marching to their support, and would not permit them to be crushed in an unequal contest." Every one saw that such succour, even if sent, would come too late, and that the existence of Hungary could not be prolonged beyond a few weeks. Georgey, with military frankness, explained the real state of affairs in a council of war. "Before long," said he, "the converging march of the Imperial armies will bring us into a situation in which we must either capitulate or be killed to the last man. The loss of Hungary is now only a question of weeks, which time will soon resolve. But if Hungary is to fall, it is of little importance whether it is to sink before Austria or Russia; whether Haynau or Paskewitch is to deal out the last blow. What we are really interested in knowing is, to which of these powers we shall be assigned on a partition of the division of the spoil—what we require to see is, to which our dying efforts may cause us to fall." Instructed by his spies of the gloomy view which the commander-in-chief took of their affairs, Paskewitch despatched (19th July) several secret

* The Russians having withdrawn their troops from Debreczin, the movement of Perczel upon that town was no longer necessary, and his corps consequently remained under Dembinski's orders.

emissaries with proposals for him to capitulate on honourable terms, and terminate a contest which all must see was hopeless. But though no one was better aware of this than Georgey, he answered (July 24) as became a soldier and a man of honour. "If I alone was concerned individually, and the safety of my troops, I should not be disinclined to listen to the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. But the salvation of Hungary is at stake, the existence of which the Emperor of Russia, and those about him, intend to destroy. We must fight, therefore, until our peaceful fellow-citizens are saved from the danger of subjugation, or we ourselves are destroyed in the struggle. This is my answer as a soldier, and the commander of the troops intrusted to me by the State."

17. Kossuth, who feared Georgey even more than the Russians, had seized the opportunity of the wound of the latter at the battle of Acz to remove him (1st July) from the command of the army, and recall him to headquarters to discharge the duties of minister-at-war. This recall from active service was a thunderbolt to the brave general, and a very different result from what he expected from his glorious efforts, as his wound by no means disabled him from retaining the command. But his staff, who were highly indignant at this dismissal, sent Klapka and Nagy Sandor to the Government, who laid before them such accounts of the feelings of the army on the subject, that Kossuth deemed it prudent to dissemble, and Georgey was (July 8th) restored to the command of the army of the Upper Danube. He resigned, however, the post of minister-at-war, and General Mezaros was appointed commander-in-chief. Soon after Kossuth offered Bem the situation of commander-in-chief, but that able officer, who well knew how much the common cause had suffered from the alteration of military movements by the civil authorities, refused to accept it, unless he was left supreme and absolutely uncontrolled in his movements. This the tribune was not prepared to admit, and according-

ly the negotiation with Bem came to nothing, and Georgey retained the command of the army of the Upper Danube, while Dembinski held that of the troops concentrated on the Lower Theiss.

18. By the result of the movements which have been described, the Austrians and Russians had not only themselves gained a very great strategic advantage, but they had deprived the Hungarians of the chief one which they had hitherto enjoyed, and which had been the main cause of the comparative equality with which they had maintained the contest. In the outset of the campaign with the Russians, the latter threatened Hungary from the Carpathian Mountains on the north-east, and the Austrians from the side of Vienna on the west; but the Hungarians held the whole country between the two, and enjoyed the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication, supported by strong fortresses, which would enable them to accumulate their forces at pleasure against either of their assailants, before the latter could by possibility effect a corresponding junction of forces on their side. But by the result of the combined movements of Paskewitch and Haynau, this advantage had not only been lost to the insurgents, but it had been gained to their opponents. By the advance of the latter on the right bank of the Danube to Pesth, and the descent of the former from the Carpathian Mountains into the central plain between that capital and the Theiss, the invading armies had entered into direct communication in the heart of Hungary; while Georgey's army had been driven into a wide and eccentric retreat through the Carpathian Mountains before he could rejoin the army of Dembinski, which had retired to the south to Szegedin to cover the seat of government. The Hungarian armies were thus scattered by the blows delivered at the heart of their country; Georgey was in the Carpathian Mountains, Dembinski on the frontiers of Croatia, Bem in Transylvania, while the Aus-

trians and Russians occupied the great plain of central Hungary.

19. Georgey's march through the mountain country by Losonez and Miskolcz upon Tokay, through the lower spurs of the Carpathians, was admirably conceived in this respect, that while it opened to him a mountain route through a difficult country, in which it was not likely he would be followed by the Russians, to the Theiss, where he might hope to regain his communication with Dembinski and Bem, it at the same time effectually took the pressure of the enemy off the former and the seat of government, and, in his own words, "secured to Dembinski the possibility of employing the southern forces *against the Austrians alone*." He compelled Paskewitch to follow him, for he threw himself directly on his communications with Galicia and Poland, his base of operations. The desired effect, accordingly, immediately took place. Suddenly halting all his troops in their advance to the south-west, the Russian general moved his headquarters with the second and third corps by Gyongyos back on Kapolna, while the fourth corps was pushed up nearer to the mountains, through which Georgey was toiling. Both parties were now making for the Theiss; the Russians by the shorter and interior, the Hungarians by the longer and exterior circle. The advanced-guard of the former army arrived, on the 25th July, on the banks of that river near Poroszlo. Gortschakoff, who commanded the Russian advanced-guard, found, on drawing near the river at that place, that the approach to it was by a single chaussée traversing a swamp, impassable for carriages, occupied by five thousand men and ten guns. Though his men were worn out by a long march in a sultry day, Gortschakoff gave the signal for attack; and after a severe action the defile was carried, the bridge over the Theiss which the Hungarians had broken down restored, and the road to Debreczin thrown open. Georgey, meanwhile, had halted for a few days on the Hermaid, a stream flowing from

the north-west into the Upper Theiss, in order at once to rest his wearied men, to retain the main Russian army in the north, and to gain time for the junction of a division, 7000 strong, left in the Marmaros, or north-east angle of Hungary.

20. Having won a bridge over the Theiss at this point, Paskewitch immediately threw another over at Csage, and his troops in great numbers began to cross. This rendered it necessary for Georgey to retire with the utmost expedition to Tokay, to avoid being intercepted in his exterior circuit. To cover the retreat towards the south from that point, and delay the advance of the Russians as much as possible, he detached a corps of his army under Nagy Sandor, with instructions to take a defensive position, and keep the enemy off from Debreczin as long as practicable. With the main body he followed a more circuitous road to the eastward of that town leading upon Gros-Wardein. This brought on an obstinate and bloody action on the 2d August. At two in the afternoon of the 1st, the Russian advanced-guard under Prince Bebutoff suddenly came on the Hungarian advanced posts, about a mile in front of Debreczin; and as the strength of the enemy was unknown, and they showed no disposition to retreat, Paskewitch halted his men; the equipages were left behind, and the whole army, consisting of the second and third corps, with a strong reserve, and a division of the fourth, nearly forty thousand combatants of all arms, advanced. Nagy Sandor thought the enemy were a single corps only, and that he had nothing to fear, inasmuch that, on the forenoon of the 2d, when Paskewitch made his attack, he was in Debreczin at a banquet given him by the inhabitants of that place. The Russians on their side were nearly as much taken by surprise; their advanced-guard, on approaching the enemy, were suddenly assailed by a shower of canister and grape from forty pieces of cannon placed in a masked battery, and found themselves in front of eighteen thousand men,

strongly posted on a line of sandhills covering the town. Overwhelmed by the iron tempest, the Russian soldiers fell back, and Paskewitch, seeing the affair had become so serious, ordered up four heavy batteries of position to reply to the enemy's guns.

21. The combat now became more equal; and the Russian horse-artillery having come up, their guns answered with effect the discharges of the enemy. Still the Hungarian masses arranged behind the guns stood firm, and barred all access to the town. The cannonade continued for some hours without any advantage being gained by the Russians; but at length the experienced eye of Paskewitch detected a quarter on the enemy's right where an attack might be made. He immediately directed against this point two divisions from the reserve, supported by four batteries, while a column of infantry, with a division of cavalry, marched straight, with drums-beating, and in an ostentatious manner, towards the town. This movement was attended with entire success. The Hungarians had no adequate reserve to oppose to these fresh bodies, by which their flank was turned and their retreat threatened at the same time that their front was attacked; their cavalry, assailed by greatly superior masses, was driven from the field and dispersed. The victory was now gained. The Hungarian infantry, torn in flank by a terrible fire from the Russian guns, was no longer able to keep its ground, and was driven back into the town, closely followed by the *Circassian and Mussulman* horse, which chased them through the streets and far on the other side. In this disastrous battle the Hungarians lost 7 guns, 3000 prisoners, and their whole baggage, besides 1500 killed and wounded, while the entire Russian loss was 980. Paskewitch immediately entered Debreczin, where he established his headquarters; and on the following day a solemn service was held in the same church, and *Te Deum* sung, where, a few months before, the dethronement of the house of Hapsburg had been proclaimed. Meanwhile Georgy, highly

indignant at the surprise of his lieutenant, whom he deprived of the command, continued his circuitous retreat by Gros-Wardein towards Arad in deep dejection, but with a military ability, considering the difficulties with which he had to contend, which forms not the least honourable part of his career.

22. While these decisive blows in the centre of Hungary were depriving the insurgents of their last hopes in the quarter where their chief forces had hitherto lain, disaster equally serious and unbroken had, notwithstanding the talents and energy of General Bem, occurred in Transylvania. It has been already mentioned that, simultaneously with the resumption of active operations by the Russian and Austrian armies, an invasion of that province was to be attempted from the side of Wallachia by General Luders, and from the Bukovine by General Grottenhelm. Luders accordingly, on the 1st July, moved through the mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia, with twelve thousand men, with which he forced the pass of Tomosch, which had been fortified by the insurgents with great care, and made himself master of Kronstadt. On the day following, Grottenhelm had a similar success, by forcing the defile at Tihutza, and throwing back the insurgents on Altorf. Having gained an entry into the province in this manner, Luders followed up his successes with vigour. Crossing the Aluta, and clearing the pass of the Rothenthurm, he advanced fighting all the way to Hermanstadt, which was occupied on the 21st without resistance. But meanwhile Bem was not idle. He had come, by his inexhaustible resources and marvellous victories, to exercise a superstitious influence over the minds both of the soldiers and the peasantry, who regarded him as not only invincible, but invulnerable, and firmly believed that guardian angels watched over his person. Supported by this confidence, he struggled with wonderful energy, at the head of eighteen thousand men, against the converging forces of the

enemy, and even on some occasions gained considerable advantages over them.

23. Though defeated by General Grottenhelm at Fekendorf, Turiak, and several other places in the north of Transylvania, he appeared again as a conqueror at Taad, and showed how inexhaustible the resources of a general of capacity may be when he is cordially supported by a considerable portion of the people. Turning to the south, he advanced swiftly on Kronstadt, which was now only occupied by the small Austrian corps of General Clamm; but that active officer met him and repulsed him on the banks of the Aluta. Luders, on his part, wearied with incessant combats with an adversary whose resources seemed to multiply with every defeat which he experienced, collected all the forces he could command, and marched, on the 29th July, on Segesvar, of which he obtained possession without resistance. Bem, having also concentrated his forces at Marosvasarhely, marched on the same place; and the two armies, of nearly equal strength, each mustering about thirteen thousand combatants, met on the 31st July near the village of Weiskirchen. "At last we have them; this time they shall not escape," said Luders, when his Cossacks announced the presence of the enemy; and immediately dividing his troops into two columns, he gave the signal for attack. Bem's men, who were by this time veterans tried in twenty combats, for three hours withstood the attack of the Muscovite battalions with great resolution; but at length the Russian commander threw some squadrons of horse on their right flank, when disordered by a successful bayonet-charge, which had been headed by Bem in person. This movement was decisive. The Magyars were speedily routed, and fled from the field in disorder, closely pursued by the Russian horse, who chased them several miles from the field of battle. Bem himself, who had combated with the utmost resolution, was only saved from capture by

the aid of some Hungarian hussars, who dragged him out of a marsh in which he had taken refuge during the heat of the pursuit. The losses of the insurgents in this disastrous battle were very serious; they had 1800 killed, 2300 wounded, nearly the whole of whom fell into the hands of the Russians, and lost eight guns, two standards, and great quantities of baggage and ammunition. The casualties of the Russians did not exceed 900 men in all; but among them was General Skariatine, one of the most promising officers of their army.

24. But while Europe was every day expecting to hear of his death or capture, Bem again collected his scattered forces at Maros-Vasarhely, drew together reinforcements from every quarter, and, moving to the south by forced marches, made an attack on Hermanstadt, which was now garrisoned only by General Hasford. After a violent struggle of five hours' duration, the Russians were (August 5) driven out, and sought refuge in the woody recesses of the Rothenthurm Pass. Kossuth was highly elated when he heard of this unlooked-for success. "You see," said he, "Hungary is invincible; it is like the Phoenix, it rises from its ashes." But this was the last victory of the Hungarians. Luders no sooner heard of this disaster than he collected his troops, and advanced by forced marches to avenge the honour of the Muscovite arms. He reached Hermanstadt on the very day after Bem had entered it in triumph; the attack was commenced instantly; and the insurgents, flushed with their success on the preceding day, issued forth to anticipate the assault of the enemy. The conflict was very bloody, and for some time doubtful, for both sides fought with the utmost resolution, and were inspired by the most violent passions. At length, however, Luders, having got all his troops in hand, and brought up his last reserves, made a simultaneous attack on the centre and right wing of the insurgents. Bem advanced gallantly at the head of his cavalry to

meet the attack ; but at the very moment when the *mêlée* took place, his men were suddenly charged by a body of Russian horse on his right flank, who issued from an ambuscade. This manœuvre proved fatal. The Magyar horse broke and took to flight, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Bem to rally them, and were quickly followed by the rest of the army. This defeat was fatal to the insurgent cause in Transylvania. They lost six hundred killed, five hundred wounded, twelve hundred prisoners, and all their artillery and ammunition, being fourteen guns and twenty-eight tumbrils. The whole insurgent force, utterly desperate, disbanded ; and Bem, finding himself left without an army, repaired, attended only by a body of officers whose fidelity nothing could shake, to Temesvar, to join the last remnant of the Hungarian armies under the walls of that town. Lüders himself, after this victory, directed his forces towards the valley of Maros, and on the road came up with a body of the insurgents near Karlsburg, whom he defeated with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon and fifteen hundred prisoners.

25. While disaster was thus prostrating the insurgent cause in the north and east, events of the utmost moment were occurring in the south, on the Croatian frontier. It was hard to say which party was there most severely pressed ; for, on the one hand, the insurgent Government, which had retired to Szegedin on the Theiss, had no adequate force to oppose to Haynau, who was pressing on in close pursuit ; and, on the other, Arad had been forced by starvation and disease to capitulate, and the Austrian garrison of Temesvar were now at the last extremity, reduced by sickness, famine, and the sword, from 8000 to 1500 men, and in extreme want of provisions. The honour of the Austrian arms was involved in rescuing this band of heroes from their beleaguering enemies ; but the distances were great, the heat was overpowering, the drought excessive ; and the relieving army would have nearly as much to suffer as the besieged

before the deliverance could be effected. But Haynau, knowing that Paskewitch was interposed between him and Georgey, whose army formed the real strength of the insurgents, and relying on the ardour and spirit of his troops, pushed on in three columns from Pesth, through every difficulty, animating his fainting soldiers by the prospect of effecting the deliverance of their comrades. The Austrian outposts appeared before Szegedin on the 2d August, and entered that city without resistance, the Government and Diet having retired to Arad. Considerable stores of ammunition and provisions were found in the place.

26. The insurgents, however, had no intention, though they had abandoned Szegedin, which was on the right bank of the Theiss, of surrendering without a struggle the passage of that river. Their forces, numerically speaking, were strong ; for Dembinski had concentrated all the detached corps and new levies round the seat of government, and collected thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and a hundred guns on its left bank. The ground there is extremely flat and marshy ; and the Hungarian general had skilfully availed himself of a dyke which stretches two miles along the river from the bridge-head of Szegedin, in which he had cut fifty embrasures, filled with as many guns, behind which his army was posted in a very advantageous position. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 3d, the Hungarian guns opened a prodigious fire from this formidable battery when the Imperialists endeavoured to cross ; and although the Austrian artillery replied at the distance of only six hundred yards, yet their discharges produced very little effect, as the balls, for the most part, stuck on the dyke. Seeing this, the Austrian general detached two battalions to ford the Theiss below the bridge. They succeeded in doing so unobserved, and suddenly assailing the flank of the enemy, forced them to retire from part of the armed dyke ; and upon this the Austrians re-established the bridge which had been partially broken down, and began to pass

over. The Hungarians, however, collecting in a body, made a last effort to arrest the enemy, and with such vigour that the Austrians were driven back in great disorder to the neighbourhood of the *île-de-pont*. But the division Paniuting, which had so often interposed with decisive effect at the critical moment, was now brought forward. Quickly crossing the river, a battalion of those noble veterans stemmed the torrent, arrested the advance of the victorious Hungarians, and restored the fortunes of the day. Dembinski, though twice wounded, refused to leave the field, and with his staff made the most heroic exertions to reanimate his men; but in spite of all their efforts, they gave ground before the steady advance and deadly volleys of the Russians. At the same time intelligence arrived that the third Austrian corps had forced the passage of the Theiss at Kanisa on one side, and the first corps at Mako on the other; and Dembinski, seeing himself in this manner repulsed in the centre, and turned on both flanks, fell back at all points towards Temesvar.

27. Dembinski now called a council of war, to consider whether they should any longer continue a contest which had apparently become hopeless. But it was unanimously resolved that they must try the fortune of war a last time under the walls of Temesvar; and thither, accordingly, all the columns were directed. Their forces, as they retired, greatly swelled in number, from the concourse of armed men on all sides, who hastened, some from courage, some from fear, to join the last army of independence. They amounted, when they reached Temesvar, to 40,000 combatants, with 130 guns. But great part were raw levies; and they were all extremely dejected, from the long-continued disasters which they had undergone, and the overwhelming fatigues with which these had been accompanied. These fatigues, however, told as severely upon their pursuers as on themselves; and even more so, from the open hostility or sullen indifference of the inhabitants of the country through which they passed. The suf-

ferings of the army of Haynau, during the advance from Szegedin to Temesvar, were almost unparalleled. The open plain afforded no shelter either from the rays of the sun during the day or the dews of the bivouac during the night. The inhabitants had all fled from their homes, after poisoning the wells by throwing into them the dead bodies of men or animals; and often the only refreshment the wearied soldiers dying of thirst could get during twenty-four hours, was obtained by wringing from their jackets the plentiful dews which fell during the night. Still they struggled on with heroic constancy, in hopes of arriving in time to save the remnant of the garrison of Temesvar; and great was the joy of the troops of all arms when, on the evening of the 9th August, the domes of that city were descried, with the enemy drawn up in a defensive position, barring all access to it, save what might be won by the sword. Being joined by the corps of Vetter, and the blockading force before Temesvar, as well as the fugitives from Transylvania, they numbered 50,000 men, with 130 pieces of cannon.

28. The Austrians were numerically inferior, from the great losses they had experienced during their long and toilsome march; they were only 32,000 at the point of attack; but among these were the redoubtable veterans of Paniuting, and they had 190 guns. The Hungarians were posted strongly on a line of sandhills, and vineyards or orchards on rising ground, which formed a natural protection against all but vertical firing, and they received the attack of the Imperialists with the utmost resolution. The action began on the 9th, at five in the morning, and continued with the utmost vivacity, and no apparent advantage on either side, till eleven in the forenoon, when it suddenly ceased on that of the Hungarians, and was succeeded by loud acclamations from every part of the line, accompanied by the cry of "Bem! Bem!" vociferated by forty thousand voices. In effect, it was the Transylvanian hero, who, by great exertions, had come up by the valley of Maros,

in time to take part in the action; realising thus, on a greater theatre than the field of Flodden, the vision of the poet forty years before—

"When such a shout there rose
Of 'Marmion! Marmion!' that the cry,
Up Flodden mountain shrilling high,
Startled the Scottish foe."*

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm, Bem, who immediately assumed the command, after casting a hasty glance over the field of battle, put himself at the head of the Magyar cavalry, and made a headlong charge on the Austrian left. So violent was the onset, that the line in that quarter was in a few seconds broken through and routed, and the whole wing took to flight in the utmost disorder. The battle seemed gained; for Bem, having demolished the Austrian left, was pressing on in full career against their centre, when he was arrested by Paniutine's division, and the reserve artillery which Haynau in haste brought up to stem the torrent. The veterans of Russia, closing their ranks, received the charge with a rolling fire, the front rank kneeling: the artillery at the same time ploughed through the flanks of the victorious horsemen, and they were forced to recoil. Shortly after, Lichtenstein, whose corps had just come up on the Austrian left, successfully turned the Hungarian right; the artillery in the centre acquired the superiority over that of the enemy; and Haynau in person led on the main body to the charge. Upon this the insurgents retreated at all points; and their soldiers who had fought so nobly, now utterly desperate, in great part threw away their arms and dispersed.

29. The shades of evening had now set in, and the troops who had combated since five in the morning, under a burning sun, were ready to drop down with fatigue; and the horses were unable to strike into a trot. But Temesvar was not yet relieved; and it was not known that the garrison, having exhausted their last provisions, were on the point of perishing of famine. In these circumstances, Haynau

* *Marmion*, canto vi.

adopted a resolution worthy of the very highest praise. Collecting the least exhausted of the horsemen and of the horse-artillery, he formed them into four squadrons and a flying battery, and putting himself at their head, he set out with all possible expedition to penetrate through the woods, still occupied by the enemy, and make his way into the beleaguered garrison. The gallant attempt met with entire success. The insurgents, on hearing the sound of the cavalry approaching, were seized with one of those panics so common after a hard-fought battle, and took to flight, dispersing in all directions. Haynau with his gallant followers made his entry, amidst the frantic acclamations of the worn-out garrison, into Temesvar; and provisions being quickly introduced, they were rescued from impending death. This memorable siege is one of the most glorious in the Austrian annals. It lasted one hundred and seven days, and during the half of that time the garrison, besides combating daily, had to contend with all the horrors of famine. The name of the brave commander, General RUKAWINA, deserves a place in the *Walthalla* of European fame.

30. If the defence of Temesvar is one of the most memorable events in the Austrian annals, the sally from Komorn about the same time may justly be ranked in a conspicuous place in the Hungarian. Klapka, who commanded the powerful garrison of that great fortress—fully equal in number to the blockading corps—not content with providing everything for its defence, resolved to strike a blow at the enemy by whom he was observed.* For this purpose he selected ten thousand of the most efficient troops of his garrison, and commenced an attack on the morning of the 3d August, on the Austrians, who were only six thousand strong, on the right bank of the Danube. The attack, which was ad-

* On the 30th July he had assailed the Austrian brigade which watched the fortress on the left bank of the Danube with a strong column, defeated it, and driven it back up the Danube as far as the line of the Waag. KLAPKA, i. 228-231.

mirably directed in two columns, completely succeeded. After a sharp contest, the forest of Harkaly was taken, the heights of Acz carried, and the Austrian intrenchments broken through at all points. Utterly routed, the Imperialists fled over the bridge of the Danube and back along its left bank to Presburg, where, as well as at Vienna itself, then utterly drained of troops, they spread the utmost alarm. Entirely in possession now of the right bank, Klapka made himself master of Raab, and completely cut off the communication between the main army under Haynau and the capital. In this brilliant affair the Hungarians took thirty pieces of cannon, a thousand prisoners, and an immense quantity of ammunition and military stores. A thousand Austrians fell in the battle and pursuit, with very little loss to the victors.

31. Brilliant as this success was, it came too late, and was too distant to have any sensible effect on the fate of the war. The decisive blows had been struck at Debreczin and Temesvar. The only chance of the insurgents after the last disaster would have been to have retreated rapidly and joined Georgey, who, by incredible exertions, had reached Arad on the 9th August, by circuitous and execrable roads, for the main road by Debreczin had been occupied by the enemy under Rudiger. If this junction were effected, the united armies would have presented a mass of 60,000 men, with 200 pieces of artillery, with which, in a central position, the Hungarian general might have struck redoubtable blows to the right or left at whichever of his adversaries first approached him. But to do this required a sacrifice of jealousies, to which the Hungarian generals, how brave and skilful soever, were not equal. If they joined Georgey at Arad, which they might easily have done, for it was only twenty-eight miles distant by an interior and safe line of communication, he would, in virtue of his rank, have taken the command both of Dembinski and Bem. This they could not endure, for both of them were Poles,

belonging to Kossuth's democratic party; while Georgey was the head of the national and aristocratic side. Add to this that both these generals, having come to despair of the insurgent cause, had determined to retire still farther to the south, instead of moving to the north towards Georgey, in order to secure their retreat across the frontier into the Turkish dominions. It was for this reason that they had retreated from Szegedin upon Temesvar instead of Arad, as Georgey had proposed. The consequence was, that when the advanced guard of Georgey's army broke up from Arad, and moved on the Temesvar road on the morning of the 10th on the way to that town, instead of meeting Dembinski's patrols as they might have done had that general retreated on that line, they encountered the advanced guard of the Austrians under Schlick, whom Haynau had hurried forward to interpose between the two Hungarian armies. Dembinski and Bem were meanwhi in the opposite direction by Lugos towards the Servian frontier. So demoralised were the Poles and Hungarians by their recent defeats, that on meeting the Austrians they fled up the valley of Maros.

32. The Hungarian cause was now utterly desperate; Georgey was irrevocably separated from Dembinski when within two marches of each other, and the united armies of Paskewitch and Haynau were interposed between them. Georgey saw plainly that the cause of independence was lost, and Kossuth, who was at Arad when the Magyar general reached that place, had at length come to be of the same opinion. In these circumstances, thinking that Georgey would be likely to receive better terms from the Russians than the republican tribune, they both agreed that the entire power, civil and military, of the commonwealth, should be vested in the former, who was (August 11) declared Dictator, with absolute power either for war or peace. Kossuth, in an eloquent proclamation,*

* "After several unfortunate battles, in which God, in the latter days, has proved

announced this determination to the nation, and Georgey threw himself into the breach, and accepted it. In an order of the day addressed to the nation, he said, "Hungarians! the Provisional Government has ceased to exist: the governor and the ministry have voluntarily relinquished their posts and the direction of public affairs. In these circumstances, a civil and military dictatorship is indispensable. I accept it. Everything which is possible in war or in peace for the good of the country shall be attempted—everything which can put a period to the cruelties, the persecutions, the assassinations. My sole advice to you is to retire and remain quietly in your dwellings; abandon all thoughts of combating or resisting. God, in His infinite wisdom, has decided on the fate of our country: Let us accept His decree with a manly resolution, and a firm conviction that the good cause is not lost for all eternity. Hungarians! God be with you."

33. Though all others, however, felt the necessity of yielding, Bem held on his way undaunted. By a circuitous route he repaired to Georgey's

the Hungarian nation, we have no longer any hope of continuing with success our defensive struggles against the considerable forces of the Austrians and Russians. In this state of affairs, the safety of the nation, and the security for its future, have come to depend entirely on the general who is at the head of the army; and I am profoundly convinced that the prolonged existence of the present Government would not only be useless to the nation, but might be attended with serious evils. I make known to the nation, as well in the name of myself as of the entire ministry, that, animated by the same sentiments which have guided all my steps, and induced the sacrifice of my entire existence to the good of our country, I retire from the Government, and invest with supreme military and civil power the general, Arthur Georgey, until the nation, in the exercise of its rights, sees fit to dispose of it otherwise. May he love his fatherland as disinterestedly as I have done, and may he be more fortunate than I have been in securing the prosperity of the nation! I can no longer be of use to the country by my actions; if my death can be of any service to it, I willingly give it the sacrifice of my life. May the God of justice and mercy be with the nation!—Kossuth."—Dated, Fortress of Arad, August 11, 1849.—BALLEYDIER, *Guerre de la Hongrie*, 338, 339.

headquarters, and earnestly implored him to continue the war, alleging that, with the 30,000 men whom he had under his orders, and the *debris* of other corps which could be collected, they could still muster an army of 100,000 men. But Georgey replied with truth that the troops, depressed by repeated defeats, worn out by interminable marches and counter-marches, without food, ammunition, shoes, or clothing, were in no condition to continue the war. "Poor Hungary! Unhappy Hungary!" exclaimed Bem; and mounting his horse, he refused Georgey's proffered hand, and, riding off, regained some hundred faithful followers, chiefly officers, in the forest of Lugos, the rendezvous assigned to them after the defeat of Temesvar. Assembling them around him at midnight under the boughs of the ancient forest, Bem said, "Hungary approaches its last hour. Betrayed by men rather than deserted by the chances of war, she is about to lay down her arms before the Imperial eagles of the Emperor Nicholas, and bow before the Prince of Warsaw. To-morrow the Imperial bulletins will proclaim to Europe, 'Order reigns in Pesth.' Soldiers! you know what that order is; it is the order of Warsaw, the abuse of victory, the order of the executioner. I have no wish to influence, or even know, your intentions, but I will tell you what are my own. As long as I have an inch of steel in my hand, or a brave man at my side, I will defend the cause to which I have devoted my body, my soul, my blood, and my life!" Loud applause followed these gallant words, and they all declared their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their country. But Bem explained to them that it was not in Hungary that the contest could be maintained; that they must look for the resurrection of Hungary from foreign lands, and that he would go forward to prepare the way. He gave the signal, accordingly, to such as chose to accompany him, and, attended by a few hundred unconquerable men, he set off for the

mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia.*

34. All was now accomplished. Georgey, seeing further resistance hopeless, and likely only to induce utter ruin on the country, addressed a noble letter to General Rudiger, proposing an unconditional surrender to the Russian army, and offering himself as a willing victim to the Austrian Government, in the hope that his blood might save that of his gallant companions in arms. He said, in that memorable document, "The greater, and I may say with sincerity, the better part of the nation have not entered lightly into this contest: but after having been drawn into it by a number of honourable men who appertain to foreign lands, they have persevered in the contest firmly, honourably, and not, as you know, without glory and success. I now perceive that a further effusion of blood would be useless, and fatal to Hungary, as I foresaw would be the case from the moment of the Russian intervention. I have invited the Provisional Government to resign their power, which was every day more and more compromising the fate of Hungary. They have acknowledged this truth, and done so by resigning their power into my hands. Influenced by these feelings, and in order to stop the effusion of blood, and deliver my fellow-citizens from the horrors of war, I lay down my arms. In acting thus, I place my confidence in the well-known generosity of his majesty the Czar, and I flatter myself with the hope that he will not abandon to their sad fate my brave companions in arms, who, formerly officers in the Austrian service, have found themselves involved by the force of circumstances in a war with that power. I indulge the hope that the Emperor of Russia will not deliver over the people

of Hungary, bowed down under the weight of misfortune, to the blind thirst for vengeance in their enemy. *It may be enough if I am the sole expiatory victim for all.* Hasten, then, General, to take the necessary steps to insure that the sad spectacle of disarming may be witnessed only by the troops of the Emperor of Russia, for I declare solemnly that I would rather sacrifice my whole army in a hopeless contest, than lay down its arms without conditions before the Austrian forces. To-morrow I shall march to VILAGOS: the day after to Boros-Jeno: and on the 14th to Beel. I indicate these points in order that you may know how to place your army between mine and the Austrians. Surround me on all sides, and separate me from them."

35. Having written this letter, Georgey summoned (Aug. 11) a council of war, laid it without a single comment before the assembled officers, and having done this left the room. It was unanimously acquiesced in by the assembly, and their approval officially signified to the general. The letter was sent accordingly, and Paskewitch cordially acquiesced in the proposals. On the 12th the Hungarian army marched to Vilagos. The mournful ceremony of laying down their arms was arranged to take place on the following day at twelve o'clock, at Szollos, at the point of junction of the roads from Kis-Jeno by Zarand, and from Vilagos by Uj-Pankota to Boros-Jeno—a spot memorable in all future ages. At the appointed hour Georgey appeared at the head of his staff, and, riding forward alone, met Count Rudiger, who, similarly accompanied, advanced also alone to meet him. The meeting must be given in Georgey's own words: "Count Rudiger seemed filled with the sole desire of alleviating as much as possible the depression of my present situation; for his first words contained a frank assurance that he fully appreciated the motives which had induced me to abandon the prosecution of the war, and in confirmation of this he offered me his right hand. An invol-

* He and Guyon collected at Dobra, in the valley of the Maros, twelve battalions of infantry, eight squadrons and fifty-two guns with which they intended to attack Luders; but their men (mostly fugitives from Dembinski's army) refused to advance. Bem and Guyon passed over the frontier, and the troops laid down their arms.—TOLSTOY, 176, 177.

untary but audible exclamation from my companions betrayed how agreeably they were surprised by this proof of esteem from the victor to the more unfortunate leader of the vanquished. I then delivered to Count Rudiger, together with a list of our requests, the names also of those members of the Provisional Government, and of the Diet, who had voluntarily attached themselves to the troops, and who requested me to obtain, if possible, the permission to remain with the army during its captivity, till the fate of such had been determined on. To this Count Rudiger at once agreed, and consented that the general officers should retain their arms."

36. The mournful ceremony of surrendering their arms took place with great pomp, and all the courtesy towards the vanquished due to their glorious achievements and present reverses. Georgey's men were still 28,000 strong, with 140 guns. At four in the afternoon, having all come up, they were arranged in two lines, the infantry in front, with the cavalry on the wings: the artillery and caissons in the second. Right before them, in the great plain of Vilagos, stood the Russian army also in two lines, and the finest order. "With such men," said Georgey, on seeing them, "you might conquer the world." At a quarter past four, Georgey and his generals rode forward to the front between the two armies; Rudiger, similarly accompanied, advanced to meet him. Both generals saluted, a long rolling of drums was heard along the whole line, and the Russians presented arms, while the Hungarians laid down theirs: the infantry placing them on the ground two yards in front of the line, the cavalry on the saddles of their horses. Georgey and all his officers retained their swords. At a second rolling of drums the ranks were broken, and the men and guns conducted with their arms to the place of their destination, under strong escorts. Most of the weapons were found to be of English manufacture. "In the twilight of

the 13th August 1849," says Georgey, "General Count Rudiger, the commander of a Russian army corps, inspected the troops under my command. But the cavalry were dismounted, and their swords hung on the pommels of their saddles; the muskets of the infantry were piled in pyramids; the artillery were drawn close together, and unmanned; the flags and the standards lay there unprotected before the disarmed ranks."

* 37. Georgey was conducted with his generals, after this melancholy scene, to Gros-Wardein, from whence he addressed orders to the other generals to follow his example, and to the governors of the fortresses of Arad, Peterwaradein, and Komorn, to surrender them at discretion. The few army corps yet in the field surrendered or dispersed, the officers, especially of Polish origin, for the most part taking refuge with Bem, Dembinski, Kosuth, and the members of the Government and Diet who had not surrendered with Georgey, in the adjoining provinces of Turkey, where they were hospitably received, and became ere long the cause of a difference between the governments of Great Britain and Russia. The governor of Arad gave his fortress up, agreeably to Georgey's orders, on the 17th August. Vecszey's corps, still 7500 strong, with 1100 cavalry, surrendered at discretion to General Rudiger at Kis-Jeno on the 19th, with 72 guns; 5000 of Dembinski's men, hotly pursued by Simbschen, laid down their arms at Karansebes, with 19 guns. Peterwaradein hauled down its flag on the 6th September. Klapka was the last to obey this order; he held the fortress of Komorn with his powerful garrison till the beginning of October, when seeing the contest was at an end, and having learned that Arad and Peterwaradein had surrendered, he, with a heavy heart, capitulated on honourable terms on the 4th, carrying with him the distinction of being the *last* who maintained the Independence of Hungary.* The soldiers of the garrison

* Georgey, on this occasion, wrote to Klapka,—"Dear friend: Since we have

were offered rank in the Austrian army corresponding to what they had held in their own; but not a man accepted the proposal. An old sergeant of hussars said, "General, we have faithfully served our country; we will support it again if need be; but *never, never*, will we go to the Austrians."

38. Paskewitch and his generals behaved with the generosity which brave men owe to each other, towards the Hungarian officers who had fallen into their hands. The former wrote a noble letter to the Emperor of Austria, seconding that of Georgey, and imploring him to extend his clemency to *all* the officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the insurrection. But the Emperor returned a cold answer, to the effect that, if he consulted only the dictates of his own heart, he would be too happy to accede to his request, but that "he had sacred duties to perform towards his other subjects, which, as well as the general good of his people, he was obliged to consider." These words were of ominous import; they froze every heart with horror. In effect, the Austrian Empire had gone through so terrible a crisis, it had so nearly been destroyed in the convulsion, and was so much humiliated by having been saved only by the intervention of Russia, that the feelings of the victorious sections of the community earnestly called for expiatory victims.

parted, events, not unexpected, but decisive, have occurred. The eternal disunion of the Provisional Government, and the vulgar jealousy of some of its members, have brought matters to the point which I have foreseen since April last. When I passed the Theiss at Tokay, and gained brilliant advantages over the Russians, the Government expressed a desire to make me commander-in-chief. *Kossuth, in secret, named Bem*: but the nation looked for my appointment, for Kossuth had given a perfidious answer to the Diet. Much deceit has been the cause of all our subsequent evils. Dembinski was beat at Szorey; Bem, routed at Maros-Valashely, fled under the walls of Temesvar, where Dembinski had also retired. He gained successes for a few hours; but at length was beaten to such a degree that, as Vecszezy wrote to me, there remained only 6000 round their standards out of 50,000."—GEORGEY to KLAPKA, August 16, 1849; BALLEYDIER, 353, 354.

Public opinion in England loudly condemned the melancholy executions which followed; but although all must regret that the Austrian Government lost the opportunity of doing a noble deed, which would have added lustre to all their previous glories, yet justice must recollect the circumstances under which these severities were exercised. And if we would know what they were, we have only to ask ourselves what our feelings would have been if Smith O'Brien had led his Irish repealers in triumph to Brentford, and we had escaped destruction only by invoking the aid of France.

39. The melancholy forebodings awakened by the Emperor's answer to Paskewitch's intercession were ere long too fatally verified. Georgey, indeed, was pardoned,* and Klapka escaped by the terms of his capitulation; but most of the other generals were brought to courts-martial, and mournful tragedies followed the convictions which took place. Besides Count Bathiany—whose execution has already been mentioned—fourteen other Hungarian officers were sacrificed to the thirst of Austrian vengeance. They were—Colonel Ernest Kiss, Count Louis Aulich, General Damjanics, General Nagy Sandor, Colonel Ignatz Torok, Major Lahner, General Count Vecszezy, Captain Knezich, Colonel Ernest Von Poltenberg, General Count Leiningen, General Joseph Schweidel, General Aristides Desewffy, General William Lazar, and Count Ladislans Csanyi—besides a few others condemned to lengthened imprisonments. The first eleven suffered together on the same day (6th October) in the fortress of Arad. The death on the scaffold of brave men, whose military exploits had so recently filled all Europe with admiration, excited a universal feeling of horror. They all behaved nobly in their last moments. Damjanics, with his leg

* He was offered rank and employment in the Russian army, but honourably declined it, and preferred remaining in poverty in his own country, endeavouring to mitigate the severities exercised against his brave companions in arms.

broken, was conveyed in a carriage to the place of execution, and was a spectator of the deaths of his friends. "It is strange," said he, "that I should be the last here: I used to be the first in the attack." But with these melancholy scenes the severities of the victorious Government ended. The inferior officers and private soldiers were all dismissed, without punishment, to their homes; no massacre of common men took place. Seventy thousand of the Hungarian soldiers, after a short interval, passed into the Austrian service, where they have ever since remained faithful to their colours.

40. Cruelties of this sort have in every age been found so uniformly to spring from the violence of the passions awakened in civil warfare, that they may be considered as inherent and unavoidable in that species of conflict; and it is that which has always caused the authors of such dissensions to be regarded as the greatest curses of mankind. But in the present instance the reaction in the general mind against the severities was unusually swift, and as they should not have been committed, the consequences were lasting. Every one felt that the contest had been a national one, and should have been conducted on the principles of civilised warfare between separate states. Condign punishment was not long of overtaking the victors. Hardly was their joint triumph concluded, when jealousy broke out between the victorious armies. The Russians taunted the Austrians with their defeats, and their being forced to call in the aid of the Czar. The Austrians ascribed everything to themselves, and allowed nothing to the Russians, to whom the success had really been owing. In an official proclamation to his troops on the conclusion of the war, Haynau, while he congratulated them on their ultimate victories, never once mentioned the Russians. The Czar retorted by a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he ascribed everything to their valour, and utterly ignored the Austrians. Out of this ill-starred

triumph arose a confidence on the one side, a sore feeling on the other, which brought these two powers into covert but most effective enmity during the Crimean war, and will probably bring them into fierce hostility in future times.

41. Equal to any of the campaigns of Napoleon in the skill with which it was conducted, and the energy and courage which were displayed on both sides, the Hungarian war is almost superior to any in the moral interest with which it was attended, and the dramatic scenes in which it terminated. The spectacle of a high-spirited and gallant nation, proud of its martial fame, and panting for independence, maintaining a protracted struggle with two of the greatest military powers in Europe, and at length sinking rather from the consequences of its own divisions than before their united strength, was one which powerfully affected the imagination, and awakened the sympathies of men. The annalist who records, the reader who studies these events, cannot avoid, with whatever impressions he may enter on the subject, being carried away by the same feelings; and however clearly future times may see the disastrous consequences which would have attended the triumph of the Hungarian arms, they will never cease to mourn over their overthrow.*

42. But, all this notwithstanding, reason and justice compel the admission, that the Hungarian insurrection was both unjustifiable in its origin, and, if successful, would have been calamitous in its consequences. It was unjustifiable in its origin, because, how much soever the Hungarians had formerly been oppressed by the Austrians, they had got all they desired from the Emperor by the constitution of 1848, and an amount of liberty far greater than that now enjoyed by

* The reader desirous of studying this subject more fully will find, in the memoirs of Georgey and Klapka on the Hungarian, in the *Histoire de la Guerre de Hongrie* by Ballezardier on the Austrian, and in the *Relation des Operations de l'Armée Russe* on the Muscovite side, ample materials for his investigation.

Great Britain, and more unlimited, as the event proved, than they could stand; for it was based on universal suffrage. The only return they made for these great concessions was to refuse a man or a florin to Austria when engaged in a desperate struggle with Italy on the plains of Piedmont, to recall their regiments from Radetsky's ranks when fighting for the existence of Austria, and at length, openly throwing off the mask, to advance, stained with the blood of Count Lamberg, the commander-in-chief of Hungary, to support the revolutionists of Vienna, yet reeking with the blood of Count Latour, its war-minister. The constitution of 4th March 1849, afterwards promulgated by Austria, was doubtless a great infringement on these immunities; but six months before it was adopted, the Hungarians had thrown off the mask, advanced to Vienna, fought the battle of Schwechat, and allied themselves irrevocably with the Austrian Revolution.

43. If the insurrection was unjustifiable in its origin, still more clearly was it likely, if it had proved successful, to have become disastrous in its consequences. Austria is the natural and the only effective barrier against Russia in Eastern Europe; Turkey, long the rival, is now the vassal of the Czar; Prussia has, hitherto at least, been his proconsul. The Hungarian revolt, if successful, would have destroyed this barrier, and opened a huge gap, through which the Muscovite armies, unopposed, would have poured into the centre of Europe. Separated from each other, and animated by the strongest mutual hatred, either Austria or Hungary would infallibly, when divisions occurred between them, have allied itself with Russia, if it was for nothing else but to destroy its rival. Lombardy would have been detached from both; and where, in the weakness and animosities consequent on these divisions, was a barrier against Russia to be found? If dangerous to the independence of nations, the Hungarian revolt was still more hazardous to the liberties of

mankind. Democracy was inscribed on the banners of Kossuth: and what democracy leads to may be gathered from what it has done in France, and is doing in America. The Hungarian revolt arrayed men in two hosts, the victory of either of which would have been fatal to the cause of freedom in Europe; it ran them either into the despotism of the Czar, or the democracy-based absolute government of Louis Napoleon or President Johnson.

44. It is a mistake to suppose that the greatest calamities which afflict mankind spring from absolutely wicked motives. Good intentions, ill directed, are far more hazardous; for the reaction against them is much slower of arriving. Some of the greatest evils recorded in history have arisen, not from bad motives, but from good motives imprudently or ignorantly directed. Decided outrage and wickedness so rapidly produce a reaction in the moral feelings of mankind, that their reign is, in general, of short duration; but errors based on good intentions are far more difficult of extirpation, and many ages of suffering often elapse before they are at length worn out. The fires of Smithfield, the tortures of the Inquisition, were all prompted by good motives; it was for the extirpation of what they deemed heresy, and the salvation of souls. Ever since the battle of Waterloo, England had openly or covertly promoted the cause of revolt in other parts of the world. She had succeeded in revolutionising and ruining South America, altering the government in Spain and Portugal, and exciting a fearful insurrection in Italy and Hungary. These efforts were well meant, for they were designed to work out the emancipation of mankind. But they were at the time premature and injudicious, and, as such, terminated only in disaster. What has been gained to the cause of freedom or the independence of nations by these endeavours to force upon other people institutions not fitted for them? The hour of retribution has even now struck. The Hungarian insurrection, by reviving the ambi-

ous dreams of Russia, led to the invasion of Turkey and the Crimean war; and it, in its turn, by spreading in Asia the belief of the destruction of Britain's only army, to the Sepoy Revolt. England has since felt the burning of those torches in her own bosom which she had, so long thrown with

impunity into that of others. She did all this with philanthropic views, but mistaken judgment. It has been said that hell is paved with good intentions: with equal truth it may be said that earth is blood-stained by imprudent zeal, or desolated by ignorant philanthropy.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IRISH REVOLT IN 1848
TO THE FALL OF LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY IN 1852.

1. As the cry for Free Trade is the wail of aged civilisation suffering under the high prices which its own long-established wealth has produced, and seeking to compensate them by making its purchases in poorer, and therefore cheaper lands; so, when once introduced in reference to one great branch of commerce, it must of necessity be extended to every other. It is first called for in regard to articles of rude agricultural produce, because they are the ones in which the rise of prices consequent on long-continued affluence is most felt, and the fall of prices likely to arise from their introduction is least likely to injure the manufacturing and urban population. Accordingly, rich, old, and manufacturing England, first established Free Trade in regard to cotton, however dangerous to her independence with reference to the United States, and next demanded and obtained it in regard to corn, however clearly that tended to bring her into a state of virtual subjection to her grain-growing neighbours. But when the victory was once gained in reference to these articles of rude produce, it became impossible to withstand the demand for a similar concession in regard to other articles of commerce, or the charges consequent on their conveyance. The persons dealing in them were soon able to show with

truth, that, when the general scale of prices had been altered by the abolition or great reduction of other import-duties on articles of commerce, they would inevitably be ruined if they alone were subjected to them. Accordingly the concession of free trade in grain was immediately followed by the demand for an equalisation of the duties on sugar, which was granted, although the authors of the change were well aware, and admitted, that it would prove the ruin of our West Indian colonies. And this was followed, before another year had passed away, by the cry for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, in order to lessen the cost of importing foreign produce.

2. Unmarked by political or external events of any great importance, the four years which elapsed from the suppression of the Irish revolt in July 1848 to July 1852, are second to none in the history of England in social and political importance; for then was tried, on a great scale and on a fair theatre, the effects of the social and political changes which had previously been introduced. The whole period from 1830 to 1846 had been one continued struggle between the agricultural and conservative, and the commercial and innovating class, which had for its ultimate object the benefit of the latter, by forcing down the prices of the rude produce, on the raising of

which the former were dependent. When the victory was gained by the latter, by the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, it became an object of the deepest interest, not merely to the inhabitants of the British empire, but of the whole civilised world, to examine its effects, and see whether the benefits expected by the latter, or the evils predicted by the former, really were to flow from the change. No other period but the six years immediately following has as yet elapsed, which can with justice be referred to as illustrating its effects, and it is the five, from 1848 to 1852, which are in an especial manner worthy of observation; for the disturbing causes, both before and since that period, have been so powerful, as during their continuance to obliterate its effects. In the last half of 1846 and the whole of 1847, the effects of the Irish famine were in full operation; and that terrible catastrophe was attended with such woeful consequences, that, while they continued, it is unfair to look for those of any other cause. Subsequent to 1852, the gold discoveries in California and Australia have come into operation, and by raising prices and stimulating production in every part of the world, and especially in its commercial centre, Great Britain, have in a manner superseded, or concealed the effect of, all other circumstances. But from 1848 to 1852, the effects of Free Trade were displayed, undisturbed by any other or counteracting influences. Plenty had again returned, and spread its sunshine over the land. The harvest of 1847 had been so favourable, that, at Lord John Russell's suggestion, a public thanksgiving was offered up for it; and this blessing continued unabated in a sensible degree, as appears from the prices, to be immediately quoted, throughout the period, which were beyond all precedent low. Peace, so far as England was concerned, continued unbroken, and domestic dissension, appeased by the concession of free trade in grain, became almost extinct. The crown of England, resting on the attachment of a free people, remained unshaken

amidst the storm which had so violently convulsed all the Continental monarchies; and Queen Victoria, instead of being driven into exile like the King of France, or expelled from her capital like the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, was chiefly occupied in progresses through her dominions, to receive the affectionate homage of her loyal subjects. On this fortunate period, therefore, of external peace and internal plenty, the eye of the historian may securely rest, to discern the effect of the great political and social changes which the preceding twenty years had introduced.

3. No one can have lived through that period, or still more, been charged, as the author has, with the peace of a great commercial city and county during its continuance, without being sensible that the temper and feelings of the middle and working classes towards the Government have been sensibly ameliorated by the changes which then came into operation. The people had become, so far as actual outbreaks or treason are concerned, much more loyal and docile than they formerly had been. The long-continued and almost normal state of antagonism between the Government and the manufacturing and mining classes, which had so long existed, and threatened disunion, had in a great degree worn out. The persons belonging to these classes were not in reality either better off than they had been before the changes were introduced, or more contented with their lot. On the contrary, suffering was never so acute, or general, or long-continued, as during the three years which immediately followed the monetary crisis of 1848, as will immediately appear from incontrovertible evidence. But the difference—and it was a very great one—lay in this, that their discontent was no longer directed against the Government. They had got everything they desired. They had been told, and they believed, that their sufferings in former days had all arisen from the nomination boroughs and the Corn Laws, and that when these were abolished, universal prosperity would prevail. They

were both abolished, and yet they were worse off than ever. But they could not now charge it against the Government; they were constrained to look elsewhere for their oppressors. The idea accordingly was taken up and widely spread in the manufacturing and mining districts, that their grievances in reality were social, not political, and that no alteration in the frame of government was likely to be of any real service till a total change in the relative position of the classes of society took place. The master was held out as the real enemy of the workman; it was his riches which made their poverty, his prosperity their suffering. Trades-unions and strikes, with all their disastrous consequences, accordingly were frequent during this period; but the pressure was taken off the Government, and it was directed against the employers, not the Queen or the Legislature. The effect of this change was great, and most beneficial in a political point of view; for it enabled the Government to maintain its ground without difficulty during a crisis as perilous as any which the monarchy had yet passed.

4. If from the contemplation of the improved temper of the people during the five years which immediately followed the Irish famine and monetary crisis, we turn to the consideration of their real condition during that period, we shall find much less cause for satisfaction. Although the Irish famine and terrible suffering of the year 1847 had passed away, and a fine harvest had blessed the labours of the husbandman in both islands, yet distress,

general and long-continued, wasted the empire during the next five years. A general feeling of languor and distrust pervaded the commercial towns and districts, the sad and uniform consequence of a severe monetary crisis. The moneyed classes, by the aid of the populace, had succeeded in getting the power into their own hands; the cheapening system was in full activity, and the main changes for which they had contended had become the law of the land; but none of the improvement in the condition of the people which they had predicted had resulted from their adoption. This is decisively proved by the evidence of the statistics of the period. The exports of Great Britain exhibited an increase of £19,000,000 from 1847 to 1852; but that was not more than was the result of the gradual rise in the price of the chief articles of commerce, when the depressing effect of the monetary crisis wore away, and the effect of the beginning of increased supplies of the precious metals was felt. In imports, the measure of the national consumption, there was hardly any increase: they had, in spite of the rise of prices, risen only from £105,000,000 (official value) in 1849 to £109,000,000 in 1852. The paupers relieved in Great Britain had remained much the same in the period; they were about 870,000 in England, and 75,000 in Scotland, the whole time. In Ireland, in consequence of the termination of the famine and the prodigious extent of the emigration, there was a very great reduction; they had sunk from 620,000 to 170,000 a-year.* But the emigrants

EXPORTS, IMPORTS, PAUPERS RELIEVED, AND EMIGRANTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN EVERY YEAR FROM 1846 TO 1852.

Years.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.		Paupers relieved—England.	Paupers relieved—Ireland.	Emigrants.
1846	£57,786,875	£75,953,875	..	..	129,851
1847	58,842,377	90,921,866	..	..	258,270
1848	52,849,445	93,547,134	..	..	248,039
1849	63,596,025	105,874,607	984,489	620,747	299,498
1850	71,367,885	100,460,433	920,543	307,970	280,849
1851	74,448,722	110,484,947	860,893	209,187	335,966
1852	78,076,854	109,331,158	834,424	171,418	368,764

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV. 35; *Trade and Navigation Returns*, 1855; NEWMARSH, 453; PORTER, 357, 490, 405.

from the empire, the true test of the sufferings of the working classes, had increased enormously and beyond all precedent; they had swelled from 129,000 in 1846, to 368,000 in 1852.

5. When the price of grain during this period, and the immense extent of the importation of that article of subsistence, are taken into consideration, it will not appear surprising that very great distress should have prevailed, and that this immense exodus should have taken place. Upon comparing the prices of wheat for six years preceding 1842, the year when the tariff was lowered, and six years after 1846, when Free Trade was introduced, the difference was about a third; it had fallen from an average of 58s. to one of 44s. As this great and, as it then appeared, lasting fall and change of prices had occurred during a period when taxes were unchanged, rents had not as yet come down, and the cost of labour, from the effects of the prodigious emigration which had taken place, had considerably risen, it was felt with very great severity by the agricultural interest over the whole country; and it was their suffering, and consequently lessened consumption, coupled with the effects of the monetary crisis, which occasioned the stationary condition, and in one year actual decline, of the imports. This feature characterised the period 1849-52, when the vast import of grain consequent on the famine had ceased. The British and Irish agriculturists found themselves, while working with increased wages, suddenly exposed to the competition of foreign corn-growing countries, in which labour cost not a third of what it did in Great Britain, and rents, where they existed at all, were less in a similar proportion. The effect was immediate and universal. With the rapid and serious fall of prices, and the immense extent of the importation of grain during the period, which ranged from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 quarters annually, corn went out of cultivation to a considerable extent in both islands; arable lands were very generally thrown into grass, and the lessened supply of wheat in the two islands just about

equalled the foreign importation. If we are to give credit to the boast of the Free-traders, that during the twelve years, from 1846 to 1857, no less than 224,000,000 quarters of foreign grain or flour were imported, being *at the rate of 18,700,000 quarters a-year*, we should arrive at the conclusion that the effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws has been to change the nation from the state of being in ordinary years nearly self-supporting, to one in which *two-thirds* of the food of its inhabitants is imported from foreign countries.*

6. The general reduction in the price of commodities of commerce, especially such as were the immediate produce of the soil, which resulted from the combined effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws and the monetary crisis, produced a general unsettling, and demand for relief in every quarter, among those suffering from the change. Foremost among these were the mercantile and colonial classes who had been injured by the fall in the price of their produce. They insisted that it was indispensable that the price of the conveyance of goods should be reduced in the same proportion, or they could no longer carry on their business with any profit. This could only be done by establishing a free competition between British and foreign shipping, and breaking down the monopoly which for two centuries the protective system had established in favour of the former. To this it was added by the colonies, and especially Canada and the West Indies, that now that all protection for the staple articles of their produce had been taken away, and they were exposed to the unrestricted competition of their neighbours in the United States, it was ab-

* "What is the result? Why, from 1846 to 1857—a period of twelve years—we have received into the country of grain of all kinds—of flour and Indian corn (maize)—all formerly articles, not of absolute prohibition, but which were intended to be prohibited until it was no longer safe that the people should be starved—no less a quantity than 224,000,000 qrs. *That quantity is equal to 18,700,000 quarters per annum for the twelve years, and during that period your home-growth has been stimulated to an enormous extent*"—MR BRIGHT'S Speech at Manchester, Nov. 2, 1858; *Times*, Nov. 3.

solutely necessary that the restraints which hitherto had been imposed on their coasting trade, for the benefit of the British shipowners, should be removed. Thence a general demand from the interested classes for the REPEAL OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS; and this clamour soon became so violent, that it was with some difficulty that ministers were prevailed on to postpone the question during the session of 1848. It came on early in that of the succeeding year, on the motion of Mr Labouchere, who moved in the House of Commons, "That it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British possessions abroad, and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject nevertheless to such control by her Majesty in Council as may be necessary; and also to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." This motion gave rise to most able and instructive debates in both houses of Parliament.

7. On the part of the promoters of the bill, it was argued by Mr Labouchere, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, and Mr Gladstone: * "The Navigation Laws rested upon three fundamental principles: they secured to this country the monopoly of the colonial trade, of the long-voyage trade, and the carrying or indirect European trade. Of the first, great part is already gone from the effect of the reciprocity system; and it is the height of injustice, under such circumstances, to refuse to the colonies the abolition of restrictions of which they have always complained, and which true wisdom tells us we should no longer exasperate them by refusing to remove. The documents laid before the House illustrate the evils of which the colonies complain, and which Canada in particular suffers, from the Navigation Laws. They throw grievous impedi-

ments in the way of an advantageous trade between Canada and the American territory, both of which are situated on the margin of the lakes; for how could so distant a traffic be carried on prosperously by British vessels? In regard to the long-voyage trade, the system is inconsistent, and inverts the true principles of commerce; while in regard to the monopoly of the carrying European trade, it depends on its being confined to ourselves, and as long as we could secure that, it was no doubt advantageous. But it is no longer possible to do so, for other countries have shown that they are aware of the injustice to them of this one-sided system, and that they are determined either to abrogate or retaliate for it. Is it not wise then for this country, which has been the first to introduce a liberal system into commerce, to complete it by placing the laws upon a rational footing, exchanging a narrow for an enlarged and liberal policy? If other countries shall not follow our good example, it is easy to re-enact the restrictions, in whole or in part, with reference to such countries as shall adopt a policy prejudicial to British interests. Great inconvenience also has resulted from the obligation in the present laws on shipowners to take a certain number of apprentices, and this it is proposed to repeal.

8. "Little real advantage has ensued to the British shipowners from the laws, who, by the very policy of these laws, are exposed to competition in the long-voyage trade in every country where competition is most dangerous to them. All the tests which have been applied prove the ability of British shipowners to compete with the foreign. Even in the American trade, British ships have increased more rapidly than the foreign. The laws in many cases act as a protection to foreign ships at the expense of the British; and while practically they are of little benefit to the shipowner, their restrictions operate, especially in emergencies, very injuriously upon consumers, and ultimately upon shipowners themselves. If a commercial

* Mr Gladstone spoke most ably on the subject, and voted with the Liberals; but his speech was so mixed up with considerations on the other side, as to call forth the remark of Mr Drummond, which elicited general cheers, that he had spoken on one side, and voted on the other.—*Parl. Deb.*

marine is necessary to sustain our navy, Free Trade has increased, and must still farther increase, that marine. It is absurd to suppose that a system which goes largely to increase the commerce between nation and nation is not to benefit the shipping interests of the nation which is at once the centre of that commerce and the greatest trading nation in the world. The British shipowners will, by the repeal of the Navigation Laws, without doubt be exposed to a sharp competition from the Baltic and the United States all over the world. Some compensation to the British shipowner is due for this disadvantage, and the compensation is to be found in the opening of new fields of commerce by the system of conditional relaxation. The effect of that system would be to give to the vessels of such states as conferred privileges upon our shipping corresponding advantages in our ports. Such a system would be an equal advantage to both sides.

9. "It is a mistake to say that the commercial interests of the country are unfavourable to the bill, and have spoken out against it. There are, indeed, a few petitions on that side presented by respectable parties; but they are few in number in comparison of the great body on the other side. The measure now on the table has been brought forward by the representatives of the great towns and emporia of commerce. The measure has been introduced on the responsibility of the member for London (Lord John Russell), and it has been supported throughout by the representatives of the chief seats of commerce—Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding. Without declaring reciprocity a condition of our opening our ports to foreign vessels, it will extend commerce and promote mutual intercourse all over the world, and in that event the lion's share is sure to fall to England. Admitting that the superiority of our mercantile marine is the keystone of our naval power, the measure is entitled to support, because there is no reason to suppose

it will injure our mercantile marine. The complication of our reciprocity treaties is another and a most powerful reason for repealing the Navigation Laws at once, for they have now become so involved that none but those whose attention is constantly given to the subject can bear them in mind.

10. "But, most of all, the repeal of these laws is indispensable, if we would preserve our colonial empire from dismemberment. The colonies, in particular Canada, have spoken out on the subject: it is now evident that unless we are prepared either to concede this, or to return to the protective system, and reimpose the duties on foreign corn, we shall lose Canada. The urgency of the question, in this point of view, is such that it will admit of no delay. If we attach any importance to the retention of Canada, no time is to be lost in passing the bill now before the House. It is a mistake to suppose that the Navigation Laws are a support to the shipping interest of the country. In fact, the old reliance on impressment for the manning of the royal navy is mainly owing to the injurious operation of these laws. If a change has become necessary, now is the time to make it, when the old protective system has been abandoned in regard to the producing interests both of the mother country and the colonies: it is indispensable to consummate the commercial policy on which the country has embarked. Without it all that had been done would prove infirm: with it, that which had been achieved could not easily be undone. This measure, then, is the great battle-field on which the last struggle must take place between reaction and progress. The peace and tranquillity of the country during the last year are mainly to be ascribed to recent legislation, and to go back now to protective duties might lead to convulsions and fatal consequences."

11. On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr Herries, Mr Disraeli, and Lord Derby, who found an unexpected but powerful ally in Lord

Brougham: "The Navigation Laws have secured to this country a large commercial marine, and laid the foundation, in a numerous and trained body of seaman, of our maritime superiority: and the question is, Are you to diminish that foundation, and lessen that superiority, in order to carry out a favourite theory? The reasons assigned in support of the change are visionary and problematical: the dangers with which it is fraught, real and imminent. It is said Canada demands this measure, because she has lost the benefit of protection: that is to say, having done one foolish thing, and essentially injured one great interest, you must do another foolish thing and ruin another great interest in order to put them on a footing of equality. The fact is undoubted that foreign ships can be built and navigated cheaper than they can in this country, for this plain reason, that many of them have the materials of ship-building at their own doors, whereas ours must be brought from a distance, and all of them, except the Americans, pay less than half the wages to their seamen. British ships, it is now proved, do not last longer than foreign: how, then, can our shipowners, labouring under these disadvantages, compete with foreign? The result of the reciprocity treaties, which has been to seriously increase the proportion of foreign to home shipping in trade with all the countries with which they have been concluded, should make us pause before we apply the same system to our entire maritime interests. The proposed abolition of the seaman apprenticeship system is, if possible, still more hazardous; for it goes directly to diminish the skill and lessen the efficiency of the seamen who are employed in the mercantile marine, from whom alone our royal navy must be manned.

12. "It is in vain to say that, having taken protection from agriculture, we must remove it from shipping also. If that argument has any force, it amounts to this, that having done wrong once, we must do so on every future occasion, and shun as you

would a pestilence any return to right principles. But in truth there is no indissoluble connection between free trade in grain and the removal of all protection from shipping. Each case must be judged of by its own circumstances, and by them alone, irrespective of past deeds, be they wise ones or errors. Reaction is indeed to be dreaded; but not because, like repentance, it is the first step to reformation, but because it can proceed only from the agony of a suffering people. The present bill is not called for by any great interest in the country, or any loud popular voice; it is the mere shift of a party to elude or conceal the consequences of their own measures, which they have forced upon a reluctant people and a hesitating parliament. Last year we were told that Free Trade had taken such root in the minds of the people that reaction was impossible: and already it has become so strong, that the main argument adduced in favour of the bill is the danger of a prolonged contest between that principle and the old protective system.

13. "The time is coming when the people of England will no longer be satisfied with vague declamations about progress: they will ask what they are progressing to? We are told we may look for rebellion in Ireland unless this bill is passed. Is this, then, the fruit of your boasted free-trade measures: to threaten the dismemberment of the empire, to pluck the brightest jewel from the Crown, unless another great interest of the State is sacrificed? Probably we shall be told at this rate, next year, that the shipowners and sailors will revolt, unless a sacrifice to appease them is made of the royal navy, which now competes with their industry. Are the results of Free Trade, so far as they have gone, so very encouraging as to call for a prolongation and extension of the system? During the three years which have passed since Free Trade was established, the poor-rates have increased 17 per cent, the capital of the country has decreased a hundred millions, and the deposits in the savings banks have been lessened to

the extent of a half. Is that a reason for extending the same system to another great interest in the State, and that the one which is the foundation on which our maritime superiority and national independence rest?

14. "The present question is not one of Free Trade: it has nothing to do with that question any more than the manning of the royal navy has. Adam Smith, Mr Huskisson, Mr Washington, Mr Madison, have all declared in favour of a protective system to encourage the breed of native seamen. The Navigation Laws did not create a monopoly in favour of our colonies: that has long ago been demonstrated. It is to no purpose in this question to refer to the statistical returns which show the growth of our shipping, irrespective of that of foreign states. The real question is, in what *relative* proportion have they advanced, and to what goal are they tending? Judging by this standard, the dangers of free-trade in shipping are immense, and cannot be exaggerated. It may well make us pause when we recollect that the measures we are considering may jeopardise 4,000,000 tons of shipping, navigated by 230,000 seamen, who now ride triumphant on every sea of the globe. Consider the effects of our false and meddling despicable foreign policy, and say, are we prepared for the maritime wars which, sooner or later, must be its inevitable consequence? That man is bold who entertains no apprehension for the peace of Europe, and can look across the Channel and see the character of the Republic there established without fear. Look at Italy, Germany, Hungary, all wrapt in flames, and can it be said that Europe is in a period of profound peace? Is this a period for making great and portentous changes in a navy by which victories have been nobly won, and immortal triumphs gained? Is this a time for reducing our thousand ships of war to a hundred? The slave-trade, which we have made such efforts to extirpate, will spring up afresh when the Americans, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians are admitted by this bill into

what has hitherto been our carrying trade."*

15. The amendment proposed by Mr Herries was rejected, and the bill passed in the Commons by a majority of 61; the numbers being 275 to 214. In the Lords, however, the division was more narrow, the majority being only 10. So close a division on a question vital to the Administration, awakened doubts as to its stability; and reports soon began to fly about of a change of Government. These reports, however, were premature; the bill became law without any further discussion, and Ministers recovered their majority sufficiently on other questions to be enabled to carry on the government. Thus this great change, extricated from the collision of party interests and passions, took its place as part of the settled institutions of the State.

16. Perhaps there is none of the great questions which have been agitated in the country during the forty years embraced in this History, which have been so quickly brought to the test of experience, as this of the abolition of the Navigation Laws. The two most bulky articles of commerce, as Adam Smith calls them, *Man* and *Corn*, came, shortly after it was introduced, to be conveyed to an unprecedented extent, across the ocean, to and from the British empire. The gold discoveries in California and Australia ere long raised prices above 30 per cent over the whole world, and stimulated speculation to such an enormous extent, that the exports of Great Britain in 1860 reached £164,000,000, and the imports £210,000,000, real value, being more than double of what they had been when the Navigation Laws were repealed.† Two terrible wars broke out in the Crimea and India, each of which required the transportation of a hundred thousand men and horses, along with artillery in pro-

* The last paragraph but one is taken from Mr Disraeli's, the last from Lord Brougham's, admirable argument on the subject.

† In 1864 the computed value of the Imports was £274,863,924; the declared and computed value of the Exports, £212,656,542. —*Statistical Abstract*, No. XII., p. 18.

portion, across the ocean. No circumstances could be conceived so favourable to a great experiment on the Navigation Laws—so favourable, indeed, that they might well have concealed its effects, and made them appear highly beneficial, when in fact they were the very reverse. From the effects which the change has produced, some idea may be formed of what they are likely to be under circumstances less propitious.

17. From the returns presented to Parliament it appears, that while under the protective system the British shipping had increased from 922,000 tons in 1801, to 1,599,274 tons in 1821, the foreign employed in the British trade had *declined*, during the same period, from 780,155 tons to 396,256. On the other hand, under the reciprocity, which was a semi-free-trade system applied to particular countries, the British tons had increased from 1,664,186 tons in 1822, to 4,884,210 in 1849, and the foreign had increased from 469,151 tons in the former period, to 2,035,690 in the same year. In other words, during the twenty-seven years of peace, the British tonnage had *tripled*, but the foreign tonnage employed in carrying on our trade had increased nearly *five-fold*. But during the eleven years which elapsed from 1850 to 1860, both inclusive, subsequent to the repeal of the Navigation Laws, while the British shipping increased, under all the favourable circumstances above mentioned, only from 4,700,000 tons to 6,889,000, the foreign, during the same period, swelled from 2,400,000 tons to 5,283,000 tons. In other words, in eleven years subsequent to the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the British shipping has increased 41 per cent, the foreign 111 per cent. The clearances of the United Kingdom from 1843 to 1848 exhibited an increase of 30 per cent; and from 1849 to 1858, of 65 per cent. During the first of these periods, the clearances of foreign vessels exhibited, in the first period, an increase of 46 per cent, and in the last, subsequent to the repeal, of 90 per cent. That is, under the pro-

ductive system, the annual increment of British shipping was three times that of the foreign: under the reciprocity system, the increase of foreign shipping has been a half more than the British; and in the first eleven years after the repeal of the Navigation Laws, *the rate of increase of foreign shipping has been nearly three times that of British*. The returns on which these results are founded are all given in the note below, taken from the Board of Trade returns;* and it is evident from them, that in a few years the foreign shipping employed in carrying on our trade will come to exceed the British. The vital importance of this change will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected, that under the free-trade system, on an average a third, and in years of scarcity a half, of the whole food of our people has

* I. BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1801-1821—PROTECTION.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1801	922,594	780,155	1,702,709
1806	904,367	612,904	1,517,271
1810	898,001	1,176,248	2,072,244
1814	1,290,248	599,287	3,889,535
1819	1,809,128	542,684	3,351,812
1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530

British Tonnage increased as 9 to 15; Foreign declined as 7 to 3.

II. BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1822-1849—RECIPROCITY.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1822	1,664,186	469,151	2,133,337
1827	2,089,898	751,864	2,839,762
1832	2,185,980	639,979	2,825,959
1837	2,017,166	1,005,940	3,023,101
1842	3,294,725	1,205,803	4,500,628
1847	4,942,094	2,238,039	7,196,083
1849	4,884,210	2,035,690	6,919,900

British Tonnage increased 3 to 1; Foreign, from 46 to 243, or 4½ to 1.

III. BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1850-1860—FREE-TRADE IN SHIPPING.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1850	4,700,199	2,400,277	7,100,476
1851	4,938,356	2,993,708	7,932,094
1852	4,934,863	2,952,584	7,787,447
1853	5,055,343	3,887,763	8,943,106
1854	5,374,551	3,786,815	9,161,366
1855	5,270,702	3,660,447	8,951,239
1856	6,390,715	4,102,419	10,553,134
1857	6,853,705	4,621,944	11,475,199
1858	6,430,201	4,322,499	10,661,700
1859	6,585,112	4,636,810	11,221,922
1860	6,889,009	5,283,776	12,172,785

Increase of British Tonnage, as 47 to 68, or 41 per cent; of Foreign, as 24 to 52, or 111 per cent.—PORTER, 397, 3d edit.; *Statistical Abstract*, No. XII., p. 80.

come to depend on foreign supplies. These facts regarding the comparative progress of British and foreign shipping, since the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, become the more important from the now ascertained and great decline in the seamen employed in fisheries, belonging to the United Kingdom during the same term. From the report of the Committee on the Irish Fisheries, June 1865, it appears that "in 1846 there were 19,883 vessels, manned by 93,073 men and boys, engaged in the Irish Fisheries; while in 1864 there were only 9300 vessels so employed, manned by 40,946 men and boys," showing a decline in eighteen years of Free Trade of 10,583 boats and 52,127 men and boys! The importance of this great decline will not be duly appreciated unless Mr Cobden's words are recollected—"To Great Britain now maritime superiority is the condition of existence."

18. It was evident from the animation of this debate, that notwithstanding their frequent defeats, the Protectionists did not as yet give up the contest, and deemed it still possible to obtain some relief for the suffering agricultural interest. Accordingly, on the 8th March Mr Disraeli made a motion for a readjustment of the direct taxation of the country, in such a way as to take off some of the burdens which now exclusively affected the landed property of the kingdom. It must be confessed, the facts he adduced were sufficiently striking. From the parliamentary returns to which he referred, it appeared, that of the direct taxation of the country, no less than £12,000,000 a-year was *exclusively levied upon the land*, although, of the entire property of the kingdom rated to the income-tax, which amounted to £186,000,000, only £67,000,000 came from heritable property. Why, he asked, should one-third of the property of the kingdom be exclusively burdened with so heavy a load of direct taxation as £12,000,000, being more than double the existing income-tax, which was £5,600,000? "The injustice of this exclusive and class taxation upon the land appeared the

more striking, when it is recollected that, of all interests in the country, the land has suffered most under the effects of recent legislation; and that it is already the boast of the Free-traders, expressed in the House of Commons by their leader Mr Villiers, that by the introduction of that change, the consumers of food have gained—in other words, the producers of food have lost—£93,000,000 a-year! Thus, you select a fragment of the community possessing only a third of its income, which has been enormously injured by recent legislation, while all others have been proportionally benefited, to subject it to *three times the income-tax which the rest of the community bears!*" It is difficult to see what answer, founded in reason and justice, could be made to this appeal; but the free-trade majority in the House of Commons threw out the proposal by a majority of 91—the numbers being 280 to 189.

19. Notwithstanding the proof so often exhibited of the number and resolute character of the free-trade majority in the House of Commons, it is probable that the strength of the case for a readjustment of direct taxation was such, that it would in the course of time have worked out some legislative change on the subject, were it not that several circumstances combined to strengthen the party that supported Free Trade, and concealed for a season its injurious effect. The first of these was the enormous extent of the emigration going on at that time. The effect of this change upon the market for labour, and the remuneration which it received, was immense; for it kept up wages at a comparatively high level when the price of subsistence was rapidly falling. Wages for country labour in Ireland, which in 1845 had been 4d. a-day, were now 2s., and the same effect was observable in a lesser degree in Great Britain. The second was the immense amount of labour required for the completion of the railways which had been set on foot during 1845 and 1846, and took many years for their completion. The multitude of workmen and artisans en-

played in the construction of these, powerfully contributed to keep up the wages of labour and increase the general wellbeing of society in all classes except the agricultural. The third circumstance was the gold discoveries in California and Australia, which was gradually coming to raise prices considerably all over the world, and, by consequently encouraging speculation everywhere, gave an immense impulse to manufacturing industry of every sort. The manufacturers, and whole inhabitants of towns, felt the beneficial influence of these circumstances in the augmented wages of their labour, while the money they received in exchange for it was worth 40 per cent more in consequence of the fall to that extent in the cost of subsistence. This was all sedulously ascribed by the free-trade party to the effect of their measures, and with such success that nearly the whole urban population came to adopt it as the basis of their political creed. But these very circumstances, which so largely benefited the manufacturing and commercial classes, only aggravated the sufferings of the agricultural, for they forcibly kept up the wages of labour at a level higher than had ever been known, at the very time when the vast importation of foreign grain had lowered by a third the price of their produce.

20. If the prices of foreign and British grain had continued after the change of 1846 the same respectively as they had been before it, the consequence must have been the almost entire destruction of British agriculture. But three circumstances have intervened since the change, and had an important effect in mitigating the consequences with which it otherwise would have been attended. The first of these was the very considerable and permanent rise which took place in the price of foreign grain, and especially wheat, in the great grain-countries of Europe. So entirely is the price of grain in them, as measured by the markets of Dantzic and Odessa, dependent on the amount of export which is practicable to foreign countries, and especially Great Britain,

that it has been raised permanently fully 40 per cent by the repeal of the Corn Laws; it has risen from an average of 25s. a quarter to one of nearly 35s. This, coupled with the natural protection to British agriculture which arises from the cost of freight from the countries where the corn is grown, has gone far to mitigate the severity of the blow which had fallen on the farmers of this country; a striking instance of the manner in which the wise provisions of nature mitigate the injurious consequences of hasty or selfish legislation.

21. The second of these circumstances is the great improvements which, at the same period, and not a little owing to the change, took place in farming over the whole country, especially by improved draining. This may appear a strange and anomalous result to have flowed from a change which so seriously lessened the value of agricultural produce, and consequently the remuneration of British rural industry; but in reality it is not so. The same thing for a long time was observed in the West Indies, when the profits of their cultivation were so grievously affected by the emancipation of the negroes and the reduction of the duties on foreign sugars. It arose in both cases from the desire to *compensate reduction of price by increase of production*. Experience has proved that the system of tile-draining, when rightly executed, raised the produce of corn lands about 30, and grass lands about 45 per cent, from whence may be conceived how vast a change in the productive power of British agriculture this felicitous discovery has made. But as the price of cereal produce of every sort was so ruinously low, and in 1849, 1850, and 1851, after the corn-law repeal had come into full operation, the price of wheat sank to 44s., 40s., and 38s. respectively, this altered system of agriculture ran chiefly into an increased pasturage and improved mode of dealing with green crops, instead of any addition to corn-fields. Every one who lived in Britain during these years must have seen how generally

this change took place at that time. The unfortunate jealousy of the English farmers has prevented the magnitude of this change from being ascertained in their country by statistical evidence; but in Ireland, Captain Larcom's reports prove that while the production of wheat was lessened within five years of the repeal of the Corn Laws by above 2,000,000 quarters, the surface of grass land, and the average in green crops, has considerably increased; and the ascertained fact, that with the great rise of prices consequent on the gold discoveries and the Crimean war, the production of wheat in Scotland increased 100,000 quarters in a single year, may give some idea of the corresponding diminution in the growth of that cereal which took place during the great fall of prices which resulted from the establishment of free trade in grain.*

. 22. A third circumstance which tended powerfully to counteract at this period the depressing effect of the fall of prices in grain consequent on the repeal of the Corn Laws, was the completion of the vast network of railways which overspread all the fertile and some of the desolate parts of the British Islands. The extent to which this railway system of communication has been pushed, the sums of money which have been expended upon it, and the effect it has had upon rural industry and the balance of political parties in the State, are equally astonishing. From a parliamentary report in the year 1858, it appears that the total

sum authorised to be raised in ordinary shares, preference shares, and loans, for British railways, up to the year 1857, amounted to the enormous sum of £370,000,000, of which £303,000,000 had been actually raised and expended. The effect of this enormous expenditure of capital on purposes entirely domestic, and giving employment exclusively to our own people, has been immense; and its consequences upon the agricultural interests have been in the highest degree important. By it the monopoly of the farmers in the neighbourhood of the great towns has been destroyed, and markets opened, especially for butcher-meat and the produce of the dairy, to rural labour in even the most remote parts of the country. To such an extent has this result ensued, that cattle are now sent up in a day from the uplands of Aberdeenshire and Morayshire to London, at a cost of 20s. a-head—a sum not greater than was lost in value by the animal in driving during three days from Glasgow to Edinburgh by the roads; and an enterprising Scotch shipowner,† who has transferred part of his great capital to Ireland, has 1500 acres of turnips in his own hands in the north of that island, and within five miles of his estate, finds a ready-money market for his cattle at a railway station, all of them going direct to London.

23. Another consequence of a very singular and unexpected kind has arisen from the establishment of the railway system in Britain—namely, a great extension of the urban political

* PRODUCTION OF GRAIN, POTATOES, AND GREEN CROPS IN IRELAND FROM 1849 TO 1853.

Years.	Wheat. Barrels, 30 st.	Potatoes. Barrels, 20 st.	Turnips. Tons.	Mangold Wurzel. Tons.
1849	3,641,198	32,112,679	5,805,848	346,595
1850	2,604,164	31,567,917	5,439,005	364,036
1851	2,508,969	35,528,175	6,081,326	466,235
1852	1,938,941	34,044,831	5,675,847	557,139
1853	1,904,302	45,932,301	6,562,471	588,988

—*Agricultural Returns*, "Ireland," 1848, p. 5, *Introd.*; 1855, p. xv, *Introd.*

Wheat raised in Scotland:—In 1855, 191,300 qrs.; in 1856, 261,842 qrs.; in 1857, 298,400 qrs.—*Highland Society's Returns* in these years.

For the still more striking confirmation of these remarks on Irish agriculture from 1855 to 1863, see the table given *ante*, chap. lxiii. § 61, *note*.

† Mr Pollock, of Pollock, Gilmour, & Co., of Greenock.

interest in rural districts. This, like all the other changes introduced by time, was unobserved in its origin, and only began to attract attention when it had come to make a great and lasting alteration in the balance of parties. As much and generally as it has brought the produce of the whole country into the towns, has it brought the interests and ideas of the great towns into the country. It is the *great* towns, however, only which have in this manner been spread over the country; the small towns are comparatively withered and dried up, from the superior attractions for customers of the shops and places of business in the large ones. But in the great commercial and manufacturing cities the change has been great and decisive. Their increasing wealth and importance has resulted in a general migration of the more wealthy citizens to country residences within a circuit of twenty or thirty miles around their boundaries, where they have their homes, and their families are established, and from whence the men return daily to their places of business during the forenoon in the great commercial emporiums to which they belong. The effect of this migration of urban classes and interests into the country has been in the highest degree important. These citizens of towns, for the most part, have carried into the country the ideas and wishes of towns; they have overspread the counties with city influence. The vast majority of these citizens are Liberal; their homes are in the country, but their hearts and their interests are in towns. As commercial towns in all ages have been the centres of democratic influences, and rural districts of conservative, it may be conceived how great has been the effect of this transference of country political influence to city majorities.

24. But although these circumstances tended powerfully, even before the gold discoveries came into operation, to counteract the depressing effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws, yet the first effect of that repeal was in the highest degree dis-

tressing, and produced an unprecedented amount of suffering and consequent clamour among the agricultural classes in every part of the country. In 1850 and 1851 especially, when the price of the quarter of wheat was 40s. and 39s., the outcry was universal. Meetings were held in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and almost every county town in Great Britain, where the most alarming statements were put forth as to the depressed state of agriculture in all its branches, and the utter ruin which must overtake cultivation, if Protection in some form were not restored. It is no wonder these statements were made; for the fall of at least a *third* in wheat, from an average of 56s. to one of 40s., at a time when wages were higher rather than the reverse, was to sweep away entirely the profits of cultivation, and leave the farmer nothing either to pay his rent or subsidize his family. The story told at all these meetings was the same—that they could not compete with foreign cultivators, who raised grain by means of labourers paid 4d. a-day, while they were paying 2s., and that to avoid ruin they had no alternative but to turn their arable lands into grass, and abandon, except in the most favoured situations, all attempts to raise grain crops. This, again, led to a fresh set of evils; for the quantity of corn lands suddenly turned into pasture produced such an increase in the supply of butcher-meat, that it fell in a proportion even more alarming than the reduction in the price of grain. Meat sank from 9d. to 6d. and 5d. a pound: the complaint was universal among the graziers that, after buying sheep or cattle and feeding them for six months, they were obliged to sell them lower than they had acquired them. In a word, the landlords and farmers in every part of the country were in despair; and the outcry raised was so general and violent, that, in former times, it must inevitably have led to a change of measures.

25. The Free-traders, while these violent declamations were going on on one side, made no attempt to get up a

counter-agitation on the other. They knew that the Reform Bill had given them the command, through the boroughs, of three-fifths of the seats in the House of Commons, although two-thirds of the entire inhabitants of the empire were directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture for their support. Conscious of this, they allowed the Protectionists to get it all their own way in the public meetings, and calmly awaited the decision of the House of Commons, where they were sure of a majority on the question at issue. The journals which supported their side contented themselves with observing that, although without doubt the prices of rural produce had fallen very considerably, yet the efforts which were everywhere making to extend and improve agricultural industry by draining, enclosing, and the use of guano, afforded a sufficient proof that prices had not yet declined so much as to check it, and therefore that the reduction of price was a great benefit to the other classes of the community, and no injustice to the farmer. He was merely deprived of the benefit of an unjust monopoly, and brought to a level which, without being injurious to rural industry, is consistent with justice to the other great interests of the Empire.

26. The question came on for final discussion, after it had been exhausted by repeated debates previously in Parliament and the country, on the 23d November 1852, on a motion brought forward by Mr Villiers, the purport of which was to pledge the country to the principles of Free Trade.* It was maintained by the mover, and Mr Bright and Mr Gladstone: "All are agreed

* "That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the Act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corn, and that that Act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure. That it is the opinion of this House that the maintenance and farther extension of the policy of Free Trade will best enable the property and industry of the country to bear the burdens to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general contentment and welfare of the people."—*Ann. Reg.* 1852, p. 123.

that recent legislation has improved the condition of the working classes: and that legislation has been, partly with common consent, characterised as 'wise, just, and beneficial.' Everything which affects the price of food is material to the condition of the people; and the very argument so strongly urged on the other side, that the Act of 1846 has made so great a reduction in the price of subsistence of all kinds, affords a measure of the benefit which it has conferred upon them. This benefit has not been partial or confined to the commercial classes only; on the contrary, it has been universal, and pervaded as much the rural as the manufacturing districts, the farmers and agricultural labourers as the master manufacturers and operative workmen. Undeniable statistics prove this. On what other principle can we explain the increase of exports from £57,000,000 in 1846 to £74,000,000 in 1851, and the diminution of the paupers relieved from 934,000 in 1849 to 860,000 in 1851? Farmers have many grievances to complain of, which well deserve the attention of the House, but the withdrawal of protection is not among the number. They are injured by the laws authorising distraining for rent, the laws of settlement, compensation for unexhausted improvements, and the game laws, but not by Free Trade. Their distresses are real, but they are ascribed to a wrong cause by the gentlemen opposite, who have so long converted them into a trading capital for party purposes.

27. "It is a mistake to say that the improved condition of the working classes is owing to the gold discoveries or emigration, and not to the effects of recent commercial legislation. It is Free Trade, and Free Trade only, which has done the whole. The opinion of the country is completely and irrevocably made up upon this point. The constant assertion of their own views by the Protectionists has done, during the last six years, incredible mischief, for it has gone far to mislead foreign nations on the subject, and prevented them from meeting us by a corresponding removal of their restrictions. In

this country, however, there is but one opinion among all men of sense on the subject. The Protectionists have appealed to the country, and lost the verdict. It is of the utmost importance that it should not only be affirmed by this House, but affirmed by so large a majority as to show the world that the policy of the country in regard to it is fixed and immutable, and that other nations would do well to descend into the same arena, and imitate our example.

28. "Notwithstanding the bitter exasperation and extraordinary prolongation of this conflict now closing, a similar spirit of moderation and forbearance still animates the House, which prevailed when the change was introduced, and especially the honourable author of it. It is our honour and pride to be his followers; and if we are so, let us imitate him in the magnanimity which was one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the man. When Sir R. Peel severed the ties of five-and-thirty years, he felt the price he was paying for the performance of his duty. He looked, perhaps, for his revenge; but for what revenge did he look? He did not seek to vindicate it by stinging speeches, or by motions carried in his favour, or in favour of bad policy, if they bore a sense of degradation and pain to the minds of honourable men. The vindication to which he looked was this: he knew that the wisdom of his measures would, in the end, secure their general acceptance. He knew that those who had opposed them from erroneous opinions would acknowledge them after competent experience. He looked to see them established in the esteem and sound judgment of the country. He looked to see them governing by slow but sure degrees the policy of every nation of the civilised world. He believed that the aristocracy themselves would, in the end, come to see that he had never rendered them so great a service as when, with the whole weight of the Government, he proposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. His belief was, that theirs was a great and sacred cause; that the aristocracy of England was an element, in its poli-

tical and social system, with which the welfare of the country was irreparably wound up; and to him, therefore, it was a noble object of ambition to redeem such a cause from association with a policy originally adopted in a state of imperfect knowledge and erroneous views, but which, with the clear light of experience poured upon it, was each day assuming more and more, in the view of the thinking portion of the community, the character of sordid and false."*

29. On the other side it was answered by Mr Disraeli, the Marquess of Granby, Sir John Pakington, and Sir E. B. Lytton: "If, as alleged on the other side, 'enormous mischief' has been produced by the conduct of the Protectionists, it is incumbent on this House to stigmatise it by a distinct expression of opinion, concerning which there can be no mistake. The Protectionists opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 on two grounds. The first, that it would prove injurious to the interests of labour; that it was a labourer's, not a landlord's question: the second, that it would prove injurious to a great national interest. The same objection was made to the repeal of the Sugar Laws and of the Navigation Laws, so that since 1847 the nation has been incessantly occupied with discussions on agricultural, colonial, and shipping distress. From the time, however, that the change was introduced till the present moment, no attempt has been made by the Protectionists to restore the Corn Laws; for this reason, that the facts had not as yet so fully declared themselves as to warrant a demand for a return to the old policy. In this respect the Protectionists have imitated the conduct of Sir R. Peel, and the party which he headed, in regard to the Reform Bill, which they strenuously opposed while still under discussion, but accepted as an established fact when the change was finally adopted by the Legislature.

30. "There is in reality no ques-

* The concluding paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Mr Gladstone's eloquent peroration.

tion before the House on which it is necessary to come to a division. If the object is to settle the question, the Government have acknowledged that the conduct of the country in the recent elections was against the principles which they had supported, and they no longer attempted to struggle against it. This being so, it is a most unwise course, and grating to personal feelings, to compel persons to confess that a measure was just which they knew had been the cause of severe suffering to many. Since 1846 it has been apparent to all on this side, that, after so great a change in our commercial policy, the Legislature could not retrace its steps but in deference to the general voice of the country. They are free to confess that the change has not as yet arrived, and therefore, without having changed their private opinions, they make no attempt to bring about a return to the former policy. Many of the gentlemen on this side could not concur with Sir R. Peel when he introduced the measure of 1846; and in opposing him they made a great sacrifice, both of party and personal feeling." Mr Disraeli concluded with moving the following amendment: "That this House acknowledges with satisfaction that the cheapness of provisions, occasioned by recent legislation, has mainly contributed to improve the condition and increase the comfort of the working classes; and that unrestricted competition having been adopted, after due deliberation, as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is the duty of Government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform which, under the circumstances of the country, they may deem it their duty to introduce."

31. It is evident, from the turn which this debate took, that the mind of the majority of the House was made up on the subject. The Liberals plunged into the whole question of Free Trade, and repeated all the arguments by which they had so long and ably supported it. The Conservatives did not venture to dispute any longer

the general question, but struggled only to render their fall as gentle as possible, and to avert the humiliation of being obliged to confess that the change they had so strenuously opposed was just and expedient. In principle, and apart from party considerations and triumphs, the amendment of Mr Disraeli did not differ from the motion of Mr Villiers. The amendment of Mr Disraeli was carried by a majority of 80, the numbers being 336 to 256; the Liberals, assured of their victory, generously foregoing an unnecessary triumph over their opponents. After this decisive division on the general question, any subordinate matter, of whatever importance, was of no real public moment. An amendment proposed by Lord Palmerston, however, deserves to be noted, as affording a measure of the strength, or rather weakness, of the Protectionists, who still, under circumstances the most adverse, adhered to their old colours. Before the division on this amendment took place, 71 members left the House, and it was carried by an overwhelming majority, the numbers being 468 to 53.*

32. Thus was the principle of Free Trade and unrestricted competition finally established in the British Legislature; for the House of Peers, seeing the overwhelming majority in the Commons, prudently abstained from any division; and a resolution, proposed by the Marquess of Clanricarde, and slightly amended by Lord Harrowby, was carried unanimously, to the effect that "this House, thankfully acknowledging the general pros-

* Lord Palmerston's motion was as follows: "That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and especially the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for the purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people; and that it is the opinion of this House that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people."—*Ann. Reg.* 1852, p. 142.

perity, and deeply sensible of the evils attending frequent changes in the financial policy of the country, adheres to the commercial system recently established; and would view with regret any attempt to impede its operations or disturb its progress." Thus the minority in the Legislature acted on the same wise principle in regard to Free Trade which they had previously done in regard to Reform; and seeing the country firmly bent on the adoption of that policy, withdrew all opposition, and allowed it to be tested by its effects. And without prejudging what the annalist of future times may say on the subject, when time has impressed its signet on the opinions of man upon it, it may at least be safely observed, that when the decision of the Legislature and the nation was thus irrevocably taken on the question, neither was as yet in possession of the facts requisite to the formation of a correct judgment regarding it. During the seven years preceding this decision, nearly three hundred millions sterling had been expended in the two islands on railways. In the same period the population of Ireland had declined two millions and a half, and the average emigration had been two hundred and sixty-six thousand annually; and during the two last years of the time, the gold discoveries, as will immediately appear, had come materially to affect prices, and stimulate industry, and encourage speculation all over the world. Whether the general prosperity which characterised the close of the period has been owing to these causes, or to a reduction in the price of subsistence, which, as Mr Villiers boasted in the House of Commons, had come to save the nation £93,000,000 annually. at the expense of the land, is a question which can be

resolved only when time has developed the effect of the one set of causes without the simultaneous operations of the other.

•33. The extreme severity of the monetary crisis in 1848 had diffused such distress through the community, and imprinted such languor and distrust on the operations of commerce, that relief from existing taxation, and the imposition of fresh burdens on the people, were alike out of the question. The payments from China, which came so opportunely a few years back to relieve the exchequer, had ceased; and the only resource of Government was the most rigid economy in every department, cutting down the army and navy to the lowest point, and the copious sale of old stores, to bring the expenditure within the income. As it was, they contrived to exhibit in the parliamentary accounts an excess of receipts over disbursements during three years; but this was obtained entirely from the income-tax, without which the deficit every year would have exceeded three millions. The average net revenue of the nation during the period was £56,000,000, of which £5,500,000 was derived from that tax.* The sums voted for the army and navy were about £6,500,000 each, and the ordnance £2,500,000; a woeful stretch of false economy, which the nation ere long expiated in tears of blood on the heights of Sebastopol and on the plains of India. The army kept up was only 92,000 men, exclusive of those in the employment of the East India Company—a force totally inadequate to the due discharge of the public service, especially as we were engaged in a serious and protracted war with the Caffres. The navy had only 34,000 men voted. With all this rigid economy, and the continuance of

* INCOME, EXPENDITURE, AND PUBLIC DEBT IN EACH YEAR FROM 1849 TO 1852.

Years.	Income.	Expenditure.	Surplus.	National Debt.	Unfunded Debt.
1849	£57,006,412	£55,480,659	£2,098,126	£773,168,316	£24,869,060
1850	57,431,796	54,988,534	2,517,341	769,272,592	25,185,954
1851	56,834,710	54,002,904	2,726,396	765,126,582	25,011,267
1852	57,755,370	55,229,336	2,417,559	761,627,763	24,786,529

the war burden of the income-tax, no progress was made in the reduction of the national debt; and it was a melancholy reflection, that after forty years of peace that burden was not materially less than it had been at the commencement of the period. Since the year 1833, when the government of the Reform Parliament began, the public debt, funded and unfunded, had increased £4,500,000, though unbroken peace in Europe, so far as this country was concerned, had obtained during the whole period.*

34. Important as these details are, they yet yield in moment to the returns obtained by the general census of the British Islands, taken in 1851, which exhibited results of a novel and startling character, that seemed to indicate a turning-point in the fortunes and destiny of the state. For a long period the population of the empire had steadily increased, and it had gone on since the peace of 1815 at the rate of somewhat above 2,000,000 souls in ten years, or 200,000 a-year. The increase between 1831 and 1841, in the two islands, had been no less than 2,700,000. Applying this rate of increase to the five years immediately succeeding 1841, the population of 1846 must have been at least 28,000,000. But the population of the two islands, as ascertained by the census of 1851,

was only 27,511,862, showing a *decrease* in the preceding five years of at least 700,000 souls, being at the rate of 140,000 a-year during the whole period.† We have only to look at the emigration, which, from the end of 1846 to the same period in 1851, amounted to 1,422,000 souls, and add to that 450,000 who perished directly from the effects of the Irish famine, to see what has been the main cause of the decline. Emigrants, it is to be recollected, are for the most part in the prime of life: four-fifths of them are under thirty; and therefore the abstraction of a million and a half in five years of such persons is far from being compensated by the addition of an equal number of infants, who cannot be fathers or mothers for eighteen or twenty years. By the census of 1861 the total population of the empire, including 275,000 of army and navy abroad, was 29,346,098, showing an increase of only 1,734,274 in the preceding ten years. This, with the exception of the disastrous decade from 1841 to 1851, was by much the least increase of the whole century. Such as it was, it all arose *subsequent* to 1856, before which there had been a most serious decline. Fonblanque, in his admirable statistics of Great Britain, estimates the inhabitants of England and Wales in 1856, from the

* Public debt in 1833,	£754,100,549	
Unfunded do.,	27,752,650	
Total, 1833,		£781,853,199
Public debt in 1852,	£761,627,763	
Unfunded do.,	24,786,529	
Total, 1852,		786,414,292

Added to the public debt in 20 years of peace, £4,561,093

—*Finance Accounts, 1833; PORTER'S Parl. Tables, p. 6.*

† POPULATION BY CENSUS OF 1831 AND 1841				
Years.	England and Scotland.	Ireland		Total
1831 ..	16,364,693 ..	7,767,401 ..		24,132,294
1841 ..	18,658,372 ..	8,175,124 ..		26,833,496
Increase,	2,293,689 ..	407,723		2,701,202

CENSUS OF 1851.

Population of whole empire in 1841-42,	26,833,496
Estimated increase to 1846 (half of 2,701,202),	1,350,101

Population in 1846,	28,189,597
Ascertained population in 1851,	27,511,862

Decrease, 1846-51,	677,735 *
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—*Census 1851, Introduct. ; Irish Census, 1853, p. 16, Introduct.*

result of the registered births and deaths, added to the census of 1851, at 19,045,157, and of Scotland, at 3,085,000; in all, 22,080,187. The Census Commissioners of Ireland have reported that the inhabitants of that island, in the same year, did not exceed 6,000,000; so that, not allowing for the emigration, the whole in 1856 was 28,080,000. But the emigration from 1851 to 1857 was 1,558,268 persons.* Thus, the whole inhabitants of the empire, in 1856, must have been under 28,000,000—less by at least 500,000 than they had been ten years before.

35. In addition to these causes which have of late years retarded the increase of population in the British Islands—some of which may possibly be of a temporary nature—there is one cause of a lasting and general kind, which has latterly been so powerful as of itself to render the increase, in many places, of the people stationary. This is the daily increasing number of the inhabitants who have become indwellers in cities or thickly-peopled places, and the increased mortality of such localities when compared with rural districts. This change has long been observed since the great increase in trade and manufactures which has taken place since the peace; and in the censuses of 1851 and 1861, while the popula-

tion in many of the rural counties was found to have declined, that of the towns, with few exceptions in Great Britain, and *without one in Ireland*, has increased. But the census returns have now placed the matter beyond a doubt. Notwithstanding the immigration from the country into the towns which is everywhere going forward, so great is the comparative unhealthiness of the latter, that the mortality in the towns is from 30 to 40 per cent greater than in the country, while the annual increase is nearly twice and a half greater in the former than the latter.† The other fact, also ascertained by the census, that the entire inhabitants in the former are constantly and rapidly increasing and those in the latter as constantly and rapidly diminishing, proves equally clearly the strength of the impulse which is now daily urging the people from the healthy rural to the unhealthy urban districts. Such is the force of the impelling cause, that in mountainous and generally barren Scotland, the inhabitants of the town districts are about equal to those of the rural; and even in rich and fertile England the proportion is nearly the same. The results of the census of 1861 have put this beyond a doubt. There is everywhere a great increase in the large towns and mining and manufacturing districts, and a

Viz.—

Years.	Emigrants.
1852,	308,966
1853,	329,937
1854,	323,429

Carry forward, 1,022,332

Years.	Brought forward,	Emigrants.
1855,	.	176,807
1856,	.	176,554
1857,	.	212,875

In six years, 1,558,568

Parl. Paper, June 28, 1858.

† DEATHS AND ANNUAL INCREASE IN SCOTLAND IN TOWNS AND COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

Years.	Country Districts.	Town Districts.	Annual Mortality.		Annual Increase.	
			Towns.	Country.	Country.	Towns.
1855	1,475,480	1,483,241	1 in 40	1 in 60	1 in 192	1 in 70
1856	1,530,364	1,552,021	1 in 42	1 in 68		

—FONBLANQUE, p. 12.

See also the statistics quoted *ante*, chap. lxiii. § 56, note, in vol. vii. p. 313.

In Glasgow, in the quarter ending 30th September 1858, the deaths in the rural districts were 1 in 45; in the town districts, 1 in 75: the births in the former, 1 in 33; in the latter, 1 in 28. In Glasgow, 60 per cent of the deaths were of children under five years of age.—*Registrar-General's Report*, quarter ending 30th September 1858.

corresponding decline in the purely agricultural and pastoral. The rate of total increase has in consequence been materially lessened. It has sunk from 2,700,000, which it was from 1831 to 1841, being an *eleventh* of the population at the beginning of the period, to 1,700,000 being one *seventeenth* only. It is evident, in these circumstances, that a powerful arresting cause has set in upon the inhabitants of Great Britain: the same as in all other countries has been the commencement of national decline. All great empires have perished, not from the redundancy, but the want of population—from the desertion of the country, and the flocking of its inhabitants to great towns in quest of subsistence. Reflect on Rome in ancient, and observe Turkey in modern times. Lord Shaftesbury, whose life has been spent in investigating the condition of the poor, has lately said at the Social Science Association: "The time is coming, and is not far distant, when

we shall experience a want of population for social, industrial, and mili-

36. Lord John Russell was the first statesman who prominently brought before the public, at a meeting of the Social Science Association, at Liverpool in 1858, the remarkable fact, that not only, during the fifty years embraced in this History, had crime greatly increased—which of course was to be expected from the increase of the population—but that it had increased in a *much greater ratio than the increase of the population*; and, what is still more remarkable, that this increase was particularly conspicuous in crimes such as robbery, burglary, and deadly assaults requiring violence for their completion.* The increase in murders of late has been so great as to have attracted general attention: from 1854 to 1856 the persons sentenced to death in England for that crime had increased from 11 to 31.† Since that time, the

COMMITTED AND CONVICTED IN GREAT BRITAIN IN THE YEARS 1817, 1827, 1837, 1847, AND 1857.

	1817.	1827.	1837.	1847.	
Shooting, stabbing, and wounding,	26				208
Robbing,	154				378
Burglary,	374				473
Housebreaking,	152				551
Theft in houses,	143				246
Forgery, and uttering forged notes,	62				184
Totals,	911	1113	1061	1498	2057

The population of Great Britain has increased, from 1811 to 1851, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000, being 70 per cent. while these serious crimes have in the same period increased from 9 to 20, or 116 per cent. In the year 1857, no less than 3584 men were brought before the police magistrates in England alone, charged with assaults on women, chiefly their own wives.

† In Lord John Russell's inaugural address to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at Liverpool, October 11, 1858, his Lordship is reported to have said: "From the returns presented to Parliament, I am about to quote the results of the trials which have taken place on several subjects of criminal jurisdiction. Those are the offences of—1, shooting at, stabbing, or wounding; 2, robbery; 3, burglary; 4, housebreaking; 5, larceny in a dwelling-house; 6, forgery, and uttering forged instruments. The returns show the numbers convicted, sentenced to death, and executed for these offences in one year in every ten from 1817 to 1857, or, in other words, the changes which have taken place in 40 years. I give you the results:—1817, 911 convicted, 911 sentenced to death, and 78 executed; 1827, 1113 convicted, 1113 sentenced to death, and 41 executed; 1837, 1061 convicted, 405 sentenced to death, and none executed; 1847, 1498 convicted, 18 sentenced to death, and none executed; 1857, 2057 convicted, 21 sentenced to death, and none executed. The population of Great Britain has increased, from 1811 to 1851, in round numbers, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000; and in England and Wales from 10,000,000 to 18,000,000. You will perceive that convictions have increased in a greater proportion. Upon examining these returns more in detail, there is a further result, namely—a great increase in the crimes accompanied with personal violence. Thus, the number convicted of shooting at, stabbing,

increase has been still more alarming. In the year 1862 there were no less than 134 convicted of murder. The common observation, that this increase of crime is apparent, not real, and that it arises from the more extended and improved police of later times, which has brought it to light, is an entire fallacy. Police establishments are an *effect*, not a *cause*. They are very expensive, and are always resisted to the very uttermost in every part of the country; and the "ignorant impatience of taxation" is never overcome till the mass of unpunished crime has fairly forced an effort to check it on a most reluctant people.* In truth, there is a progress in human affairs; but these facts would seem to indicate that there is a progress two ways as well as one, and recalls the observation of Disraeli, "Progress! yes, *but to what?*" It is evident, however, that these facts as to the more rapid increase of crime than population in an age when so much has been done to arrest it, by no means warrants the assertion that society, as a whole, is retrograding instead of advancing in morality. Unquestionably, in the higher and middle classes, and a great part of the working, the improvement is great and undoubted. The just inference from it is, that it is the effect of great wealth and long-established civilisation to multiply to a great ex-

tent the "classes dangereuses," as the French call them, who are at the bottom of the social ladder, and in whom vicious habits and crime arise so naturally from the circumstances in which they are placed, that they often seem to be almost unavoidable.

37. To this it must be added that a great and prolific cause of the increase of crime has come into operation in recent times in the British empire, owing to the virtual abolition of the *System of Transportation*. This great and calamitous change, which appears at first sight the most strange and inexplicable which has taken place even in an age in which every imaginable absurdity has been put in practice, under the influence of the passion for innovation, till it was abandoned by the force of experience, arose in truth, in the outset, from want of practical acquaintance with the subject on the part of those intrusted with its administration. The transportation of criminals is by far the best system which ever was devised by human wit, in the commencement of social progress in the distant parts of the empire, alike for the interests of the mother country, of the colonies, and of the criminals themselves. As such it succeeded perfectly for a very long period in Great Britain, and was attended with such advantages as rendered it the object of envy to all the statesmen and philanthropists of the Continent, who were oppressed by the manifold evils of galley-slaves and public bagnets. Under it, too, the colony of New South Wales, to which the convicts were sent, made unprecedented strides in population, industry, and wealth—considerably greater than were made during the same period by either Canada or the Cape of Good Hope, though these possessed the advantage of much greater proximity to the mother country—a matter of the highest importance in regard to free emigration. The progress of Australia with convicts, before the gold discoveries gave it its recent prodigious start, had been double that of either the Cape or Canada without them—a fact which decisively demonstrates the im-

or wounding, has increased, between 1817 and 1857, from 26 to 208, and of robbery from 154 to 378; while larceny in a dwelling-house has only increased from 143 to 246; burglary has increased from 374 to 473; housebreaking, from 152 to 568; forgery, &c., from 62 to 184. It would be very desirable to have more complete information on these several heads. It is very important to ascertain whether the repeal of capital punishment has led to greater readiness to prosecute on the part of the injured, and greater readiness to convict on the part of juries; and lastly, whether, and to what extent, crime has really increased."

* For twenty years the county of Lanark successfully resisted all the efforts made to establish a rural police among its immense population. At length it was established in 1858 by Government authority; and in the first six months after it was set on foot, the persons brought before the magistrates were 1180, of whom 976 were convicted.

mense advantage of forced penal labour to an infant colony.*

38. But towards the continuance of this salutary and healthful state of things, so fruitful of good both to the aged mother-country, overcharged with inhabitants and crime, and to the young colony in want of both, because both might be converted to the purposes of useful labour, it is indispensable that a *due proportion* should be observed between the convicts sent out and the free settlers, and that the former be kept a small fraction compared to the latter; because, unless this is done, the criminals will approach to an equality with the free inhabitants, life and property will become insecure, and their introduction will become an object of apprehension instead of desire. Unhappily the immense increase of crime in the British empire, especially since the year 1846, occasioned such an augmentation in the criminals sent out, that they came to bear an undue proportion to the ordinary inhabitants. When the criminals of Great Britain and Ireland were only 27,000, as they were in 1822, and of these only 1200 or 1500 were sent out, no undue increase of criminals was complained of; on the contrary, Australia was constantly demanding more, and its inhabitants viewed with peculiar complacency heavy assizes in the British Islands. But when the proportion was changed, owing to the great increase of crimi-

nals committed at home, and commitments had risen, as in 1848, to nearly 74,000, the stream of persons transported became from three to four thousand. This was felt as a serious grievance by New South Wales, the more especially as, anterior to the gold discoveries, the voluntary emigration had never exceeded three or four thousand annually. Accordingly the tide of public opinion in the colony turned; its inhabitants came to regard the convicts with apprehension; and numerous petitions were forwarded to Government from Sydney and its dependencies, praying to be entirely relieved from the burden of receiving transported criminals.

39. When matters came to this point. Government had two courses to pursue. They might either have issued an order in council to the colonies, engaging that to whatever colony which would agree to receive the convicts they would send *four free settlers* for each penal one; and employ the latter in making roads, bridges, canals, harbours, and railways, so that every free settler would find the means of communication at the public expense brought to his door. Having from 250,000 to 300,000 emigrants to deal with annually, a small bounty paid to each would easily have brought the requisite number of free settlers to keep in order the convicts, and the whole colonies of the empire would soon have been happy to receive the

* COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF THE CAPE, CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA, BEFORE THE GOLD DISCOVERIES.

Years.	North American Colonies, without Convicts.		Cape, without Convicts.		Australia, with Convicts.	
	Exports to.	Population.	Exports to	Population.	Exports to	Population.
1828	£1,601,044	1,781,000	£218,849	276,261	£443,839	276,012
1838	1,992,457		623,323		921,568	
1846	3,308,059		480,979		1,441,640	
1847	3,233,014		688,208		1,644,170	
1848	1,990,592		645,718		1,463,931	
1849	2,280,396		520,896		2,080,364	
1850	3,235,651	2,900,000	796,600	367,218	2,602,253	641,196

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, 1846, i. 21; 1852, i. 48.

Increase of Canada in twenty-two years,	.	.	.	.	.	2 to 1.
" of Cape,	"	.	.	.	.	2½ " 1.
" of Australia,	"	.	.	.	.	7 " 1.

prolific stream. Or if this failed, they might have established a new penal colony in a suitable part of our vast colonial possessions, and treated it in the same manner, with four free to one convict settler. It would soon have distanced all its competitors depending on agricultural labour alone without gold attractions; property would have doubled in value in it every three or four years.

40. Pressed by financial embarrassment, the sad result of the commercial crisis of 1848, Government did neither of these things; but, to allay the terrors of Sydney, they sent the whole convicts to Van Diemen's Land, the most distant colonial settlement of the empire, and the passage to which costs £25, five times as much as one to America. No steps were taken to send out a due proportion of free settlers; and the passage to this remote settlement being so long and costly, the numbers of free settlers annually going out was much less than that of the convicts. The consequence of course was, that it became a scene of disorder and crime, much what Norfolk Island, to which the convicts were next sent, afterwards became. Every sort of atrocity was practised in it, often with impunity: by the accounts they received of the dismal state of society in that distant settlement, the other colonies were confirmed in their determination to avert such a moral pestilence from their own shores; and when Government, by way of experiment, sent a shipload of convicts to the Cape, the people made such preparations to resist their being landed that it was deemed prudent to desist from the attempt. Disconcerted by so many difficulties, the

Government saw no way of escaping from the dilemma but by abandoning almost entirely, the system of transportation. Penal servitude, varying from four to six or ten years, was by Act of Parliament substituted for it; and since 1852, with the exception of a few hundred sent annually, with the best possible effect, to Western Australia—where, being kept in due proportion to the free settlers, they are received with open arms—transportation has been entirely given up in the British dominions.

41. The consequences of the change, as was predicted by every person in the empire who had any practical acquaintance with the subject, and was fully explained to the parliamentary committees who sat on it, have been disastrous in the extreme. The difficulty, instead of being removed, has been only transferred from the extremity to the heart of the empire. The convicts, four or five thousand in number, annually convicted, who were formerly transported, being now kept in the country, the prisons were soon filled to overflowing. In the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, the average number of persons sentenced to imprisonment by summary and jury trial, in England alone, was about 114,000; in the two islands, from 140,000 to 150,000 annually.* It may readily be conceived, therefore, how serious an addition to this burden four or five thousand criminals sentenced to from three to ten years of penal servitude each must have produced. No buildings could hold, no establishment control, so prodigious a multitude. The cost of maintaining prisoners in the empire paid by the Treasury, independent of a still larger

* PERSONS COMMITTED BY JURY AND SUMMARY TRIAL, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM 1854 TO 1856.

Years.	ENGLAND.		IRELAND.		SCOTLAND.		TOTAL.
	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	
1854	29,359	71,193	11,718	23,212	3904	15,999	135,472
1855	25,972	70,116	9,012	36,392	3630	16,342	151,494
1856	19,437	77,712	7,099	23,576	3713	16,231	147,758

sum paid by the counties, rose in consequence to £1,424,907 a-year in 1856, and to £984,874 in 1857.

42. In this extremity Government had no recourse but to exercise largely, through the official persons intrusted with the right of doing so, the power of liberating the penal servitude men, and letting them loose on the country long before either any real reformation had been effected in their habits, or the period of their sentence had expired. At the same time, to diminish the number of long imprisonments, they fell upon the expedient of allowing the prisoners in lighter cases of felony to elect to be tried summarily by the committing magistrate, instead of being sent to the assizes or sessions. As this limited the period of their imprisonments to six months, the utmost length which the magistrate could go without a jury, it transferred vast numbers at once from the jury to the summary class, and exhibited a great decrease of serious crime, when, in point of fact, there was no decrease. By casting the eye on the table subjoined to the last paragraph, the effect of the change which took effect in 1856 will be at once apparent. The consequences of this system

have been in the highest degree pernicious. From the accounts laid before Parliament, it appears that in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, there were received into the convict establishments of Government 19,884 convicts, of whom 6563 were liberated before the expiration of their sentences, on tickets-of-leave, independent of those pardoned or whose sentences had expired.* With truth does the *Times* observe on the returns: "These figures show an uncertainty in the punishment of crime which can be paralleled in no country where protection of life and property is professed to be guaranteed by the State. They also make apparent a discrepancy between judicial sentences and actual punishments, which tends to bring our whole judicial system into contempt, and to render a criminal trial little better than a farce. The criminal's captivity has been measured, not by the circumstances of his crime, but by his behaviour in the jail; it has been of less importance to him to convince his judge than to cajole his chaplain."† The consequence has been that a stream of nearly three thousand criminals of the worst and most dangerous character is annually let loose from their places of confinement

* CONVICTS RECEIVED INTO, AND DISCHARGED FROM, THE GOVERNMENT PRISONS IN THE YEARS 1854, 1855, AND 1856.

	1854.		1855.		1856	
	Received.	Discharged.	Received	Discharged.	Received.	Discharged
Pentonville, . .	436	38	453	1	793	55
Parkhurst, . .	121	157	100	10	209	106
Millbank, . .	1513	92	2624	52	2640	319
Portland, . .	605	334	1260	684	881	507
Portsmouth, . .	545	264	886	458	617	349
Dartmouth, . .	443	396	545	495	560	308
Borstow, . .	689	13	108	107	393	201
Chatham, . .					677	21
Hulks, . .	848	514	1235	633	153	104
	5760	1718	6511	2371	6823	2474

—FONBLANQUE, p. 86.

Received in 3 Years.		Discharged on Tickets	
5760	.	1718	.
6511	.	2371	.
6813	.	2474	.
19,884	.	6563	.

† The Sheriff of Lanarkshire stated, in his evidence before the Transportation Committee in 1857, that in one instance which had come before him judicially, a garrotte robber was

upon the country—those who have superadded hypocrisy to their original offences; and there is too much reason to believe that the penitentiaries have done nothing but make them worse than they were before.* On no other principle is it possible to explain the fact that, while there has been a great decrease of crime tried by jury in England and Ireland, in consequence of the option given the prisoner (by the Act of 1856) to elect to be tried summarily by the magistrate, in the country generally, for three years after 1854, there has been a great and most alarming increase of violent attacks on property in England.†

43. If there is little to approve in this one particular of the British colonial administration, of late years a very different meed of approbation must be bestowed on another change,

of far more importance, which was brought into general use about the same period, which may with truth be said to have been the salvation of the colonial empire of the country. This was the right of SELF-GOVERNMENT and the electing responsible legislative councils, which was generally conceded to the colonies between 1837 and 1854, and was universal at the close of the latter period. In this respect the nation has been deeply indebted to the Liberal administrators who have ruled the country since 1850; for it is doubtful whether the old Tory Government would have been as much impressed as their successors have been with the necessity of yielding on this vital point. Yet that it was absolutely necessary is now apparent. Self-government is indispensable to colonies as soon as they have

first sentenced to ten years' transportation for a robbery on the streets of Glasgow; within a year after that, to fifteen years' transportation for a second garotte robbery committed within fifty yards of the same spot; and within another, to transportation for life for a third garotte robbery, committed within a few yards of the original spot.

* "Out of the 850 rioters concerned in the disgraceful outbreak at Chatham last year, 697 were in the first class (for good conduct); 640, moreover, were either 'good' or 'very good'; and 73 were 'exemplary'—a degree better than very good. There is not any minute supervision exercised over the prisoners when they return to liberty; for we are told that 'four fifths of the men are lost sight of shortly after their discharge.' Transportation no longer carries off our felons, who are discharged at the rate of about 2000 a-year into the general population"—CLAY'S *Penitentiaries in England and Ireland*

† CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY, WITH VIOLENCE, IN UNITED KINGDOM.

Years	Crimes with Violence	All Offences, with Jury.		
		England	Scotland	Ireland
1854	1 403	23,647	2989	7051
1855	1 315	19,971	2689	5220
1856	1.787	14,734	2723	4024

—FONBLANQUE, p. 58.

There can be no doubt that this important question has been much complicated of late years by the resolute refusal of the Australian colonies to receive any more convicts, even though sent to the distant settlement of Western Australia, which is willing and anxious to receive them. They say with truth that the gold diggings would attract them all to their territories. But this difficulty is greater in appearance than reality. All that is required is to establish a *new colony* in some other quarter—in an *island* from whence escape may, practically speaking, be easily rendered impossible. The Falkland Islands, New Guinea, New Caledonia, and many others, would answer this purpose. But towards the success of this project three things are requisite: 1, That Government should resolutely set their face to a considerable expenditure, probably some millions sterling at first, to set the colony on its feet; 2, That measures should be taken to attract four untaught emigrants to one convict to the settlement,—but this, with from 200,000 to 250,000 emigrants every year, would be an easy matter by assisted passages; 3, Government must entirely emancipate themselves from the trammels of the Exeter-Hall party, who still cling to the belief, in the face of all experience, that it is possible, by moral and religious instruction in prison, to effect a general reformation of criminals. This is the greatest difficulty which the question has to encounter: for that party is numerous, energetic, respectable from private character and general principle, and formidable from its entire and fanatical disregard of the lessons of experience.

attained anything like mature years, for this plain reason, that it is forced on them by the necessities of their remote and isolated situation; while the same cause renders the home government ignorant of their wants and indifferent to their complaints. In every quarter and age of the globe, accordingly, colonies have contended for self-government, and those alone have been prosperous, and laid the foundations of mighty empires, which, springing from popularly governed nations at home, have successfully asserted their title to establish similar institutions, and enjoy privileges as great in their new seats abroad. Witness the colonies of Greece, Carthage, and Rome around the Mediterranean Sea in ancient, and the more widespread colonies of Great Britain in modern times.

44. At first sight it would appear that the natural way to do this would be to give the colonies a share in the imperial legislature in proportion to their wealth and inhabitants; but a little reflection must convince every impartial person that this would by no means answer the desired purpose. The difficulty in the way is not, as is generally imagined, the distance of the colonies from the seat of the imperial legislature, for steam has, in a great degree, obviated that impediment. The real obstacle is the entire divergence of interests on most subjects between the inhabitants of such widely-severed countries, and the certainty that, as one or other must be in a minority, one or other will, in a united assembly, suffer injustice—it may be great and irreparable—at the hands of the other. It is true, taxation without representation is injustice to the colonies; but representation without taxation *would be not less injustice to the mother country.* Yet how adjust a scale of taxation for an aged community, staggering under twenty-six millions a-year of interest of debt, and a young colony in which a direct impost has never yet been imposed, and, if imposed, could not by possibility be levied? Not less at variance are the interests of the colonies and mother country. To produce and sell dear is

the interest of the former; to purchase cheap is the interest of the latter. This lasting and irreconcilable diversity became still more serious in its effects when the Reform Bill had virtually disfranchised the colonies by putting the nomination boroughs into Schedule A, and a decided majority of the House of Commons became composed of the representatives of boroughs at home, actuated by an adverse interest from that of the colonies. From that moment, accordingly, the concession of separate legislatures and the right of self-government became the necessary condition of our colonial empire holding together; and but for its concession it must have been dissolved.

45. The first symptom of this irreconcilable variance between the reformed Imperial Legislature and the interests of the colonies occurred in 1834, when, as already mentioned, the immediate emancipation of the negroes was forced on Government through the portals opened by the Reform Bill. This important, and, as it has proved, ruinous change, could never have passed the House of Commons under the old system, when our West India interest was the strongest in the House, and could command eighty votes; nor under the new system of entire self-government in local matters conceded since the Reform Bill. It was during the transition from the one to the other, before the effect of the change was understood, that it could alone have passed. The next instance of the divergence was the Canadian revolt of 1837, during which the cry for self-government, and a responsible government, was loud and menacing; and it was that revolt which, by forcibly drawing the attention to the subject, and awakening their fears, mainly led to the change. The adoption of Free Trade as the commercial principle of the empire in 1846, rendered the alteration of policy a matter of necessity; because, having lost all protection in the home market of Great Britain, and being exposed to a rude competition from all nations, it was impossible to suppose they would con-

tinue in their allegiance, unless they acquired the power of regulating at pleasure their internal concerns. The Cape, in resisting the landing of the convicts in 1852, gave token of the spirit which was rising up; and Australia, though not yet numbering 400,000 inhabitants, began talking of Bunker's Hill and Saratoga. Awakened at length to a sense of their danger, Government somewhat tardily, but at length universally, conceded the desired boon. Representative assemblies were everywhere established, and all the British colonies, except India and the purely military stations, became practically self-governed. The chief merit in pushing through this great change belongs to Earl Grey, who for long, under the Whig Government, held the office of Colonial Secretary, and brought to bear on the subject the great talents which he had inherited from his illustrious father. And the good effect of the change is already conspicuous. The jarring between the colonies and the mother country has ceased; discontent, by getting a legal channel, has evaporated; loyalty has succeeded; and in Canada these feelings have become so strong that they have led to the raising of a noble regiment—the 100th—for the British service. Magnificent subscriptions, both there and in Australia, on the occasion of the Crimean war and Indian revolt, have attested their warm sympathy with the glories and the sufferings of the mother country; and the rejoicings on the fall of Sebastopol and the capture of Delhi were as enthusiastic in Montreal and Sydney as either in London or Dublin.

46. If this concession of the right of self-government was important in allaying the discontent of the colonies, and preserving for some years longer the slender bond which unites them to the mother country, another change, scarcely less material to their internal progress, was at the same time introduced by the Liberal Government. This was the substitution, for huge grants of land to favoured companies or individuals, of its sale at prices

varying from 5s. to £1 an acre to adventurers, in lots of such moderate size as they really could bring into cultivation themselves, and applying the funds thus acquired to the general purposes of the colony, and especially the giving the means of emigration to active and industrious persons from the British Islands. This system, which is evidently the true one on the subject, and which has been at length generally, it may be said universally, adopted in the British colonies by all administrations, is mainly due to Sir William Molesworth, a statesman of enlarged views and valuable practical talents, whose premature death has been a serious loss to the British empire.*

* The tenure of land in these colonies has led to great and unexpected results, and renewed in a distant hemisphere the old Roman question of the "public lands." In the *Times* of the 15th July 1865 the following able *résumé* of this subject is given:—"The Land Question in Australia is the leading bond of party, the cry at elections, the cause of the rise and fall of ministries. The original management of land there was simple enough. Those who wished to become purchasers in fee-simple might buy at auction at the upset price of five shillings an acre. Those who wished merely to take the natural herbage of the land might have as much as they wanted for a very moderate payment to the Government—a payment which would naturally and gradually increase as all the most favourable situations were taken up. The first cause of disturbance was the compulsory rise in the upset price of land to one pound an acre, which was imposed on the colonies by the Imperial Parliament. This measure greatly checked the purchase of land. But it had a collateral result, which nobody seems to have foreseen. It entirely altered the position of the tenant. He could not be dispossessed unless the land he occupied was bought over his head for at least a pound an acre, which, in the case of inferior land, gave a tenure equal to fee-simple. Just at this time the Government, owing to the economy of the Colonial Assembly, found itself in want of money to pay salaries, and suddenly, by an act of prerogative, greatly raised the rents of the tenants of the Crown. This step encountered an energetic resistance, and was ultimately defeated; but it had an unforeseen result, which strengthened the position of the class whom it seemed destined to crush. The tenants of the Crown, or 'squatters,' had been the objects of oppression. A feeling of sympathy was excited on their behalf, and they employed this feeling to strengthen their tenure. Like the Irish tenants at will, they raised a cry for fixity of tenure and compensation for improvements,

47. The concession of constitutions and the right of self-government came in time to stop the progress of discontent, and restore the feelings of loyalty in the other colonies; but not to avert a terrible catastrophe at the Cape of Good Hope. The origin of this disaster, as of all others which have shaken the fidelity or disturbed the prosperity of the British colonies, is to be found in the senseless measures of the home Government, who applied to that distant settlement among savages the principles which are adopted amidst European civilisation. Two especially are worthy of notice as the direct cause of the calamitous events which followed. The first of these was the sudden emancipation of the Hottentot slaves, for a most inadequate compensation, by the Act of 1834. As this act deprived the colonists of their labourers, and gave them not a third of their value in compensation, it excited the most violent discontent among them. To such a degree did this feeling go, that Government are long deemed it unsafe to intrust them with the chief defence, as heretofore, of their country against the Caffre tribes, and required them to deliver up their arms, leaving the defence of the north-eastern frontier to the British regular troops. These had been reduced, in consequence of the wretched passion for economy which prevailed at home, to thirteen hundred men, who were now alone charged with the defence of an endangered frontier thirteen hundred miles in length and a country as large as Great Britain. Sensible of the difficulty of defending so extensive

and the home Government, at their solicitation, gave them leases of their lands varying in duration according to the nearness or remoteness of the site. Thus did the home Government raise up in Australia an oligarchy possessing neither the distinction of worth, of wealth, nor of public service, and yet endowed with public land, in many places valuable, well situated, and suitable for colonisation. The history of the last ten years has been a constant conflict, on the one hand to retain, and on the other to get possession of, the public lands. There is very little doubt that had the Australian colonies been independent republics, instead of dependencies of England, blood would have flowed in a quarrel thus wantonly created."

a territory by force of arms, Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, in pursuance of the system of conciliation and concession then so much in vogue in Europe, had withdrawn the British colours from the Kei River—to which they had been advanced at the close of the last war, and which presented a strong and defiant frontier—to the Great Fish River, the old boundary, but which afforded no defensible positions. The motive for this withdrawal of the British authority from a district of country half as large as England, was good, for it was the restitution of a conquered territory; and, judging by European ideas, it was expedient, for it evinced moderation in a victorious power. But applied to a barbarous people, who had not a conception of justice or moderation themselves, it was ascribed, as all similar concessions to barbarians are, to fear and a sense of weakness. It was attended, accordingly, by the most disastrous consequences.

48. The Caffre tribes could bring three thousand fighting men into the field. Sensible of their advantage, and seeing the miserably small and scattered force by which they were opposed, they had for long been meditating a general rising against the British, and had established a secret correspondence with the natives in the English service, especially the mounted Cape Rifles, an admirably drilled and efficient corps, nearly the whole of which, when hostilities broke out, deserted to the enemy, carrying with them their arms and horses. So far from being grateful for the abolition of slavery, the Hottentots generally followed their example. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, no sooner heard of the threatening meetings of the Caffre chiefs, than he hastened from Cape Town to King William Town, the capital of British Caffraria, and summoned a general meeting of them to that place (Oct. 16, 1850) to explain their conduct. They came, accordingly, in numbers about three hundred and fifty, and professed loyalty and obedience; but Sandilli, the principal

and most hostile chief, kept aloof, and refused either to attend the council or submit. He was, accordingly, formally deposed by Sir Harry Smith, in virtue of the right of sovereignty which was still claimed by the British over the ceded territory. This was the signal for a general outbreak of hostilities along the whole frontier, which was immediately followed by a general defection of the Hottentots in the British service. The consequences were extremely serious, and at first most threatening. The Governor himself was shut up in Fort Cox, a fortified post to which he had advanced on the frontier, by some thousand of these formidable savages, to whom the defection of the Cape troops had given the advantages of arms, organisation, and discipline. Colonel Somerset, who attempted (Dec. 1850) to relieve him with a small body of regular troops from Fort Hare, was driven back, after a gallant resistance, to that post, much weakened; while Colonel M'Kinnon, who had left Fort Cox with six hundred men to clear the country in the Keiskamma Valley, was defeated in the Amatola fastnesses, and with difficulty got back to Fort Cox, after sustaining considerable loss. Sir Harry Smith escaped from the same stronghold at the head of a flying escort, and reached King William Town with a few followers. Emboldened by these successes, the Caffres now broke on all sides into the British territories, and soon carried their ravages into the heart of British Caffraria. Not content with burning and plundering the whole open country, they laid siege to the principal fortresses, and were only repulsed from Fort Hare itself, the chief stronghold of the district, after a severe assault.

49. The war which ensued, and which was protracted for above a year, was for long bloody and indecisive. The force at the disposal of the Government, now that they were deprived of their native auxiliaries, was evidently inadequate to the task of contending at once with a nation of armed and skilful warriors, who carried on

the war at the same time at all points, and possessed in the forest-clad rocks of the Amatola and the Water-Kloof intricate fastnesses, where the advantages of courage were of little avail. The bravest of the British fell an early sacrifice to an unseen and invisible enemy whose rifles were discharged from the thickets often within three or four feet of their breasts. So terrible were the ravages of these ruthless plunderers in British Caffraria, that it was stated in a memorial presented to the Government by the inhabitants of Grahamstown, dated 19th July 1851, "that within the last six weeks, 20,000 sheep, 3000 cattle, and 300 horses, have been swept from the district of Somerset alone; and since the commencement of the war, 200 farmhouses, on the north-eastern border, have been reduced to ashes." Deeply impressed with the total inadequacy of the force at his disposal to meet this terrible invasion, Sir Harry Smith, when the war began, called out a *levy en masse* to defend the frontier; but it was by no means generally responded to, partly from the sullen discontent which pervaded the colony from the emancipation of the Hottentots, and their own subsequent disarming; partly from the general desertion of the farmhouses by their Caffre and Hottentot servants, which rendered it impossible for the masters to leave them without ruin to their families. Thus for nine months the war was almost an uninterrupted series of disasters; the frontier was rapidly receding before the torches and rifles of the ruthless invaders; and even in Grahamstown and Cape Town great apprehensions were felt, and preparations made to resist the enemy.

50. It was a deplorable proof of the prostration of the military strength of the country at this period, that the empire should in this manner be successfully set at defiance in a colony within a few weeks' sail of the British shores, by a tribe of naked savages. So it was, however; and it was not till the end of 1851 that, by great exertion, something like an adequate force was put at the disposal of the

Cape Governor. At length, however, several regiments were sent out: the 74th Highlanders arrived, and brought to the contest the traditions of Indian warfare and the prestige of Indian glory, and by a succession of skilful movements the enemy were so straitened that they were at length driven into the fastnesses of the Amatola and the Water-Kloof. They, however, still held these fastnesses when General Cathcart landed, and took the command in April 1852. This able and accomplished officer, trained in the great wars of Europe of 1813 and 1814, since unhappily lost amidst a blaze of glory at Inkerman, brought to bear upon the contest strategic talents of the highest order. After a series of hard-fought combats, and undergoing excessive fatigues, the British troops at length drove the enemy entirely out of the Amatola, Water-Kloof, and Gaikee fastnesses, and forced them to retire altogether beyond the Kei River, the real frontier of British Caffraria, which in an evil hour had been abandoned. The final stroke was put to the war by the general in person, in a series of skilful operations in December 1852, on the right bank of the Caledon River, which, after great risk had been incurred, ended in the capture of 6000 cattle and the submission of the chief, Moshesh, the last of the Basuta warriors who held out against the British. By the treaty of peace which followed, the colony was again advanced to the Kei, and a defensive frontier gained which has never since been disturbed.

51. Although, however, the war—which, as General Cathcart justly observes, had been, from the beginning, rather a domestic insurrection than a foreign warfare—was thus for the time

terminated, yet the heartburnings and animosities to which it had given rise were not so easily appeased, and the Caffres nourished in secret the strongest feelings of hatred against their invaders. It is probable that these feelings, so natural to warlike and predatory tribes, whose patrimony had been in part torn from them by a foreign enemy, and their plundering checked, would have, ere long, led to a fresh calamitous outbreak, had it not been averted by an event so extraordinary, that, though occurring beyond the period embraced in this History, it deserves to be mentioned as intimately connected with its events. In the year 1858 a person appeared among the Caffres who gave himself out for a prophet, and soon acquired unbounded influence over the people. He preached that their misfortunes had been owing to the wrath of the gods, for their permitting Christian missionaries to settle among them, and that they could only be appeased by their sacrificing their whole cattle upon their altars. If they did so, the prophet announced the speedy destruction of the British power, and the gift by the gods of ten head of cattle for every one so voluntarily slaughtered. The announcement was believed by these ignorant savages, and forthwith acted upon. In a few weeks forty thousand cattle were killed by their own hands; and as this occurred at a season of the year when the inhabitants had no other food to subsist upon, they were soon involved in all the horrors of famine.* From thirty to forty thousand men are computed to have perished by this extraordinary act of self-immolation; and the survivors, in the last stage of destitution, crowded into the British territory,

* STATISTICS OF CAPE COLONIES.

	Area.	Population.	Colonial Revenue.	Imports in 1860.	Exports in 1860.	Imperial Expenditure	Debt.
	Sq. Miles		£	£	£	£	£
Cape of Good Hope,	104,931	231,323	525,220	2,465,902	2,080,398	497,668	368,400
Natal,	14,337	157,583	86,858	354,987	139,698		50,000
Total,	119,268	388,906	612,078	2,820,889	2,220,096		418,400

—Statistical Return presented to Parliament, 27th March 1863.

humbly imploring employment and food at the hands of those into whose dwellings they had so lately brought fire and sword. Immense has been the benefit, which this unparalleled event has brought to the British colonists; for it has at once delivered them for a long period, perhaps for ever, from their most formidable enemies, and furnished them with an ample supply of hunger-tamed labourers, who have supplied the great want experienced in that particular ever since the disastrous emancipation of the Hottentots in 1834.

52. IRELAND, during the period embraced in this chapter, was fast relapsing into that state of chronic agitation and disorder from which it had so often been rescued by the rude method of Coercion Acts. The potato blight, which had greatly abated during the years 1847 and 1848, reappeared with partial severity in 1849, and with it the burnings, predial outrages, and murders, the usual accompaniments of general distress in that distracted land. So far from being grateful for the unparalleled generosity with which the British Government had acted towards them during the famine, the Irish agitators were organising, with the utmost activity, a renewed insurrectionary movement. In the township organisation there were already five hundred clubs, containing thirty thousand fighting men. The prolonged war in Hungary kept alive the hopes of these desperadoes; the *Nation*, their chief organ, poured forth incessant incitements to rebellion, and denounced with peculiar scorn the "vice of loyalty." The disarming bill of last session had been attended with little practical good, so sedulously had the arms been concealed by the possessors. In these circumstances Sir George Grey, on the requisition of Lord Clarendon, the Lord-Lieutenant, brought in a bill for the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for six months longer. So strongly was the necessity of the case felt, that the bill passed the Commons by a majority of 203,

there being only 18 in the minority. In the Lords it was agreed to without a division. Various measures of pecuniary relief were at the same time approved, and a committee appointed to examine into the working of the Irish poor-law. A rate-in-aid bill, as it was called, was also, after a long debate, passed, the object of which was to extend the area of local taxation, and thereby equalise the burden of pauperism, which at present fell with undue and crushing severity on particular districts. It was evident from these measures that Government, taught by rude necessity, had at length come to see how Ireland was to be dealt with, which was to cease to make it the battle-field of parties, to repress sternly the efforts of the agitators, and do everything possible to relieve the real distresses of the people.

53. These measures, how wise and necessary soever, did not, however, go to the root of the evil. It was to be found in the excessive redundancy of the population, the result of long misgovernment, which had prevented the growth of artificial wants among the peasantry; the low price of agricultural produce, the consequence of the contraction of the currency and free trade in grain; the impoverished condition of the landed proprietors which the latter caused, and the lawless state of the country, which prevented the establishment of fisheries or manufactures in it. Nature was silently, and unobserved amidst the strife of parties, preparing a remedy—the only effectual remedy for these evils—in the extension of the currency of the world by the gold discoveries, and the diminution of the population by a prodigious emigration. But neither of these measures could affect the encumbered estates, the insolvency of which acted as a dead-weight upon the industry and energies of the country. Sir R. Peel, however, discovered a remedy for this evil, which, though startling and even revolutionary in its character, met with general support, and ultimately was adopted by the legislature, from the sense en-

tertained of its paramount necessity. The general outline of his plan was brought forward in an admirable speech, during the debate on the Rate-in-Aid Bill; and it was afterwards taken up by Government, and embodied in the famous ENCUMBERED ESTATES ACT, which passed both Houses without a division. The object of this bill was to facilitate the sale of estates which were drowned in debt, by extricating the procedure regarding it from the delays and technicalities of the Court of Chancery, which then had the sole jurisdiction on the subject, and to induce purchasers to come forward by giving them a clear, indefeasible, parliamentary title. To effect these important objects, a commission of three persons was appointed, invested with the whole jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery for the sale of encumbered estates, with power to make regulations for their own procedure, which was to be of the simplest and most summary kind, and a sale under which was to confer upon the purchaser an absolute indefeasible title. This bill having passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, the commission was immediately issued.

54. Beneficial as this Act has proved in its effects to society in general in Ireland, and co-operating, as it has done, with the other and more general causes of amendment induced at the same time by the merciful interposition of Providence, it was attended in the first instance, in reference to the interest of individuals, and even whole classes of society, with the most flagrant and alarming injustice. The estates in the country being for the most part deeply in debt, and those which, from their insolvency, fell under the operation of the Act, hopelessly so, there was in many cases a shortcoming, often of great magnitude, when the estate was brought to a forced sale, and often disposed of for half its real value, between the debts charged on the estate and the price which was realised for it. This arose chiefly from the prodigious difference between the value of agricultural produce during the plentiful currency of

the war, when the debts were contracted, or the provisions for wives and children fixed on the estates, and that to which it fell on the return of peace, and the reduction of the circulating medium to half its former amount. This great difference must at any time, and under the most favourable circumstances, have produced in many cases a very large deficiency; but at this time it was still further aggravated by the terrors excited by the potato-rot, and the almost total cessation of the payment of rents, or their entire absorption in poor-rates, owing to the failure of that crop, and the fall in the price of rural produce of all kinds, owing to the vast importation of grain and cattle. So great was the effect of these concurring causes, that few estates at first, when brought to sale by the Encumbered Estates Commission, realised more than fourteen, some only nine years' price of the nominal rental. The debts affecting the encumbered estates, in the form either of mortgages, jointures, or provisions to children, were estimated at £30,000,000 sterling; and as, by the Irish law, debts are preferable for principal and interest according to the dates of the registration of the deeds vouching them, the most distressing cases immediately occurred of creditors and families whose deeds had not been recorded, being totally ruined by the sale, for a half of its value, of the estate over which their security extended. Several millions of debts were lost in this way, especially in the early years of the Act's working, and unspeakable misery induced on innocent and respectable parties.

55. The Act, however, continued in operation, and the Commissioners worked it with diligence and fidelity. As prices rose, from the effect of the gold discoveries in 1852, both in that and the following years, and the country became tranquillised by the effects of the prodigious emigration, the purchase-money rapidly rose, and in seven years came to twenty-eight or thirty years' purchase of the rental, then greatly augmented. Then the injustice

to creditors ceased, for they were nearly all paid in full; and the benefit of a transfer of a considerable part of the land of the country, unencumbered, to new hands, possessed of more capital than the old insolvents, was strongly felt. From the Act coming into operation (25th October 1849) to 31st August 1858, the estates brought to sale had realised £23,160,000; the lots sold had been 11,000, and the amount distributed to creditors £21,934,000! So immense a transfer of landed property by forced sales can only be paralleled by the confiscation of the estates of the emigrant noblesse in France by the decrees of the Convention. But the injustice done in Ireland by this indispensable revolutionary measure was far less than resulted in France from the sale of the confiscated estates: the purchase-money realised in the latter sales came to pay off the whole encumbrances in full; and the increased rural activity, induced by the expenditure of capital by the new proprietors, is to be reckoned as one of the causes of the marked and extraordinary improvement which took place in the condition of Ireland after the crisis was past, which will for ever render memorable the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a remarkable fact, that by far the greater part—about four-fifths—of the money laid out in the purchase of estates under this Act came from *Ireland itself*—a fact which proves how much that country, notwithstanding all its disasters, had prospered since the Union.*

56. Two circumstances have re-

* "Out of £10,430,000, the amount which passed through the hands of the Commissioners up to 1853, only £1,779,000 came from England, Scotland, and the colonies, the remainder, or £8,650,000 having been furnished exclusively from Irish sources. Up to the same date (the end of 1853), the number of petitions presented for the sales of estates had been 2878, of which 1081 were sold up to that date. The sales were—

In Leinster, . . .	£2,768,210
Connanght, . . .	2,218,162
Munster, . . .	3,270,287
Ulster, . . .	2,173,202

Greatest in the Roman Catholic districts"—*Commissioners' Report, 1858.*

markably distinguished the concluding years of the period embraced in this History, which require to be noticed before it is finally delivered to the public. The first of these is the prodigious increase of crime, especially those of violence and of the deepest dye, which has taken place in Great Britain during their continuance. It has been already noticed that the convicted murderers in England, who, in 1856, had been only 14, in 1862 had risen to 134, and in 1863 there were 203 verdicts of murder before the coroners, and 207 of manslaughter. If the details of these frightful crimes are examined, it will be found that none of them have originated in the love of gain, few in the quarrels of men. There has been a very great increase in the number of robberies and burglaries, which may be ascribed to the cessation of transportation; but the murders, which have become so frequent that there is scarce a day when a fresh one does not appear in the newspapers, have almost all arisen from other causes. They are, for the most part, of a *domestic* complexion—assassinations of wives by their husbands, of husbands by their wives, of parent by child, of child by parent, and still more frequently of man and woman engaged in irregular and temporary connection. Jealousy figures largely in these tragedies of real life: they are more akin to the cases brought to light in the divorce court than the deeds of convicts liberated on tickets-of-leave. From the complexion of many of them, one might be led to imagine that they are the result of the vast circulation of profligate French novels, in a cheap and translated form, which has taken place in this country of late years, were it not that, in the majority of instances, the parties belong to a stratum in society below what these novels, even in their cheap and popular form, can reach. They are probably the result, and perhaps the unavoidable result, of the vast accumulation of the very poorest classes in our great cities, in consequence of the depopulation of the country, and the general rush to towns in quest of employment, and

the isolation of each individual in the midst of the prodigious multitude, far from friends or kindred, and surrounded by all the varied temptations of an aged and highly corrupt state of society.

57. Another change likely to be attended with still more important and lasting effects on the political situation of the country, is the universal choice of public servants of every description, for all situations, civil and military, under Government, by competitive examinations. The effects of this great alteration have not as yet been generally appreciated, and are only beginning to show themselves. That there was much room for improvement on the old system, which left the choice, in every instance, to private or political influence, and often admitted persons almost entirely uneducated, cannot be doubted. But everything demonstrates that, in addition to requiring an educational test, to confer all appointments on those who answer the greatest number of questions in competitive examinations, is to apply a most illusory and fallacious test to real merit. It makes everything depend on readiness, memory, and good cramming—qualities by no means to be despised, but far from tests of real ability or merit. Too often the young aspirant's mind is so overloaded with useless knowledge that no room is left for the useful. But important as these effects are, they sink into insignificance compared with the change which the alteration is making in the *class* from whom public servants have come to be taken. The superior numbers of the middle class must gradually make the great majority of all public functionaries come to be taken from their ranks. Supposing the talents and industry of the young men from the class of gentry and those from that of the commercial bodies to be equal, the vastly superior number of the latter must give them a decisive numerical superiority. Thus public functionaries of every description will come, for the most part, to be taken from the burgher and shopkeeper classes, instead of the aristocracy and country

gentlemen. This change is immense: and it is as great as was made in France by the Revolution of 1830, and enthroning of the Citizen King. What the effect of it may be will ere long be ascertained by experience. But in the mean time two facts may be mentioned to form elements in future inquiry on this subject. The first is, that in China, the choice of all public functionaries by competitive examinations has led to the establishment of the oldest and most degrading tyranny known in the world; the second, that the killed and wounded of the officers in the Crimean War, in the English army, was 1 in 15 of the whole force; in the French, 1 in 30; in the Russian, 1 in 35.

58. The foreign affairs of Great Britain during the period embraced in this chapter were chiefly remarkable for the narrow escape which the country made from a war, first with Russia, and soon after with France and Russia united, when in a state, as the event afterwards proved, little qualified to maintain a contest with either taken separately. The origin of the dispute was a demand made by the cabinets of St Petersburg and Vienna, jointly, for the extradition of Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and a large body of Hungarian and Polish exiles, who had crossed the frontier of Servia, and taken refuge in the Turkish dominions, after the capitulation of Georgiev in the preceding autumn. The two powers made a formal demand upon the Sultan for the surrender to them of these fugitives, upon the ground that they were not ordinary enemies, but subjects of their own who had been guilty of high treason, and should be given up to the power whose laws they had offended. This demand the Porte resisted, alleging in support of their refusal that the fugitives had been guilty of no violation of the Turkish laws, and of no machinations against either Austria or Russia while on Turkish territory, and that to require them in these circumstances to be given up, was to demand an outrage upon the laws of hospitality, and their own degradation as an independent power. Russia, however, persisted in

her demand; and as the Turkish Government adhered to their refusal, Baron Titoff and Count Sturmer intimated to the Porte that all diplomatic intercourse with them had ceased. In this extremity the Sultan applied to the English and French Governments for succour, and they were perfectly united in supporting him. The English fleet in the Mediterranean accordingly received orders to make sail for the Dardanelles; and they arrived there in the beginning of December, under the command of Admiral Parker. Matters now looked very serious; for the British fleet, as it was said, owing to stress of weather, which rendered it dangerous at that season to lie outside, passed the straits, and lay inside the Dardanelles. This, according to the letter of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, was a *casus belli*; and if the Russians had chosen, they might have treated it as such, and declared war. The firm attitude of the British and French Governments, however, prevented a collision: the Cabinet of St Petersburg was not prepared for immediate hostilities; and after some negotiations it receded from its demand, and the exiles were not disturbed in their retreat. To justify their protection, however, the Turkish Government intimated to the fugitives that they had better embrace the Mohammedan religion. Kosuth returned an evasive answer, and avoided compliance; but Dembinski and Bem made no scruples, and became Mussulmans, saying it was their vocation to fight the Russians, and not to enter into disputes about religion! Times were changed since Zriny defended the towers of Sigeth against the army of Solymán the Magnificent, and John Sobieski hastened with the Polish *pospolite* to raise the siege of Vienna, beleaguered by the Turkish host.

59. Hardly had the country escaped from this danger when another peril arose from the assertion of pretensions, on the part of the British Government, neither so much called for by national honour nor so justifiable by the law of nations. A diplomatic correspondence had for some time been going on

between the British Government and that of Greece, in regard to certain claims of the former, founded partly on an alleged act of injustice of the King of Greece to a British subject, and partly on injuries said to have been inflicted on another British subject by an Athenian mob. The facts alleged were, that King Otho, in the course of clearing the ground for the construction of a palace near Athens, had taken part of a garden belonging to Mr Finlay, a British subject long settled in Greece, and had refused to give any adequate compensation; and that another British subject, but a Portuguese by birth, Don Pacifico, had had his house broken into and plundered by a Greek mob, and no redress had yet been obtained, either from the parties implicated in the outrage or the Government of Greece. The Government of Athens answered, that they were willing to give a reasonable compensation, and that they would agree to the settlement of the claim by arbitration; but that the demand made was exorbitant, and twenty times what was really due; and this was warmly supported by the Cabinet of the Tuileries, who tendered their good offices to adjust the dispute. This, however, did not suit the views of Lord Palmerston, who was resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and extort immediate concessions to the demands of England at the cannon's mouth. Accordingly, he sent orders to Admiral Parker, who was returning from the Dardanelles with the British squadron, to make sail for Athens. He accordingly did so, and anchored off the Piræus in the middle of January (1850) with fifteen ships of war, repeating in the name of his Government a peremptory demand for the reparation sought; and on its being still withheld, it was formally notified to the captain of a vessel of war lying in the Piræus, that the harbour was placed in a state of blockade.

60. This demand thus enforced was clearly a violation of the law of nations, and an unjustifiable stretch of power by the stronger against the

weaker. It never was heard of before that the claims of *private* individuals of different countries against each other, or the Government of either, could be made the subject of national demand, or be enforced at the cannon's mouth. The English never thought of calling the Government of the United States, or the Republics of South America, to account for the many millions of British capital which had been lost by the North American repudiation of their debts, or the "universal insolvency" of the "healthy young republics of the southern parts of that hemisphere." If such a doctrine were admitted into the law of nations, private debts would universally be made the pretext of public wars, and society would revert to the barbarous state when family feuds or individual wrongs kept nations in constant hostility. The French Government accordingly viewed the matter in this light; for having demanded explanations, and received none that were satisfactory, they instructed their ambassador at the Court of London, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, to leave that capital, which he accordingly did; and at the same time (May 14) the Russian minister, Baron Brunow, declined an invitation to dinner at Lord Palmerston's. These two powers were acting entirely in concert, as joint guarantees, by the treaty of 15th July 1824, with Great Britain, of the independence of Greece. War seemed inevitable, or rather already begun, between England and the two greatest of the Continental powers united together.

61. The announcement that the French ambassador had left London, and that the Russian was preparing to follow his example, which was made in London on the 15th May, created, as well it might, a prodigious sensation. Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby), in a powerful and eloquent speech, brought the subject before the House of Lords, calling on them to clear the character of a great nation, which had been prostituted by an attempt to enforce unjust demands upon a weak and defenceless State. The Govern-

ment was strongly supported by Lord Lansdowne and the whole Whig party, but the motion of Lord Stanley was carried by a majority of 37—the numbers being 169 to 122. This hostile majority, in a House which had been so largely recruited from the Whig ranks during the last twenty years, made a great impression on the country, and a change of ministry was generally contemplated. Lord Palmerston tendered his resignation to Lord John Russell on the following morning; but the Premier declined to accept it till the opinion of the House of Commons was taken on the subject. They were not long of coming to the rescue. On the 20th June Mr Roebuck gave notice of a motion approving the foreign policy of Government, which came on for discussion on the following day, and led to an important debate. In the course of it Lord Palmerston vindicated the aggressive policy he had pursued, by appealing to the old Roman saying when its citizens were brought to trial in a foreign land, "*Civis Romanus sum*;" a maxim more suitable to the ancient republican masters of the world than to a state such as Britain, surrounded by powerful and jealous monarchical neighbours. His speech on that occasion, which occupied four hours and a half in delivering, was one of the most powerful and effective ever made within the walls of Parliament. The House, after a debate of four nights, divided, when Government had a majority of 46—the numbers being 310 to 264. This victory prolonged the life of the Administration. The whole strength of the united Liberal and Roman Catholic party supported Ministers on this occasion.

62. As the House of Commons by so large a majority supported Ministers on this question, and brought the nation to the verge of hostilities with France and Russia united, it is worth while to examine what preparation they had made to sustain a war with these two powers. This is now ascertained by authentic evidence. From the return presented to the House of Commons on 5th June 1857, on the

motion of Mr Sidney Herbert, it appears that the total military force voted by Parliament was, for 1850, exclusive of those in India, 99,128, of whom 39,730 were required for the colonies, leaving only 59,398 for service in the British Islands. Of these, at least, 30,000 were required for Ireland, being only 29,000 for the defence of Great Britain, of whom 15,000, at least, must be deducted for the garrisons of fortresses. Nor was the state of the navy more satisfactory; for the men and boys voted for the sea service in that year were only 39,000; and by no efforts could five sail of the line, *adequately manned*, have been collected in the Channel to protect the British shores from invasion. On the other hand, the Russians had 25 sail of the line constantly manned and equipped in the Baltic, and 15 in the Euxine, and France had 53,000 men ready to man 20 sail of the line, and as many frigates and war-steamer to join in the crusade. And the danger was averted by no other means but abandonment by Great Britain of the pretensions she had in so heedless a manner advanced. After all this discussion, Lord Palmerston quietly succumbed, and agreed to submit the disputed claims to arbitration, as France had all along urged; and the matter ended by the arbiters giving about a thirtieth part of the sums originally demanded.*

63. The speech of Sir R. Peel during this debate was one of the most brilliant which he ever delivered, and it was attended with one mournful peculiarity—it was his last. Within a few hours after, on the 29th June,

* On the 26th April the Greek Government, under the threat of active hostilities, accepted the ultimatum of the English ambassador. But meanwhile a convention had been agreed to in London, on the 19th April, between England and France, by which the Government of the former country, accepting the proposal of the latter for arbitration, imposed less onerous conditions on the Greeks. When, however, the news of the complete submission of the Greek ministry to his demands arrived, Lord Palmerston refused to carry out the agreement of London. This led to the departure of the French ambassador. Ultimately the stipulation of the 19th April was accepted by England.

as Sir R. Peel was riding up Constitution Hill, he was unfortunately thrown from his horse, and severely hurt—as it afterwards appeared, by a rib being driven into the lungs. He was carried home, and the best surgical aid immediately obtained, but in vain; for after lingering in great pain for some days, he expired at eleven o'clock on the first July. It is impossible to describe the impression which this melancholy event produced on the country, or the universal grief with which the intelligence of it was received. The news of his death created as great a sensation abroad as it did at home. The Queen was desirous to make Lady Peel a peeress, as had been done with Lady Canning under similar circumstances, but she declined it, agreeably to the expressed wish of her deceased husband. All parties concurred in the eloquent peroration of Mr Gladstone in the House of Commons:—"Though he has died full of years and of honours, yet it is a death which, in human eyes, is premature; for we had fondly hoped that whatever position Providence might still assign to him, by the weight of his ability, by the splendour of his talents, and the purity of his virtues, he might still have been spared to render service to his country:

'Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet's silvery sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill.'

64. The only other matter of general importance which came before Parliament in this session was a measure for change in the electoral qualification in the counties of Ireland. The proposition of Government was that the franchise should be lowered from £10 a-year of rated value, which it at present was, to £8. The ground on which this demand was made was the great diminution which had taken place of late years in the number of registered voters in that island, which was found, by the returns presented to Parliament, to have declined from 208,000 to 72,000. The motion was strongly opposed in both Houses, as being virtually a new reform bill, placing the

constituency of Ireland on a different footing from what it was in any other part of the empire. An amendment was proposed, on the one hand, to lower the franchise for the counties to £5 rating, and on the other to raise it to £15. Lord John Russell, however, on the part of Government, resisted both these changes, and at length the matter ended in the rating of £8 a-year being adopted as the standard both in boroughs and counties. It afforded a melancholy picture of the state to which Ireland had been reduced under the combined operations of the potato famine and the free admission of foreign grain, that it became necessary for the authors of the Reform Bill, and the supporters of Free Trade, to lower the suffrage, in order to prevent the constituency dwindling away to nothing, to a level scarcely equal to the annual maintenance of an English pauper.

65. It is remarkable that the question upon which the Government was most decidedly in the wrong was the one on which they ultimately went to issue with their opponents, and on which a change of ministry for a brief period soon after took place. It is still more singular that this change took its origin, not in consequence of a defeat on any of the great questions of the day, but of a matter personal to one of the cabinet ministers. Lord Palmerston, who had so long conducted the foreign affairs of the country, had become so much elated by the triumphant majority which had carried him through on the Greek question, that he was not only complained of by his colleagues for carrying on matters in his department too exclusively of his own authority, but even fell under the censure of his sovereign for not making her sufficiently acquainted with important public measures, and altering some state papers in material passages after they had been submitted to her approval. In addition to this, the Premier complained of some expressions used by the Foreign Secretary to the Hungarian refugees, as likely to disturb the

peace of Europe, and of a conversation held by him with the French ambassador in London, regarding the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, repugnant to the tenor of the instructions sent by the Government to their ambassador at Paris, which was to abstain from all interference whatever in the affairs of France. The result was that Lord John Russell felt it his duty to recommend to her Majesty to remove Lord Palmerston from office, which was accordingly done, and Lord Granville was appointed his successor.

66. So far Lord John Russell was successful in maintaining the system of non-interference in the affairs of foreign nations, which was the only true policy for the country, and getting quit of a rival in the Cabinet, whose abilities he perhaps had some reason to dread. But he had an experienced and skilful antagonist to deal with. Lord Palmerston ere long had his revenge. Notwithstanding the extreme reluctance of the majority of the House of Commons to any augmentation of the army or navy estimates, the Government felt so strongly the perilous position in which the country was now placed in presence of the Sovereign of France, whose intentions were as yet unknown, that they saw it was absolutely necessary to adopt some measure which might in some degree strengthen the national defences. Accordingly, on 16th February 1852, Lord John Russell brought in a bill, the object of which was to establish a *local* militia of 70,000 men in England, in addition to a trifling addition of 4000 infantry and 1000 artillery to the regular army. The troops were only to be called out for a few weeks in summer, and in the first instance the cost would be only £200,000 a-year. In the second year, however, the force was to be raised to 100,000, and in the third to 130,000, still, however, on the footing of a local militia. Lord Palmerston, who, notwithstanding his daring foreign policy, was fully alive to the defenceless state of the country, and was more conversant than the Prime Minister with the

necessity of *permanent* embodiment towards the formation of an efficient military force, moved as an amendment, that the word "local" should be left out of the bill, besides other alterations of a less important character. The object of this was to render the proposed militia, when occasion required, a permanent force, differing from the line only in not being bound to serve out of the country. Probably Lord John Russell was too well versed in history not to know that this species of force was much more likely to be efficient than the other; but he stood too much in awe of the members for the manufacturing towns, and deemed the finances of the country not sufficiently recovered from their long-continued depression to acquiesce in the amendment. He resisted it, accordingly, with the whole weight of Government; but a coalition having been formed between the Conservative opposition and Lord Palmerston's personal friends, the Premier was thrown into a minority, on a division, of 9, the numbers being 135 to 126. Upon this, Lord John Russell threw up the bill, assigning as his reason for doing so, that the vote of the House was substantially one of want of confidence in the Administration, and that he could no longer conduct the government when he had lost the power of carrying its measures. The result was that the whole Ministry resigned; and the Queen having sent for the Earl of Derby (formerly Lord Stanley),

he, with some hesitation, undertook to form an administration, the members of which were announced shortly after.*

67. The EARL OF DERBY, who was now called to the chief direction of affairs, has not on this occasion, or since that time, been so long in office as to enable a just estimate to be formed of his merits as a statesman, and it will belong to a future historian to pronounce a judgment on that subject. But there is one quality he possessed, which already had become so conspicuous that a confident opinion may even now be formed upon it. He is, beyond all doubt, and by the admission of all parties, the most perfect orator of his day. His style of speaking differs essentially from that of the great statesmen of his own or the preceding age. His leading feature is neither the vehement declamation of Fox, nor the lucid narrative of Pitt, nor the classical fancy of Canning, nor the varied energy of Brougham. Capable, when he chose, of rivaling any of these illustrious men in the line in which they excelled, the native bent of his mind leads him rather to a combination of their varied excellencies than to become an imitator of any one of them. In many respects he is a more perfect and winning orator than any of his predecessors. His eloquence presents a combination of opposite and seemingly inconsistent excellencies, but which combine, in a surprising manner, to form a graceful

* THE MINISTRY OF THE EARL OF DERBY.

First Lord of the Treasury,	Earl of Derby.
Lord Chancellor,	Lord St Leonards.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,	Mr Disraeli.
President of the Council,	Earl of Lonsdale.
Privy Seal,	Marquess of Salisbury.
Home Secretary,	Right Hon Spencer Walpole.
Foreign Secretary,	Earl of Malmesbury.
Colonial Secretary,	Sir John Pakington
First Lord of the Admiralty,	Duke of Northumberland.
President of Board of Control,	Right Hon. John Herries.
President of Board of Trade,	Right Hon. Joseph Henry.
Postmaster-General,	Earl of Hardwicke.
Not in the Cabinet.	
Commander-in-Chief,	Duke of Wellington.
Master-General of Ordnance,	Lord Hardinge.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,	Earl of Eglinton.
Attorney-General,	Sir F Theigier.
Solicitor-General,	Sir Fitzroy Kelly.

and attractive whole. At once playful and serious, eloquent and instructive, amusing and pathetic, his thoughts seem to flow from his lips in an unpremeditated stream, which at once delights and fascinates his hearers. He has a strong sense of the ridiculous, and often uses that weapon with the greatest effect in his forensic debates. Sometimes, indeed, his turn for the humorous leads him into sallies, done in perfect good nature, which he afterwards regrets. No one was ever tired while his speech lasted; no one ever saw him come to a conclusion without regret. He is capable at times of rising to the highest flights of eloquence, is always thoroughly master of the subject on which he speaks, and never fails to place his views in the clearest and most favourable light; but the natural bent of his mind is to win the assent of his hearers by the charm of his fancy or the delicacy of his satire, rather than sweep away their judgment by the torrent of his oratory.

68. Lord Derby's Cabinet, by the admission even of its adversaries, was composed of men of distinguished abilities. As a leader of the House of Commons, armed at all points in the panoply of talent, Mr Disraeli stood pre-eminent; and if his peculiar and great sarcastic talents had not such a field for their exercise as when he was the chief of the Opposition, he had a still more favourable opportunity of exhibiting his vast stores of information and practised powers of debate. Lord Malmesbury conducted the foreign affairs of the country with judgment and temper, and in the most conciliatory spirit—qualities of the highest importance in regaining the confidence of the European powers, whose jealousies had been generally awakened, or hostility produced, by the aggressive propensities of his predecessor; and Sir John Pakington, in the important situation of colonial secretary, exhibited an amount of information and administrative powers on these great and varied interests, and judgment in dealing with them, which won for him universal confidence.

The days of this Administration, however, were numbered from the hour when they first ascended to power; not from distrust of the nation in their capacity for the direction of affairs, but from an opinion generally entertained, and sedulously inculcated by their opponents, that they were in secret adverse to the new principles, and that the ascendancy of the urban class, in whom the Reform Bill had vested the government of the country, would be endangered by the new Government's continuance in office.

69. In one particular of vital importance, as it ultimately turned out, to the character and safety of the country, a great and salutary change was introduced by Lord Derby's Government. The state of the national defences, to which the attention of Parliament had at length been aroused, early occupied their serious attention, and a bill was introduced into Parliament for embodying the militia in England, to the extent of 80,000 men, to be raised in the first instance by voluntary enlistment, and failing that, by ballot. Scotland and Ireland were, in the mean time, excluded from the operation of the bill. It was warmly supported in the Commons by Lord Palmerston, who said with truth, "it was impossible to over-estimate the importance of this bill," and it passed the House by a majority of 187 to 142, notwithstanding a fierce opposition from Sir de Lacy Evans and the Radical members. In the Lords, the bill was agreed to without a division; but not before it had called forth a powerful and invaluable speech from the Duke of Wellington, memorable as being the *last*, of any moment, he ever delivered in Parliament.*

* "I am certainly the last man," said the Duke of Wellington on this memorable occasion, "to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined or half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops you are acting with a certain degree of confidence, that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence; on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to. Look

70. Meanwhile Lord Hardinge was actively engaged in measures to augment the regular army in that department in which it had become most inefficient. When he came into office he found only *forty guns* in the island capable of service, and most of these would have gone to pieces the first time they had got into a clay-field.* By the indefatigable exertions of that able officer the number of guns fit for service was, by the end of the year, raised to 200; and this was the train which upheld the national honour in the siege of Sebastopol. Such was the anxiety of that gallant soldier on the subject, that he could speak and think of nothing else; and while the peace party in Manchester and Liverpool were resisting every attempt to augment the national defences, and dreaming only of pacific influences, the hero of Albuera and Ferozeshah spent sleepless nights ruminating on the imminent peril of a misled and infatuated people.

at the state in which we stand at the present moment. We are at peace with the whole world; but who can say how long that peace will last? Our peace establishment should have in contemplation future wars, and this should have been provided for long ago. It is futility to expect anything from troops after only a month or six weeks' training. *We have never up to this moment maintained a proper peace establishment: that is the real truth; and we are now in such a position that we can no longer carry on that system, and we must have a suitable peace establishment.* I tell you that, for the last ten years, you have never had more men in your armies than were sufficient to relieve your sentries in the different parts of the world; such is the state of your peace establishment. You have been carrying on war in all parts of the globe, in the different stations, by means of your peace establishment; yet on that establishment you have not more men than are necessary to relieve the regiments on foreign service, some of which have been twenty-five years abroad. In the last war we had several militia regiments in the field, and they were as fine and highly-disciplined a body of men as I ever saw. Everything must have a beginning, and the militia now proposed to be established is that beginning. The eighty thousand men now proposed to be raised will, in time, become what their predecessors have been, and form an invaluable auxiliary to the regular army."—*Parl. Deb. cxvii. 728, 731; Ann. Reg. 1852, pp. 65, 67.*

* I had this instructive fact at this time from the lips of Lord Hardinge himself.

71. The House of Commons acted with the forbearance to the new Ministry, which they usually exercise towards a young speaker. They gave them a fair trial. It was understood and tacitly agreed to, that no measures not absolutely necessary should be brought forward till the sense of the country was taken on the comparative claims of the two rival parties to power; and that, to such as were indispensable, no mere party opposition should be offered. Both parties honourably abided by this understanding. Parliament was prorogued on July 1st, and next day the House of Commons was dissolved by royal proclamation. The general election which ensued was conducted on both sides with great keenness, but happily without the violence or intimidation which had so often of late years disgraced the people of both islands. Bribery and corruption, however, were carried on to an extent unknown on any former occasion, and which proved that the Reform Bill, instead of abating, had *increased* that evil. It was hard to say which of the two contending parties attained the greatest eminence in this unenviable particular; but the result of the petitions against returns left the Liberal members in a decided majority of three complaints. No less than fifty-two petitions were presented against the return of members in the new House—a number as yet unprecedented. One thing, however, was very remarkable in the elections: none of the Conservative candidates, not even those most strongly wedded heretofore to protection principles, were found to maintain them on the hustings. They either professed themselves converts at the eleventh hour to the new opinions, or passed them over in silence, saying they no longer contested the matter out of deference to general opinion. The general prosperity, the result in reality of the gold discoveries, which had begun to affect prices in the preceding year, and were in full operation in this, was invariably ascribed by the Free-trade party to their measures; and this obtained such general credence, that any resistance

to it was out of the question. Whatever posterity might say on the subject, it was evident that, in the opinion of the great majority of the constituency at this time, Free Trade was a specific for all the evils under which the nation laboured.

72. The new Parliament met on the 4th November. 'An addition of 6000 men was, in spite of the violent resistance of Mr Hume and the peace party, voted for the navy, *in order to lay the foundation of a Channel fleet*, and 2000 men and 1000 horses for the artillery. By mutual consent, however, the trial of strength was reserved for the Budget, which Mr Disraeli had been preparing during the recess, and which in one respect involved an important financial principle. Mr Disraeli proposed a reduction of the duty on tea from 2s. 2d. to 1s. a pound, by progressive reductions during six years, of half the present duties on hops, and half the malt-tax. Altogether, the reductions proposed amounted to between three and four millions. So far all were agreed; but when he came to the new taxes to supply the deficiency thus created, the case was very different. The income-tax was to be continued, at least for another year, and Ireland included in it, that island being taken at the moderate sum of £60,000, while Great Britain was £5,420,000. This was not opposed. But then came another proposed tax, at which the British urban constituencies immediately took fire. He proposed that the house-tax, which at present did not descend below houses rated at £20, should be extended to those rated at £10 and upwards. In support of this change, he reminded the House that, since 1832, the inhabited houses of Great Britain had been relieved of direct taxes, amounting to £3,080,000, besides indirect taxes, of which more than half fell on them, amounting to £17,000,000 more; while the landed interest, which paid exclusive taxes to the amount of £13,000,000 a-year, had obtained the remission of none of them. "Who can justify a house-tax," said he, "the operation of which

is limited to houses of £20 value?" It was all in vain; the urban constituencies, threatened with an approximation to the dire scourge of equal taxation, said, "We can justify it." No sooner was the dreaded change announced, than meetings got up in all the chief boroughs of the kingdom, and the most peremptory and significant instructions were sent to their representatives to make every effort to throw out the hated measure. The result was, that, after an animated debate of four nights, the Budget was rejected by a majority of 19, the numbers being 305 to 286. Next day the Earl of Derby and all the ministers resigned their offices, and Lord John Russell, with the whole Whig administration, were, as a matter of course, reinstated.

73. Two events of a calamitous nature occurred in this year, which forcibly attracted the attention of the country and of Europe. The first of these was the burning of the AMAZON, a magnificent steamer, of 2250 tons burden, having on board, including crew and passengers, 210 persons, in the Bay of Biscay, on the 4th of January. Among the passengers lost on this melancholy occasion was the gifted and eloquent Mr Elliot Warburton, whose recent work, *The Crescent and the Cross*, had already attained, and has since maintained, a European reputation. A large vessel passed within 300 yards of the burning ship, and was hailed with the energy of despair by the unhappy crew, but it rendered no assistance. If this heartless conduct makes us blush, the next catastrophe makes us proud of human nature. The BIRKENHEAD steamer had been despatched with detachments from several regiments, amounting to 13 officers, 466 men, and 20 women and children—in all, with the crew, 630 persons—to reinforce their respective corps in Caffraria. She sailed from England on the 5th January, and from Simon's Bay, at the Cape, on the 23d of February, and was proceeding on her way, when, at two next morning, she struck on a sunken rock within sight of the shore,

and shortly after went to pieces. There were six lifeboats on board, but one was swamped in endeavouring to lower it, and two could not be got loose from their moorings. Thus only three boats were available, capable at the very utmost of holding 78 persons out of 630. The scene which ensued must be given in the words of one of the survivors of the wreck. "Mr Salmond, the captain of the vessel, gave orders to Colonel Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, to send the troops to the chain-pumps, which was immediately done. The women and children were calmly placed in the cutter, which lay alongside under charge of an officer, and pulled off to a short distance to be free from the rush. In this awful moment the resolution and coolness of all on board were very remarkable, far exceeding anything which could have been conceived possible from the most exact discipline. Not a cry nor a murmur was heard among them, even when the vessel made her final plunge. All the officers received their orders, and had them carried out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom, with this difference only; that I never saw an embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion. When the vessel was first going down, the commander called out, 'All those that can swim, jump overboard and make for the boats.' We begged the men not to do as the commander said, as the boat with the women must be swamped if they reached it. *Not more than three left their ranks and made the attempt.*" Only 194 were saved of the 630 persons on board when the vessel struck, and of these 7 were women and 13 children, being the whole of those on board. The names of the officers are given below;—would that it were possible to give the names of the soldiers also, to be ennobled in the proudest niche of their country's glory! * And with this me-

morable act of heroism, more glorious than the rush of the charge or the ascent of the breach, because more generous and disinterested, the author closes his long narrative of the deeds of his countrymen during the wars of the French Revolution.*

74. It will belong to a succeeding historian to narrate the wonderful spring which the country made during the twelve years which followed 1852, under the influence of the gold discoveries in America and Australia; but a brief notice of them is here indispensable, in order to explain the main causes which were in full operation in that year, when the general election took place and Free Trade was finally adopted as the system of the nation. It is well known that, in consequence of the extension of the American dominion over Texas in 1848, and the war with Mexico which ensued, the peninsula of California was ceded to the United States, and became a part of the Union. The Spaniards, thirsting for gold, had been there for three hundred years,

Booth, and Ensign Quear; 74th, Lieutenant-Colonel Seton and Ensign Russell; 91st, Captain Wright and Staff-Surgeon Brown. Captain Wright, Lieutenants Girardol and Lucan, Cornet Bond, and Staff-Surgeon Brown alone were saved.—CAPTAIN WRIGHT'S *Narrative: Ann. Reg.* 1852, pp. 473, 476.

* A similar incident occurred since the preceding lines were written, which may well form a companion to so noble a picture. On the 7th February 1863, the Orpheus, a noble steamer, bound for New Zealand, with a considerable body of marines, under the command of Commodore Burnett, struck in a fine afternoon, and in comparatively smooth water, on a reef of rocks near the island, not marked in the charts by which the vessel was steered, and immediately began to sink. There were 256 persons on board, of whom 71 were got on board the boats, and were saved. The marines, while the embarkation was going on, stood in regular order in two lines on the deck, without a man leaving his place, or any attempt to force their way into the boats, and

"True to the last of their blood and their breath,
Like reapers descend to the harvest of Death."

They gave three cheers for their noble Commodore, who refused to leave the vessel, and were swallowed up by the waves before the gallant sounds were hushed! Such deeds make us proud of our country and the human race.—*Glasgow Herald*, April 18, 1863.

* They were Cornets Bond and Rolt, 12th Lancers; Ensign Boylan, Queen's Royals; 6th Reg., Ensign Mitford; 12th, Captain Blake; 43d, Lieutenant Girardol; 45th, one officer; 73d, Lieutenants Robinson and

and the gold was mixed with the alluvial sand under their feet, but they never found it out. Before the Americans had been there six months it was discovered, and the face of the world was changed. Miners speedily flocked to this *El Dorado* from all parts of America and many of Europe, and the progress which ensued was so rapid that it would be deemed fabulous if not ascertained by authentic evidence. In February 1849, the population of Europeans in the State was 2000; in June 1852 it was already 182,000; and in 1856 it had risen to 560,000. Soon after this great discovery had been made, a similar vein of prosperity was opened in Australia. Gold was there discovered in 1849, in the alluvial plains near Ballarat, and this led to a general search in the vicinity, and the precious article was soon found in great quantities. The effects were immediately the same as they had been in California. Population and wealth enormously increased; the emigration to it in 1854 rose to 87,000 persons; the exports turned £14,000,000, being about £28 a-head; and the gold obtained amounted to the enormous value of £15,000,000.*

75. The annual supply of gold and silver for the use of the globe was, by these discoveries, suddenly increased from an average of £10,000,000 to one of £35,000,000! The words of poetic genius were more than realised. "Me thinks, as I gaze around, I see the scheme of the All-beneficent Father disentangling itself clear through the troubled history of mankind. How

mysteriously, while Europe rears its populations and fulfils its civilising mission, these realms, which have been concealed from its eyes, divulged to us just as civilisation needs the solution to its problem; a vent for feverish energies, baffled in the crowd, offering bread to the famished, hope to the desperate, in very truth;" enabling the new world to redress the balance of the old. Here the actual *Æneid* passes before our eyes. From the hearts of the exiles scattered over this hardier Italy, who cannot see in the future

"A race from whence New Albion's sons shall come,
And the long glories of a future Rome?"

76. Most of all did Great Britain and Ireland experience the wonderful effects of this great addition to the circulating medium of our globe. That which, from the effects of the erroneous legislation of man, for five-and-twenty years had been awaiting—a currency commensurate to the increased numbers and transactions of the civilised world, was now supplied by the beneficent hand of Nature. The era of a contracted currency, and consequent low prices and general misery, interrupted by passing gleams of prosperity, was at an end. Prices rapidly rose, and rose steadily; wages advanced in a similar proportion; exports and imports enormously increased, while crime and misery as rapidly diminished. Emigration itself, which had reached, in 1852, 368,000 persons a-year, sank to little more than half the amount. Wheat rose from 40s. to

* STATISTICS OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES IN 1860.

Name.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population.	Colonial Revenue.	Debt.	Imports.	Exports.	Imperial Expenditure.
N. S. Wales,	323,437	865,635	1,306,925	3,819,730	7,519,285	5,072,020	44,339
Victoria,	86,831	548,944	3,039,034	5,115,100	15,093,730	12,962,704	36,567
Queensland,	678,000	56,000	178,589	742,023	742,023	709,598	...
S. Australia,	863,328	126,880	438,827	870,100	1,639,591	1,783,716	6,836
W. Australia,	978,000	15,691	60,741	1,750	169,074	89,246	37,331
Tasmania,	26,215	90,211	266,458	389,860	1,005,602	1,024,970	41,113
New Zealand,	106,259	155,070	464,738	479,044	1,548,333	588,953	104,852
	2,582,070	1,358,381	5,750,812	10,678,684	27,717,638	22,231,216	271,028

—Return presented to Parliament on the 27th March 1863.

55s. and 60s.; but the wages of labour of every kind advanced in nearly as great a proportion: they were found to be about 30 per cent higher, on an average, than they had been five years before. In Ireland the change was still greater, and probably unequalled in so short a time in the annals of history. Wages of country labour rose from 4d. a-day to 1s. 6d. or 2s.; convicted crime sank nearly a half; and the increased growth of cereal crops, under the genial influences of these advanced prices, was for some years as rapid as its previous decline since 1846 had been.* At the same time, decisive evidence was afforded that all this sudden burst of prosperity was the result of the expanded currency, and by no means of Free Trade, in the fact that it did not appear till the gold discoveries came in-

to operation, and then it was fully as great in the Protected as in the Free Trade states.†

77. The Duke of Wellington, full of years and honour, died of an affection of the head, on the 18th September. The body was brought to London on 10th November, it being resolved, in obedience to the universal voice of the nation, to give him a public funeral. No words can convey an idea of the excitement which pervaded the metropolis and the country when the appointed day drew near, and England was to bestow the last honours on her greatest hero. Despite storms and floods of severity unusual even in the gloomy month of November, multitudes flocked to the metropolis from every part of the country; and before the 18th, which was the day fixed for the august cere-

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, CONVICTED CRIMINALS, EMIGRANTS, AND PRICE OF WHEAT IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM 1852 TO 1864.

Years.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Computed Value.	Convicted Criminals. United Kingdom.	Emigrants.	Paupers. England.	Wheat per Quarter
	£	£				a. d.
1852	78,076,854	....	34,776	368,764	834,424	40 9
1853	98,923,781	....	32,291	329,937	798,822	53 3
1854	97,184,726	152,389,053	33,087	323,429	818,337	72 5
1855	95,088,085	143,542,830	27,880	176,807	851,369	74 8
1856	115,826,948	172,544,154	21,481	176,564	877,767	69 2
1857	122,066,107	187,844,441	22,152	212,875	843,806	56 4
1858	116,608,756	164,583,892	19,446	113,972	908,186	44 2
1859	130,411,529	179,182,355	17,794	120,432	860,470	43 9
1860	135,891,227	210,530,873	17,488	128,469	851,020	53 3
1861	125,102,814	217,485,024	19,678	91,770	890,423	54 4
1862*	123,092,264	225,716,976	21,810	121,214	946,166	55 5
1863*	146,602,342	248,919,020	21,535	223,758	1,142,624	44 9
1864*	160,436,302	274,868,924	20,105	208,900	1,009,289	40 2

* American War and Lancashire Cotton Famine.

—Statistical Abstract, No. XII., pp. 12, 13, 84, 99, 101, 102.

† *Vide ante*, chap. lxiii. § 68, note, where the returns proving this are given. These results, as measured from three years to three years, are—

Years.	France—Protected.		United States—Protected.		Great Britain—Free Trade.	
	Imports. Special Commerce.	Exports. Special Commerce.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports. Official Value.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.
1846	£26,800,000	£34,100,000	£25,352,458	£23,643,316	£75,953,875	£57,786,875
1849	31,200,000	41,800,000	28,200,000	28,100,000	105,874,607	63,596,025
1852*	39,400,000	49,300,000	41,500,000	36,900,000	109,331,158	78,076,854
1855	45,957,000	62,080,000	51,600,000	38,500,000	117,402,366†	95,688,085

* Gold discoveries.

† Official value for comparison sake. The real value of imports in this year was £145,545,000.

mony, it was calculated that at least five hundred thousand persons had been added to the two millions and a half which already formed the population of the metropolis. In London nothing was heard of for days before but preparations for the mournful pageant, which was to pass from the Horse-Guards up Constitution Hill, and from thence, by Piccadilly, St James Street, Pall-Mall, and the Strand, to St Paul's, where the most magnificent preparations had been made for its reception. Seats for above 200,000 persons were provided along this long line, which were disposed of at very high rates. In a word, as was well expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the feeling was so strong and universal that "a peaceful people had become inspired with warlike enthusiasm, a practical people with sentiment, and a busy people had resolved to sacrifice a day to give expression to the universal feeling."

78. The morning of the 18th November 1852, as that of the 18th June 1815, opened gloomily. A deluge of rain had fallen during the preceding night, and the lowering clouds presented a melancholy prospect for the approaching day. Nothing, however, could damp the universal passion to see the approaching spectacle. By four in the morning, carriages were to be heard in every direction, conveying the noblest, the most celebrated, and the fairest, to their selected places in the cathedral, in the clubs or private dwellings in the line which the procession was to pass. By six, every one not detained by sorrow or sickness was astir; and the balconies and seats prepared for their reception were by eight all filled with respectable persons clad in mourning. All the club-houses and principal mansions on the line of the procession were hung with black cloth. The streets, before the procession began to move, were crowded to excess; in Waterloo Place there were not less than eighty, in Trafalgar Square above a hundred thousand. Throughout the line the procession was to move, even from Apsley House

to St Paul's, a distance of fully three miles, not a crevice was unoccupied in the streets; the windows were filled with respectably-dressed persons, all in sable garb; the very roofs were covered by spectators, who risked their lives to obtain a glimpse of the pageant beneath. On the whole line, it was computed that not less than a million and a half of human beings were collected together. Yet, though so great a multitude was assembled, there was no jarring or confusion; each took his place in order and silence, as if the discipline and spirit of the mighty commander had animated the immense mass. And so admirable had been the arrangements of the police, and so numerous the opportunities afforded by the length of the line for viewing the procession, that not one person, even of the humblest, was disappointed in the means of seeing it.

79. At ten o'clock the clouds dispersed, and the sun shone forth in uncommon splendour, which continued during the whole remainder of the day. The procession itself was well calculated to satisfy all expectations, and give a memorable proof at once of the power and grandeur, and of the deep feelings of the British people on the occasion. The first and noblest in the land were there, of all parties and persuasions. Prince Albert occupied a conspicuous place; the Duke of Cambridge had the military command of all the troops employed on the occasion; the Duke of Norfolk, as hereditary Earl-Marshal of England, regulated the array. Both Houses of Parliament attended, in uncommonly full muster. The splendid array of the Horse and Foot Guards attracted universal admiration; the latter, presenting as numerous and imposing a column as that which defeated the Old Guard at Waterloo, headed the procession. His own regiments, the Rifles and the 33d, entire, and detachments from every corps of artillery, cavalry, and infantry in the service, followed in succession. All the ambassadors, and the whole *corps diplomatique* of Europe, were present. That of France even attended, in a noble spirit; the British did not feel less warmly to

their old and worthy antagonists for their conduct on this occasion. The whole superior officers of the English army, and representatives from all the monarchs of Europe, save Austria, were present. An unworthy feeling of irritation at the recent policy of England caused the Government of Vienna to withhold an expression of respect which none felt more sincerely than its brave and loyal inhabitants. Many veterans who had fought with Wellington during the war followed his remains to the grave; but not the least moving spectacle was the charger of the deceased, led by his old and faithful groom, with his boots and spurs, reversed, suspended in the stirrups.

80. All the ministers of state, judges, and public functionaries of the realm attended the ceremony. There was to be seen the Marquess of Anglesea, who, albeit past eighty-four, and bereft of a limb at Waterloo, still exhibited a spirit and vigour beyond his years; and Lord Hardinge, whose iron soul had saved the Peninsula at Albuera, and India at Ferozeshah. The keen glance of Sir Charles Napier bespoke the hero who had contended against tenfold odds at Meeanee; Sir William Napier, though wounded and broken by sickness, exhibited the spirit which shone forth in every page of his *History of the Peninsular War*. Lord Gough, who had added lustre to the long line of Indian triumphs at Goojerat; Lord Combermere, the hero of Bhurtpore, and companion in arms of Wellington; and Lord Seaton, who commanded the 51st Regiment in the last attack at Waterloo, were there. The intrepid air of Sir Harry Smith marked the veteran who turned the tide of fortune at Aliwal. The chivalrous Marquess of Londonderry, the worthy representative of him who so nobly struggled for his country during its darkest days, was one of the pall-bearers. So great was the impression produced by the scene, that when the magnificent car, bearing the body on its summit, was drawn past by twelve horses, robed in black velvet palls, every head was uncovered, and there were few dry eyes among the countless multitude.

Among them was one man, now advanced in years, who in early youth had hastened from his paternal roof to see the allied armies on their first entrance into Paris in 1814, and who now, forty years afterwards, witnessed the last scene in the mighty drama of which he then formed the conception of writing the history, and which, during the interval, he had completed.

81. Precisely at twelve the procession reached the great door of St Paul's, having been met at Temple Bar by the Lord Mayor and all the civic authorities. The Duke of Cambridge, as representing the army of England, received it at the gate with his sword drawn; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and three hundred of his clergy, in full canonicals, met the coffin as it entered the churchyard. The interior of the cathedral was hung with black and magnificently lighted with gas, which, as evening approached, threw a mellow light over the vast interior of the dome. Splendid music added its charm to the magic influence of the scene. Eighteen thousand persons, arranged on seats in the form of an amphitheatre, embracing the first and noblest in the land, witnessed the spectacle. When the procession entered the cathedral, and the anthem was struck up from the powerful organ and a splendid orchestra, twenty thousand voices swelled the strain. When the titles of the deceased came to be read out by Garter King-at-Arms, it appeared he had been loaded with honours from every country in Europe. A Prince in Belgium, a Duke in England and Spain, he was a Field-Marshal in Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, France, Hanover, the Netherlands, Portugal, and England; nine batons fell from his hand when he breathed his last. Foreign princes and marshals stood at the head of the coffin; Prince Albert and the English generals, who had borne the pall, at its foot.* Every

* Marquess of Anglesea, Marquess of Londonderry, Lord Gough, Lord Combermere, Lord Seaton, Sir Harry Smith, Sir Charles Napier, Sir Alexander Woodford, and Sir Peregrine Maitland.

heart throbbed with emotion when, in dead silence, the coffin was lowered into the grave in the centre of the cathedral, close behind Nelson's tomb; and the last earthly honour he received was from his old companion in

arms, the Marquess of Anglesea, who, as it vanished from the sight, bowed to his unconscious remains.

"Such honours Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's
shade."

CHAPTER LXXVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT, IN DECEMBER 1848, TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE, IN 1852.

1. THE immense majority by which Prince Louis Napoleon had been created President of the Republic added greatly to the power of the executive, and was an important step in the restoration of order after the Revolution. But it was far from appeasing the parties, or producing a similar union in the Assembly. It was, in truth, a declaration of France against the Revolution, and bespoke the anxious desire of the inhabitants of its rural districts to terminate the disorders which it had introduced, and return to the occupations of peaceful industry. But to the legislature, or at least a large part of its members, it was a serious blow, and was felt the more severely that it had been so completely unexpected. They had entered the Assembly expecting to be little kings, or, at the very least, Roman senators; they found themselves reduced to the rank of ordinary legislators. The executive authority—so important in all countries, so influential in every age in France—had been appointed over their heads by the general voice of the people; the President was no longer their officer or administrator, but the nominee of a rival power, and might be expected on a crisis to be supported by the army, which looked to him for promotion, employment, and glory. The seeds in this way, not merely of discontent and division, but probable

strife, were sown in the very outset of the President's administration; the balance between a popular chief magistrate and an ambitious but discontented legislature could not long be preserved; and as the nation would certainly not again go back to the Republic, it was already foreseen that it must go forward to the Empire.

2. The first care of the President, after installation in office, was to organise a powerful army under the command of Marshal Bugeaud at Lyons and the adjacent provinces near the Alps. The foundation of that force had been laid in March 1848, when it was expected that the Republic would be attacked by the neighbouring powers, and it at first consisted only of three divisions, mustering 30,000 bayonets and 4000 sabres, with 38 guns. It was now raised, by the care of the President, to 72,000 infantry and 8000 horse. The threatening aspect of affairs in the north of Italy amply justified these precautionary measures; and it was mainly owing to the formidable front thus presented that the Austrians, after their successes over the Piedmontese, had been prevented from crossing the Ticino. But the army was destined also for another object, and its main purpose was to form a support to the President's power in the event of a rupture with the Assembly. It had already rendered important service to

the cause of order on occasion of the insurrection in June preceding, when it prevented an outbreak at Lyons from immediately succeeding that at Paris; and one of its divisions had on the first alarm advanced by forced marches towards the capital. It was to this powerful force that Louis Napoleon mainly looked for the support of his authority, in the event of that breach with the Assembly and democratic party, which it was evident, sooner or latter, must ensue.

3. The thorns were not long of showing themselves, and they did so first in the Cabinet of the President. Following up the principle laid down in his circular to the electors, already given, Louis Napoleon, in the first instance, formed his Cabinet from a combination of all parties, though the majority was composed of those who were known to incline to the monarchical side. It is true M. Thiers, M. Molé, M. Berryer, M. de Broglie, M. de Montalembert, were not themselves in the Cabinet, but their friends and supporters were so, and constituted its majority. M. Odillon Barrot, M. Leon de Malleville, Drouyn de Lhuys, M. Passy, M. Leon Faucher, M. de Tracy, belonged to the constitutional party, who had formed the Opposition, but desired a free government under the Orleans dynasty. It might be presumed, what was soon found to ensue, that they would incline to the monarchical side under the government of the President. On the other hand, M. de Falloux represented the religious party, united with the Legitimists, who formed so important a part of the electors, especially in the rural districts, and M. Bixio the Republican. Coalitions of this kind are often desired by the people, and deemed practicable by the inexperienced; they are always looked on with distrust by those versed in real life, and never fail to terminate in the expulsion of the weaker party from the administration. So it proved in the present instance. A sincere and honest republican, M. Bixio soon found that he was out of place in a Conservative cabinet, and he retired accordingly,

and was succeeded by M. Buffet in the office of Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. This was immediately after followed by the resignation of M. Leon de Malleville as Minister of the Interior, whose place was supplied by M. Leon Faucher, transferred from the Ministry of Public Works, in which he was succeeded by M. Lacrosse. The latter changes were not produced by any divergence of political principle, but by a private rupture between the President and M. Leon de Malleville, occasioned by a warm altercation relative to the demand made by the President for the delivery of some documents in the office of the Minister of the Interior, bearing on the abortive Strasburg and Boulogne affairs ten years before.

4. There remained, however, before the Government could be considered as fully completed, the office of Vice-President of the Republic to fill up. This was a situation of great importance; for not only was he at all times *ex officio* President of the Assembly, but in the absence, or during the sickness, of the President, he exercised his functions, and was intrusted with his powers. The appointment, too, was of the more importance, that it was to be made neither by the President nor the Assembly taken separately, but by the latter from a list of three furnished by the former; so that both the rival powers would have a share in the election. In terms of the law, the Cabinet presented, on the 18th January, a list of three candidates for the situation, and they were M. Boulay de la Meurthe, General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and M. Vivien. The two first were received with such marks of displeasure by the Assembly, that the President was obliged to invoke the respect due to the executive authority to bring it to a close. When the election came on (Jan. 20), however, the result was different: M. Boulay de la Meurthe was elected by a large majority, the numbers being 417 for him, against 277 for M. Vivien, who alone came to the vote. The ill-humour of the Assembly at this result was shown in the vote on the salary of the Vice-President, which

was reduced from 60,000 francs a-year to 48,000 francs by a majority of 372 to 270. The Cabinet had even some difficulty in resisting a proposition of the Radical party in the Assembly, headed by Babaud-Larivière, to the effect that the Vice-President should receive for his residence, not a separate house, but the *upper flat* of the building occupied by the Council of State.

5. The first serious subject, apart from the strifes of factions, which occupied the attention of the Assembly, was the finances of the Republic, which were still in the most disastrous state, and threatened immediately to become utterly hopeless, in consequence of the cessation of the duty on salt, on 1st January, according to the decree of the Provisional Government on 13th April preceding. The loss of this tax, which brought in 70,000,000 francs a-year (£2,800,000), would evidently reduce the Republic to a state of bankruptcy, for the deficit of the current year already exceeded 250,000,000 francs (£10,000,000), and it was necessary to come to some immediate resolution regarding it before the fatal day of the termination of the tax arrived. The debate came on upon the 27th December, and the reasons for resisting any reduction of the tax were thus stated by M. Passy, the finance minister: "Never, not even in the days of its greatest prosperity, did the receipts of the exchequer reach 1,400,000,000 francs: in the last year of the reign of Louis Philippe they were only 1,370,000,000 francs. The entire revenue of 1848, if you deduct the produce of the 45 per cent addition to the direct taxes, will not exceed 1,200,000,000 francs, while the national expenses have increased in a still more alarming proportion. In the year which is drawing to a close, the expenditure has been 1,800,000,000, showing a deficit on the ordinary revenue of 600,000,000 francs (£24,000,000) in a single year. Nor are our prospects for the future more consolatory: the revenue in 1849 can only be estimated at 1,300,000,000 francs, while the charges of the year cannot be taken at less than, at the very least, 1,600,000,000 francs, show-

ing a certain deficit of 300,000,000 francs (£12,000,000) in the ensuing year. Is this a time when it is possible to reduce the permanent revenue by withdrawing a tax producing 70,000,000 francs annually?" Notwithstanding the weight of these arguments, and the urgency of the case, such was the sense of the Assembly of the unpopularity of the tax, or their terror of meeting their constituents if they had had any hand in reimposing it, that though they departed from its entire abolition, it was only on condition of its being reduced from 1st January 1849 to two-thirds of its former amount. This was carried, on the final division, by 372 to 363. It was well understood to be a political vote breathing hostility to the Government; and it was sufficiently alarming, as indicating how nearly parties were divided in the Assembly. But it was a still more serious blow to national credit, and excited great alarm among all persons of property, from the apprehension that it was an unworthy concession to popular clamour, which could not fail to be followed, as in the preceding year, by a serious addition to the direct taxes.

6. The financial situation of France was discussed and fully developed a month after, when the new taxes to be laid on to meet this great deficit came under consideration. As the temper of the Assembly against any increase of the indirect taxes had been so unequivocally evinced, no resource remained but an augmentation of the direct; and as the continuance of the forty-five per cent addition to the direct taxes was not for a moment to be thought of, no expedient remained but to levy an increased duty on successions. M. Goudchaux had, six months before, brought forward a proposal, when he was finance minister, to levy a *progressive* duty on successions, whether in money or heritage—a proposal evidently of a Socialist character, and tending to introduce a system confiscating the property of the rich to alleviate the burdens of the poor. It was rejected, accordingly, by M. Passy, the present finance minis-

ter; but he proposed a very serious addition to the tax by increasing it from twelve to twenty per cent, successions under 500 francs (£20) being entirely exempted. This proposal occasioned a perfect storm in the Assembly; but M. Passy was firm, alleging with truth that the public service could not be carried on unless the tax was conceded. He concluded with the significant words: "Either enable me to execute my duties, or I resign." The Assembly felt the power of the appeal, and in spite of the extreme reluctance to increased taxation, was constrained to agree to the increased duties by a considerable majority. A similar measure was, from the same cause—the reduction of the indirect taxes—introduced shortly after into Great Britain. Thus, in both countries, the first durable effect of popular triumph was to change, to a considerable extent, the system of indirect taxation—the creation of European freedom—into that of direct and crushing burdens, the offspring in every age of Asiatic despotism.

7. A very valuable report was presented on 22d January by the finance minister, on the comparative financial state of France in 1848 and 1849. Though somewhat different from the position of the country in the preceding year, it still presented a mournful and almost hopeless aspect. The total receipts of 1849, as compared with 1848, showed a diminution of no less than 437,718,732 francs, arising from the termination of the 45 per cent on the direct taxes, and the want of the loan of 232,000,000 francs, which had been contracted by the Government in the preceding year. On the other hand, the ordinary receipts might be expected to be increased by 243,716,000 francs, of which no less than 99,230,000 francs were from the increased duty on successions, and 83,873,000 francs was hoped for from the rise in the produce of the indirect taxes arising from the increased strength of Government, and tranquillity of the country. Still this exhibited a diminution in the total receipts, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1849, compared with 1848,

of 194,000,000 francs (£7,760,000), which required to be made up by loan, exchequer bills, or some other extraordinary resource. For the whole reduction in the expenses for 1849 which was deemed practicable amounted to 178,491,000 francs, as no less than 41,493,000 was for increased interest of debt on which no reduction was practicable; so that, upon the whole, the deficit of 1849 would be 15,510,000 francs *more* than that of 1848, which already had been so enormous! Such were the first fruits, in a financial point of view, which France reaped from the Revolution of 1848, and they were bitter in the extreme. The magnitude of the public armaments, rendered necessary by that convulsion, in a great measure explained this deplorable state of the public finances; for the army on the 1st December 1848 numbered no less than 502,196 men and 100,452 horses, of which 78,000 men and 15,490 horses were employed in Algeria. These forces were to be reduced in the course of the present year to 380,824 men and 92,410 horses. The navy was fixed on a more moderate scale, proving that the Government had no apprehensions on the side of England. The ships afloat in commission were ten of the line, two floating batteries, eight frigates, and eighteen corvettes.

8. A very important matter, both as regards the social interests of the country and the party struggles in the legislature, came under the consideration of the Assembly early in January, connected with the administration of the prisons. The Provisional Government, in the first fervour of their philanthropy and sympathy with the inmates of jails, had on the 24th March 1848 entirely abolished labour in prisons; but the effect of this, as any one might have anticipated who knew anything of the matter, had been so injurious both in demoralising the prisoners by idleness, and augmenting the severity of their punishment by their having nothing to do, that the Assembly, on the 28th August, had reverted to the system of prison labour, leaving it to the prefects to decide in what

species of work they should be employed. This immediately gave rise to violent remonstrances from the free labourers in the neighbourhood of the prisons, who complained that they could not compete on terms of equality with workmen who, fed, clothed, and lodged by the State, could of course undersell them in the produce of their labour. Pressed by these opposite interests and considerations, the Assembly adopted, with a slight modification, the report of the committee ordered to inquire into the matter, which was to the effect that the produce of prison labour should not be exposed for sale in competition with that of freemen, but so far as possible employed in furnishings to the troops by land and sea. This system is adopted also in Holland, Belgium, Bavaria, and Genoa; but it is evident that it is a mere elusory solution of the difficulty, and only *appears* to succeed, because it keeps the competition out of the sight of those who suffer under it. The true principle to adopt in the case is, that idleness in prison is, in reality, so great an aggravation of its pains, that it is unjust to inflict, and so great an incentive to crime, in appearance, to those who have not experienced it, that it is unwise to permit it. No class in society is entitled to insist that another class shall be kept in a state of compulsory idleness and moral ruin, lest its industry should interfere with their own. The command of Providence is that all mankind should eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, not that this sentence should be confined to the free. Any undue interference with the remuneration of free labour can be prevented by making the prices charged for the produce of penal labour not lower than the average.

9. The all-important subject of primary education early occupied the attention of the Assembly. M. Carnot, their Minister of Public Instruction, had, on the 30th June 1848, immediately after the suppression of the revolt, brought forward a project for the universal education of the people at the public expense; but the necessitous

state of the Exchequer had prevented it from being immediately adopted, and they fell upon the usual expedient, when delay was desired, of referring it to the Legislative Committee. They having made a report, it was again for a similar reason remitted to the committee for farther consideration; and at the same time commissioners were appointed, with instructions to prepare laws on primary instruction, secondary instruction, and the books to be taught in schools. The Council of State also soon came under consideration—a very important body, as it was appointed for six years by the Assembly, and intrusted with the examination of all legislative motions which appeared to the Government to be too hastily prepared, or of so much importance as to be thoroughly matured, and requiring deliberate consideration. It was soon found, however, that the interposition of a body having such important functions between the executive and the legislature, nominated by the latter, led to great inconvenience, and might seriously fetter the Government, especially in matters relating to foreign states, or requiring immediate despatch. A motion was accordingly made and carried to reduce the number of the members of the Council from forty-eight to thirty-two, as a more manageable number; but it was provided that they should be re-elected by the Assembly before they entered on their functions. This was an effort on the part of that body to maintain the influence and consideration of which they already felt they had been in a great measure deprived by the election of the President.

10. Public opinion meanwhile in France was so rapidly turning against the legislature, that it was foreseen its existence could not be long prolonged. The general feeling was forcibly expressed in meetings held in Rennes and Lille. "It will no longer do," said an orator in the former city, "for Paris to send us down revolutions by the mail-coach; for it is not now political but social revolutions with which we are visited. The departments, in June, have shown unequivocally that

they are determined to put an end to this system. Reflect on the days which we denominate by the 24th February, the 15th May, the 23d June. Is it to be borne that we are still doomed to go to bed at night without knowing whether we shall ever waken in the morning?" "It is unprecedented in history," said a speaker in Lille, "that a few thousand turbulent adventurers, ever ready for a *coup-de-main*, should have succeeded on so many occasions in putting in hazard the destinies of a people so advanced in civilisation as that of France. We present to Europe the extraordinary spectacle of a nation of 35,000,000 of men ever ready to take the yoke from 20,000 or 30,000 creators of revolutions, who descend into the streets at a signal given by a few ambitious leaders, and treat France as a conquered country. A few months only have elapsed since we saw a handful of misled men, taking advantage of the inertness of some, the connivance of others, the terror of many, and the weakness of Government, gain possession of the sanctuary of the national representation, and chase from it the representatives of the country. A unanimous resistance has now declared itself against the Parisian tyranny; a violent desire to shake off its yoke has made itself felt even by the central government. It is not a conspiracy, still less a dream of a federative government; it is an open and deliberate movement by the provinces of France, as the old ones of Gaul were determined that their interests shall no longer be swallowed up in those of Rome."

11. When such was the temper of men's minds in the provinces, it was only a question of time when the legislature was to be dissolved, to make way for one more in harmony with the general wish of the nation out of the capital. After the election of the President by so great a majority of votes over all France, this desire assumed a practical direction, because its realisation seemed more nearly approaching. The general wish found vent in a motion made by M. Râteau, that the general election should take

place on the 4th of next May, and the existing Assembly be dissolved on the 19th of that month. This brought matters to a crisis; and it was doubtful how the matter would be decided in that body, for the parties were very nearly divided upon it,—the general wish of the vast majority of the people being counterbalanced by the desire of the members in the Assembly to retain a power by which they hoped largely to profit. In the Council of State the votes were nearly equally divided; and in the Assembly itself, it was decided by a majority of *four*—the numbers being 400 to 396—to take the motion into consideration, which was equivalent to giving leave to bring in the bill in the English House of Commons. The whole supporters of Government lent their aid to the measure. "There is something worse," said M. Montalembert, "for a real lover of his country, and friend to social progress, than the overthrow of existing governments; for however sad this may be, the executive power survives, and often gains by it. What is much more deplorable is the weakness of government in the hands of those who received it young and energetic. Do not, I implore you, present to Europe that mournful spectacle; do not let a power which has nothing above, nor even on a level with it, perish from inanition in your hands. A part of the Assembly does not wish to advance, because it is not sure it will be able to retrace its steps; another wishes to move on for the opposite reason. Terminate, I implore you, so humiliating a spectacle in the eyes of Europe." After a long and impassioned debate, the motion of M. Râteau, slightly amended by M. Lanjuinais, was carried by a majority of 424 to 387—a short respite being merely given to the Assembly in order to enable them to mature a new law regulating, in some matters of detail, the approaching election.

12. It was not, however, without an attempt at a violent *coup-de-main* that this great victory was gained by Prince Louis Napoleon and the moderate party in the Assembly. The Repub-

licans were quite aware that it would annihilate their ascendancy, and they resolved to anticipate the legal dissolution of the Assembly by a *coup d'état* against the President. "Louis Buonaparte once down," said M. Proudhon, "and the counter-revolution is at an end. It is astonishing that, for a month past, neither the Republicans in the Assembly, nor the democratic press, have been aware that that is the real state of the matter. Strike the idol, and the faith being dishonoured, the worship is over. Let the vote crush Louis Buonaparte, and it is done. Have no fear of a reaction; it has no force but in the noise which it makes. An energetic vote in five minutes will deliver you from all your dangers." This was a direct appeal to a civil war, and an invitation to a *coup d'état*; for the President, having been elected by the direct votes of the people, and not by the Assembly, could not legally be removed but by the same authority which had created him, before the period of his tenure of office, which was four years, expired. Government meanwhile, however, were not idle. A motion was brought forward by the Minister of the Interior, to shut up the clubs, which was rejected by 418 to 342; and this was met by a counter-motion, proposed by M. Ledru-Rollin, for an accusation of the Ministers, upon the ground of their having, by this motion, violated the constitution. But the Republicans had no expectation of carrying this extreme measure in the Assembly; it was the hoisting the signal of insurrection that was really intended; and this design was carried into execution on the 29th January.

13. The clubs had for long been in a state of extraordinary activity; and the demand for an accusation of the Ministers was signed, not only by a great many members of the Assembly, but by nearly the whole editors of newspapers in Paris. It was universally known, accordingly, that a great democratic movement was in agitation; and the conspirators at this

critical moment received a great and unexpected accession of strength from the discontent of a part of the Garde Mobile, owing to a project which was in course of execution for reducing the strength of their battalions to that of the regiments of the line, and organising them in fewer battalions than heretofore. As this measure threatened to deprive a good many officers of their situations, it excited great discontent: and to such a length did this go, that two hundred of them repaired in a menacing manner to the palace of the Elysée, where the Cabinet was sitting, on the 28th January, in order to extort a revocation of the decree reducing them. General Changarnier, the governor of the armed force in Paris, who was extremely popular in their ranks, received them kindly, and persuaded them to retire, but they did so uttering seditious cries, and immediately entered into communication with the heads of the clubs, who, charmed with such an unlooked-for accession of strength, on the spot fixed a grand demonstration for the following day. It took place accordingly, but proved a miserable failure. The fire of democracy in the great body of the people was burnt out. The Government were acquainted with the whole plans of the conspirators, and from an early hour of the morning all their places of rendezvous were occupied by large bodies of troops, who, so far from joining them as they expected, forcibly prevented any attempt at assembling. Foiled, disconcerted, and utterly overmatched, the conspirators, who came up in considerable numbers from the clubs, had no alternative but to retire, and they did so worse than defeated—turned into ridicule.

14. During the panic occasioned by this abortive insurrection, the proposition of M. Râteau was again taken into consideration, and carried, like the introduction of the Reform Bill of England, and the decree establishing the National Assembly of France in 1789, by a majority of ONE—the numbers being 416 to 415. The days of the Assembly being now numbered,

its legislative acts ceased to be an object of any consideration ; and the regulations for the approaching election having been passed without a division on 15th February, the clubs were closed after a stormy debate on the 20th March following, by the slender majority of 19 votes — the numbers being 378 to 359. This was the last important act of the Constituent Assembly. It rejected, on 15th May, by a majority of 37, a motion to the effect that the Ministry had lost the confidence of the country, and four days afterwards came to an end. Every eye was now fixed on the approaching general election, fraught as it was with the future destinies of France ; but the preparations on the opposite sides to meet the crisis were very different. The clubs were in ceaseless activity, and they had established branches in the chief provincial towns. The press was nearly unanimous in favour of the democratic side, and loud in its abuse of the President and the ruling authority. On the other hand, the Government was in a false position. Louis Napoleon alone was elected by a power independent of the Assembly ; all his ministers were members of that body, and accustomed to regard its majorities as the only foundation of their authority. Thus the chief magistrate of the Republic and his ministers looked to different bodies for support, and were actuated at bottom by opposite motives. The first, depending directly on the people, regarded the Assembly as an enemy to be overcome ; the second, in constant collision with the legislature, looked upon it as an ally to be conciliated. Had it been possible for Louis Napoleon to dispense with the Assembly, and govern of his own authority, he would probably have secured the suffrages of an immense majority of the people. But the nation was not as yet sufficiently awakened from the illusions of the Revolution to render that possible ; and as the Government had been severely censured for interfering in the elections of the preceding year, it was deemed advisable to abstain altogether from

any attempt to influence them on the present occasion. Thus the people were left without either leaders or direction on the one side, and with both of the most efficient kind on the other. A club to secure the return of members of Conservative principles was established in the Rue de Poitiers, and raised considerable sums to organise an opposition to the Socialist doctrines, which were now spreading in every direction from the capital to the provincial towns. But like all other attempts since 1789 to resist the spread of democratic principles by any other means than the Government, it had very little success. The electors, distracted between their own secret wishes and the republican clamour with which they were surrounded, saw in general no resource but in returning a member on each side, or electing a republican not as yet pledged to violent measures. Thus the parties were nearly equally divided in the new Assembly, as they had been in the old. But there was this difference between them, and it proved most material ; the leading republicans were not elected. Ledru-Rollin nearly alone survived amidst the general wreck of his party.

15. The equally divided state of the returns was soon known, and, when announced in Paris, produced universal consternation. The disorders and miseries of the Revolution were immediately anticipated, and the public funds sank 7 per cent in one day. An attempt was made to renew the intimidation of the Assembly by a threatening mob, which surrounded its doors on the 28th May, the first day of meeting ; but it was dispersed without difficulty by a body of cavalry, which cleared the approach amidst frantic yells from the Jacobin party. M. Dupin *aimé*, an able and intrepid man, was elected President, which situation he held with credit to himself and advantage to the State, during the two years that its sittings continued.

16. The first great effort of the democratic party was made on the 13th June, and was brought about by the affairs of Italy. By a vote on 7th May, the preceding Assembly had en-

joined the Government to take steps for preventing the expedition to Rome from being any longer diverted from the object for which it was intended. That object, in the view of the Government, was the establishing the French power in Rome, to prevent the Austrians getting there; but in the sense of the Assembly which passed the vote, it was to aid Garibaldi and the Republicans of that city. A large part of the new Assembly, and even some of the President's ministers, had taken the same view; and this feeling was so strong and general, that possibly, contrary to the intentions of the Government, it might have led to the French troops entering Rome as allies, as the Romans expected, had it not been for the collision and bloody repulse, already mentioned, sustained by Oudinot before its walls, which at once set up the passions of the French people and decided the side they were to take. This, however, was a subject of bitter regret and vexation to the Revolutionists, who had looked to that expedition as the commencement of that system of propagandism which they had so long and so ardently desired. In contemplation of the great movement which was organised on this subject coming on, the Socialists had compelled the members elected under their influence to subscribe a declaration setting forth—"The Republic is above any majorities. If the constitution is violated, the representatives of the people should be the first to set an example of armed resistance. The employment of the forces of France against any people is a crime, and a violation of the constitution. France is bound to give succour to every people combating." This was the programme of the revolutionary campaign, which was immediately followed up in all the Radical newspapers and in the clubs, which had never been thoroughly suppressed. "A contest is commencing," said one; "it will be terrible. Treason is consummated; they are about to assassinate the Roman Republic. We are entitled to say so to a functionary who has betrayed the Republic,

and Buonaparte is that functionary. Louis XVI. conspired, and little time elapsed between the return from Varennes and its expiation." "To-morrow," said the *Vraie République*, "the Mountain will come to the tribune to proclaim the dethronement. High treason has been committed: the right of dethronement has arisen; to oppose it would be to tear in pieces the constitution, destroy the Republic, and abdicate, by the very act, the sovereignty of the people." In pursuance of these principles, M. Ledru-Rollin laid on the table of the Convention, on the 11th June, an act of accusation against the President and Ministry, signed by 123 members of the Assembly; declaring, at the same time, they would "defend the constitution, even with arms in their hands."

17. The die was now cast, and war declared; but the revolutionists found that they had a very different antagonist to deal with from Louis XVI., Charles X., or Louis Philippe. The act of accusation against Louis Napoleon was rejected by a large majority of the Assembly; but the bringing it forward was only a signal for insurrection. Early on the morning of the 13th June, a crowd began to assemble on the Boulevards, at the Chateau d'Eau, which soon swelled to a formidable number, being reinforced by the whole Socialists of the Faubourg St Antoine and the Faubourg St Marceau. They immediately began to march towards the Tuileries along the Boulevards, having a man of resolution, and a colonel in the National Guard, Etienne Arago, at their head. They loudly proclaimed, as they moved along, they were going "to finish with Buonaparte and the National Assembly." But the Government was on its guard. Changarnier, who commanded the armed forces of Paris and of the department of the Seine, was at the head of two regiments of dragoons, two of infantry, and one of the Garde Mobile. With these troops, whose steadiness could be relied on, he remained motionless in the Rue de la Paix, which falls at right angles on the Boulevards, till half the column

of insurgents was passed; and then, suddenly issuing forth, fell perpendicularly on its flank, and instantly passing through, cut it in two. The force which had done so, rapidly accumulating as the rest came up from the rear, charged vigorously to the right and left, driving the mob either way before them, and completing their defeat and dispersion without ever having occasion to make use of their arms.

18. While the insurgents on the Boulevards were undergoing this humiliating defeat, M. Ledru-Rollin and twenty-five of the most determined leaders of the Mountain were in anxious expectation in a house in the Rue Hazard, leading off the Rue de Richelieu, from whence, when they heard of the defeat of the column on the Boulevards, they sought refuge with four hundred artillerymen of the National Guard as an escort, in the Conservatoire des Arts et des Métiers, in the Rue St Martin. They proclaimed at first their determination to defend their post to the last extremity, and preparations to barricade every access to the building were made. But these bold resolutions speedily gave way, when they found themselves surrounded on all sides, and no general insurrection in the city, as they had expected, hastening to their relief. Three barricades were commenced in the streets adjoining, when a company of the 6th Legion of the National Guards arrived, and having been fired on from one barricade, rushed forward and carried it by storm. The effects of this discharge of firearms must be given in the words of an eyewitness: "Some panes of glass of the Museum were broken by the shots, and immediately the deputies threw themselves out of the windows, and took to flight, leaving all their papers and effects behind them. Ledru-Rollin got out of the garden into the Rue de la Croix, and thence into the Rue du Temple, where he disappeared, and finally made his escape in the obscurity of the evening." Thus, amidst ridicule and contempt, terminated this attempt of the Jacobins to revolution-

ise the Revolution, and from which its authors anticipated nothing less than the final triumph of extreme Democratic and Socialist principles. The Government was materially strengthened by the defeat of this insurrection. The clubs were finally suppressed, and so thoroughly were they sunk in general estimation that this important step excited very little attention. Paris was declared, and continued for a short time, in a state of siege, and after long debates, in the course of which M. Montalembert drew a picture in the most sombre colour of the state of France, a new law was voted, restraining the liberty of the press, and imposing fresh penalties upon all who should incite the citizens to revolt, or endeavour to dissuade the soldiers from discharging their duty to the Government.

19. It soon appeared that this was not a mere insulated insurrection in Paris, but that it was connected with a general democratic movement in the other great towns of the country. On the 15th June the capital was thrown into consternation by the receipt of a telegraphic message from Lyons, announcing the breaking out of a revolt in that city. It had commenced on the night of the 14th, by some unknown criers announcing in the streets that "Paris was in a state of insurrection, the Assembly dissolved, a convention summoned, and the President and his ministers arrested." The Socialists immediately rose, and in the course of the night erected strong barricades on the heights of the Croix Rouge, and other dominant points in Lyons. Fortunately the troops remained steady, otherwise the consequences might have been very serious. Heavy guns were quickly brought up, and a warm fire opened upon the barricades, especially those on the Croix Rouge, the headquarters of the revolt, and after being shaken by the discharges they were stormed, with great slaughter, and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Seven hundred prisoners were made on the spot, and eight hundred men, mostly taken with arms in their hands, were soon lodged in

the Bernardine Convent, and in the Hôtel de Ville. The losses of the insurgents were severe, as they fought desperately at all points. The intelligence of the suppression of this formidable revolt excited a great sensation at Paris, and augmented the loyalty of the army, who had a grand military display a few days after (June 17), at the funeral of Marshal Bugeaud, who had died, after a short illness, of cholera. Thirty thousand soldiers attended the funeral of the veteran: the pall was borne by M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, Marshal Molière, General Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, and M. Rulhières, the Minister of War. A strange combination, considering how they had stood opposed at the fall of Louis Philippe, but eminently descriptive of the union of parties around the President which was now taking place to defend the last refuge of order and government.

20. Notwithstanding this double victory in the metropolis and the chief manufacturing town of France, the position of the President was still a false one, and there was little harmony between him and his ministers. He resolved to have done, accordingly, with parliamentary administrations: and, suddenly (Oct. 31) dismissing his whole Cabinet, he astonished the world by the formation of an entirely new ministry, composed of persons of capacity and business habits, but by no means known in the debates of the Assembly.* In his opening address to the new Assembly, at the beginning of the new session, the President thus explained the motives which had induced him to take this decisive step: "To strengthen the Republic, threatened on all sides by anarchy, to secure order better than has hitherto been done, and to preserve to France that high position she has hitherto occupied among nations, we require men

who, animated by patriotic devotion, are alive to the necessity of a *single and firm direction*, and of a policy distinctly announced, who will not compromise power by any irresolution, who are as much impressed with my responsibility as their own, and who may be as ready in action as in words. I wish to inspire in the country by my sincerity, my perseverance, and my firmness, such confidence as may permit affairs to resume their usual course. The letter of the constitution has, without doubt, a great influence on the destinies of a country, but the manner in which it is worked has a greater still. Let us then unite in restoring power, without injuring real liberty. Let us calm apprehension by boldly extinguishing the bad passions, and giving to all lofty instincts a useful direction. Let us confirm the religious principle without abandoning the conquests of the Revolution, and we shall save the country in spite of the madness and ambition of parties, and even the imperfection of institutions which we are called on to rectify."

21. Immense was the sensation which this decisive step, and still more the message with which it was accompanied, excited in the Chamber, the capital, and over all France. The members of the new Cabinet were so unknown, and drawn from such various quarters, that it could not be said that any known party in the Assembly or the country had obtained a triumph: it rather appeared that the President was endeavouring to create one of his own, which might act independently, and, in the end, obtain the mastery of them all. This system would have been impossible had the President been elected by the Assembly, or dependent on a parliamentary majority for his existence, for the new Cabinet would have been at once displaced by a vote of the Chamber; but the case was different when he was elected by the direct votes of the people, and capable of appealing to them in any quarrel between him and the legislature. The impression made, accordingly, was very different in Paris

* The Cabinet was thus composed: Foreign Affairs, M. de Rayneval; Interior, M. F. Barrot; Justice, M. Rouher; War, General d'Hautpoul; Finances, M. Fould; Public Instruction, M. de Parieu; Commerce and Agriculture, M. Dumas; Marine, Admiral Romain-Desfosses.

and in the provinces. In the former, after the first moments of stupor, the prevailing feeling was one of astonishment and indignation. The popular members of the Assembly could scarcely believe that it was seriously intended to form a Government independent of their influence, and setting at naught their eloquence. "It is the Government of *one man*," they exclaimed: "the shadow even of constitutional or parliamentary government is at an end." But in the provinces the impression was very different. They regarded it as an attempt to emancipate the Government from the thralldom of the clubs in the capital, or the despotism of an oligarchy of orators in the Chamber, and loudly applauded it as the commencement of the only government really suited to the circumstances of the country.

22. The power of the President being founded on the direct voice of the people, he was careful in all matters which fell under his power as chief magistrate to attend to their interests, and as far as possible anticipate their wishes. But so profoundly had society been shaken in all its parts by the Revolution of 1848, that it was no easy matter to apply a remedy to the multiplied evils which prevailed. He did, however, what he could, though slowly and cautiously, to restore order without alarming democracy. By an edict of 3d November he restored the magistracy over all France, which had never been properly constituted since the fall of Louis Philippe. On the 13th of the same month, the judgment of the superior criminal court of Versailles, which had convicted the members of the Assembly, twenty in number, who had been implicated in the insurrection of the 13th June, was carried into effect, and they were expelled from the Legislature.* On the 16th, the necessity of a "certificate of studies," as it was called, before children were admitted to the primary schools, was taken away, as that was nothing but a security of their having

been brought up in revolutionary principles. On the 1st March 1850 a new law was brought forward regarding the mayors and substitutes, which put an end to the anarchy which, since the last revolution, had prevailed in the municipalities. Such, however, was the disorder which had crept into this part of the administration, that it was found necessary, before the end of the year, to dismiss 124 mayors and 83 substitutes, and to dissolve the National Guards in 153 communes. On the 15th March a general and important law on primary education was passed; and on the 7th April, in the same hall of the Luxembourg where M. Louis Blanc had so recently destroyed industry by organising labour, both were reanimated by the opening the session of the Council-General of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures. Finally, on the 13th of the same month, the Pope returned to Rome, and openly resumed his government under the protection of the French legions, a step which strongly confirmed the opinion of the rural districts of France in favour of the President, to whom mainly the French intervention in his favour had been owing, and as much alienated the urban multitudes.

23. These were all steps, and not unimportant ones, in the reconstruction of society in France; but they did not strike at the root of the evil, which was the vast spread of Socialist and anarchical principles in the metropolis and great towns, in consequence of the incessant efforts of the revolutionary press. This had gone to a length which was neither generally known nor suspected by the other classes of society. The Socialists had long boasted that they had 137,000 men in Paris alone who subscribed to their opinions, and were ready to support their principles. Though not a fourth part of that number had ever turned out with arms in their hands, yet an event occurred at this time which demonstrated that the estimate was in reality far from being exaggerated. The Jacobins, ruined as a revolutionary party by the defeats of

* Seventeen of them were condemned to transportation; three to imprisonment for five years.

27th June 1848 and 13th June 1849, had now thrown themselves into the arms of the working classes, and become Socialists. So early as the 2d December 1848, Ledru-Rollin had said in the club of *La Reine Blanche*, "I am a Socialist, and have been so for eighteen years. In the Executive Council they were eight to one against me. I have come this evening to say that all the treasures of the earth are not, in my opinion, equal to your esteem, and to express how happy I should be to receive a ball in my breast in your service." All the other chiefs of the Mountain had done the same; the fusion of them with the Socialists was complete, and their united strength was tested by what occurred in March 1850. The elections then came on to fill up the vacancies occasioned in the Chamber by the sentences passed on those who had taken part in the revolt of the 13th June, and three of them were in the metropolis. The clubs, which, though formally closed, were still in activity, immediately put forward candidates of the most decided Socialist principles. In every one of them they were successful, and by such large majorities as demonstrated that their leaders had by no means overrated their strength in the constituency of that city. MM. Carnot and Vidil, both noted Socialists, were each returned by 138,000.* In the provinces it was quite the reverse; the returns from them were almost all in the Conservative interest.

24. The election, by such overwhelming majorities, of these decided Socialists in the metropolis, struck France with astonishment and alarm. In Paris the consternation among the superior classes was extreme; the public funds fell $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in an hour when the numbers were an-

nounced. Terror and general distrust again prevailed; the danger, which it was hoped had been averted by the victory of the 13th June, again appeared instant and threatening; the triumph of Socialist principles, the division of property, and dissolution of society, seemed to be inevitable. The favourable returns from the provinces were far from counterbalancing the alarming result in the metropolis; it was now proved that more than 140,000 Socialists were in Paris, at the very door of the Government, who might any day rise in insurrection, and to whom the defection of a few regiments would give the command of the State.

25. So general was the apprehension, and so anxious the wish for a union of the respectable classes to resist the dangers with which they were threatened from the anarchical, that the President, in obedience to the universal desire, convened a meeting of the leaders of the different parties in the Assembly to consider what was to be done. It took place accordingly on the 14th March 1850, in the *Elysée Bourbon*, and was attended by M. Montalembert, M. Thiers, M. Molé, the Duke de Broglie, and some others. The President received them courteously, and opened the discussion with these words: "I have assembled you, gentlemen, to assist me with your intelligence and patriotism in this crisis. What, think you, should be done to avert the dangers revealed by the progress of the Socialists?" A long pause ensued; but at length Montalembert said: "In the old assemblies of the clergy the youngest always spoke first; I will answer the question of the Prince with as much frankness as he has put it. In my opinion we can only escape from the dangers with which we are surrounded by the President appointing, as his ministers, the chiefs of the

* The votes were, in round numbers—

M. Carnot,	138,000 votes.	} Socialists.
M. Vidil,	.	.	.	.	.	138,000
De Flotte,	.	.	.	.	.	128,000
Fernand Foy,	.	.	.	.	.	125,000
De la Hitte,	125,000	} Conservatives.
Bougeau,	.	.	.	.	.	124,000

—*Moniteur*, 11th March 1850.

majority. That is the most decisive and significant answer which we can make to the provocation of the enemies of society." "I am ready," replied the Prince, "to follow the advice of Montalembert; what say you, gentlemen?" "The Republic," said Thiers, "is a young maiden. It costs me much to marry her; but if there is no other way of saving the country, I am ready to do so." "I am entirely of an opposite opinion," said the Duke de Broglie: "the union, in one cabinet, of the chiefs of the Legitimist party and the old ministers of Louis Philippe could afford no guarantee either for union, strength, or durability. It could be fruitful only in strife and discord." The other speakers concurred in these sentiments; and accordingly, with many expressions of patriotism, the meeting broke up, leaving the President more than ever confirmed in his opinion that the division of parties in the Assembly was so wide that any fusion of them was impossible, and a real government could be formed only on a basis independent of them all.

26. The parliamentary chiefs were too strongly impressed, however, by the extreme danger evinced by the Socialist returns in the metropolis, not to make some effort to avert it. This could only be done by a modification of the law of election, and the imposing of certain restrictions on the universal suffrage, which, in the metropolis at least, was producing such alarming results. One effect of the Revolution, which overturned Louis Philippe, had been to fill Paris with a multitude of Italian, Bohemian, Spanish, Belgian, Irish, Polish, Slavonian, and German refugees, who, having ruined their prospects in their own country, all flocked to the French capital as the headquarters of insurrection throughout the world. Their number amounted, it was supposed, to forty or fifty thousand, and they were alike ready, at a moment's warning, to vote for the most extreme Socialist candidate, or descend into the streets and aid in the formation of barricades. To exclude, by a general

law, such dangerous allies from the electoral rights, seemed the first duty of the legislature, and the matter was accordingly remitted, on the 3d May, to a committee of eighteen members, embracing, among others, Thiers, Montalembert, Molé, and Leon Faucher. They brought forward a report recommending that the condition of six months' previous residence, which was the existing law, should be extended to three years; and that all persons convicted of violating the laws, either by entering secret societies, engaging in revolt against the civil or military authorities, or leading a life of vagrancy, should be excluded from the franchise. This change would, it was foreseen, shut out several hundred thousand persons, a large part of whom were in Paris; and the Liberals, accordingly, made the most vigorous efforts to prevent its being passed into a law. The 18th May, being the day when the report was to be presented to the Assembly, was even fixed on as the day for a general revolt. But the Government were on their guard. Every day, from the time the question had been mooted, the Assembly was guarded by large bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and so well were the precautionary measures taken, under the able direction of General Changarnier, that the Socialists, though the whole secret societies were only awaiting the signal to rise, did not venture to move. They made every resistance possible in the Assembly, however; but after a debate of four days the report was adopted, on the 31st May, by a majority of 433 to 241.

27. Great was the impression produced in Paris and over France by this victory. The funds immediately rose 2 per cent. It was not so much from its actual effects, as from its being regarded as a test of the strength of Government, that it was looked on by the capitalists and men of property with so much satisfaction. For the first time since the Revolution of February, the Revolutionists had been set at defiance, and not only overawed in the streets, but defeated in the legis-

lature. But the President was far from sharing these sentiments. He was well aware of the incubus which it would take off the elections in the metropolis; but that advantage, considerable as it was, appeared to be more than counterbalanced by the discontent which any measure abridging the electoral right might excite among the provincial electors, upon whose support his power was entirely founded. The law which had produced so much agitation had been passed by a coalition of all the monarchical and conservative parties in the legislature. His union might be directed to his own power; and if so, what would he be if he had lost the support or confidence of the rural electors? So impressed was he with these views that he exerted all his influence to prevent the bill passing, and yielded at length rather in deference to the opinion of others than in consequence of his own convictions.

28. It was not long before events occurred which proved that these anticipations on the part of the President were by no means ill-founded. On the 5th of June, a motion was brought forward by the Ministers to augment the President's salary from 600,000 francs (£24,000) a-year to 3,000,000 (£120,000). The largest of these sums cannot be regarded as extravagant for the chief magistrate of a republic which boasted of a revenue of £60,000,000 a year; the smallest was obviously and scandalously inadequate to support the situation in common decency. No sooner, however, was this proposal broached, than the whole leaders in the Assembly coalesced against it; and although the press in the departments declared loudly in its favour, it was only by the mediation of General Changarnier, and under humiliating conditions, that the enlarged salary was voted by a majority of four. The hostility of the parliamentary majority was still more clearly evinced a few days after (June 29), by the rejection of a proposal on the part of the Government, that the mayors should be appointed by the executive instead of the inhabitants.

This change was loudly called for; for as matters at present stood, the mayors in some places were Legitimists, in others Orleanists, and in the great towns nearly all Socialists, so that no united action could by possibility be expected from them. The Legitimists united with the Mountain to throw out this useful measure, and they succeeded. A still more decided proof of hostility was afforded in the appointment of the permanent commission of the Assembly to watch over the President during the recess, which was to extend from the 11th August to the 4th November, and was composed of the leaders of all the parties now coalesced against the President, embracing, among others, General Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, General Lamoricière, M. Molé, and General Creton.

29. Seeing the Assembly thus decided, and formed into a coalition against him, the President resolved to throw himself upon the real supporters of his authority, and appeal to the provinces. On the 12th August, the very day after the Assembly broke up, he set out for Lyons, which he reached on the 14th, and on the day following he was entertained at a public banquet. It was a striking proof at once of his courage and his wisdom that he selected for his first public demonstration a city so recently the theatre of a bloody Socialist revolt. It proved eminently successful. "You are told," said he, "of surprises and usurpations, but you attach no faith to such absurd reports. *Coups d'état* are the dream of those who have no moral support in the nation; but the elected of six millions of men executes the wishes of the people, and has no need to betray them. Patriotism may consist in self-denial as well as in heroism. In presence of a general danger, personal ambition of every kind disappears; but patriotism reveals itself as maternity did on the evidence by which the real mother of an infant was discovered in the story, from her who pretended to be so. It was by the renunciation of her rights to save her child that the true parent was discovered. I shall

not forget that sublime lesson. But, on the other hand, should culpable pretensions revive and menace the peace of France, I shall know how to reduce them to impotence by invoking the sovereignty of the people, for I recognise in no one the title of representative of the people more than in myself." These words were received with loud acclamations: the banquet proved a civic ovation. From thence the Prince went to Strasbourg, Rheims, and Cherbourg. Everywhere his reception was of the most unanimous and enthusiastic description. His words at Rheims truly described the feeling of the provinces: "Our country desires only order, religion, and a sage liberty. Everywhere I have found that the number of agitators is infinitely small; that of good citizens infinitely great. God grant they may never be divided."

30. Notwithstanding the clear proof thus evinced of the general feeling of the country, apart from the capital, the leaders of parties in the Assembly still clung to the phantom of parliamentary government, as if it could be anything but a phantom when the great majority of the constituency in the country, as a whole, was evidently against it. Seeing the President had openly taken his line, the different parties in the Assembly coalesced in the closest manner against him; and preparations were secretly made for an appeal to arms, in the event of his not yielding obedience to the wishes of the legislature. Advances were made to General Changarnier, both by the Royalist, the Democratic, and the Orleanist leaders; and his important position as commander of the armed force, both in Paris and the department of the Seine, rendered his concurrence a matter of very great importance. He was at length gained over to the coalition, though he had at first been a warm supporter of Louis Napoleon. The universal homage paid to the President during his tour in the provinces, and especially the cry of "*Vive Napoléon!*" which had been frequently heard at the reviews of the troops, awakened his apprehensions, as well

as those of the Parliamentary Commission, which formally remonstrated with the President on certain distributions made to the troops after the reviews were over. They were very moderate, being at the cost only of 25 *centimes* (2½d.) per head; but even this trifling sum seemed dangerous in a country and a state of society where everything had come to depend on the voice of the military. The knowledge that such a charge had been preferred against the President, which soon got wind, and the vague sense of an approaching crisis in which the military were to play the leading part, caused a large concourse of spectators to assemble to witness a great review, which was to take place at Satory, near Versailles, on the 10th October. The infantry, consisting of three regiments, passed in silence, which struck every one with surprise, as being contrary to what usually took place on such occasions; but the surprise was redoubled when the cavalry, consisting of forty-eight squadrons, defiled past at a quick trot, amidst cries of "*Vive Napoléon! Vive l'Empereur!*" The difference was too marked not to attract attention; and inquiry being made on the spot, Changarnier declared he had given no orders on the subject; but General Neunayer, who commanded one of the divisions, admitted that he had ordered the infantry to be silent under arms. The rules of discipline required that such an act on the part of an inferior officer should not be passed over; but the Prince merely deprived him of the command of his former division, and appointed him general of two others at a distance from Paris.

31. Hitherto General Changarnier was not ostensibly implicated in this affair, although, being the general in command of the troops on the occasion, it was generally suspected that a subordinate officer would not have taken the strong step of interdicting the customary salutation to the President without his concurrence, or the direct orders of the Commission of the Assembly, which was known to be decidedly hostile to him. For twenty

days he maintained a studious silence, taking no notice of General Neumayer's dismissal, and it was thought that he was about to play the part of General Monk, and attempt a second restoration. At length he declared himself. On the 2d November there appeared an order, signed by him, forbidding the troops under his command to utter cries while under arms. So universally was this understood to be a declaration of war on his part against the President, that the journals in Changarnier's interest immediately announced his dismissal, accompanied by the statement that it was not as yet executed, because no minister could be found bold enough to attach his signature to such an order. The President, however, judged it prudent to dissemble for a while, and to delay the counterstroke against his powerful lieutenant, until either his own imprudence or some act of the legislature would more clearly put him in the wrong in public opinion. For as long as republican institutions were in form established, it was impossible to deny that cries from the military pointing to an emperor were improper, if not seditious. The excessive imprudence of the Parliamentary Commission ere long furnished him with such an opportunity. A pretended conspiracy was revealed by some agents of the police to the Commission, professing to have for its object the assassination of General Changarnier and M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, as the chief obstacles to the re-establishment of the Empire. The informer, named Alluis, who gave the information, disappeared immediately after doing so, and could not be found, and no evidence corroborating his statement could be obtained; but, nevertheless, the Commission affected to believe the story, and laid on the table of the Assembly a proposal to have a police appointed and paid by themselves to watch over the safety of the National Assembly.

32. The President now deemed the time come when he might move with advantage. His first step was the dismissal of General Hautpoul, the minister-at-war, which was done (Oct.

23) in the most delicate terms, and with every expression of regret. He was succeeded by General Schramm. His next was the message to the Assembly, which opened on the 12th November, in which he said: "Whatever changes may lie buried in the womb of time, rest assured that it is never passion, surprise, or violence which decides the fate of a great nation. Let us inspire in the people the love of repose, by showing the example of calmness in our own deliberations; let us inspire them with a reverence for what is right, by never transgressing its bounds ourselves; and when this is done, the progress of political morals will compensate the danger of institutions created in days of distrust and uncertainty. The noblest and most worthy object of an elevated mind is not to seek when in power the means by which it is to be perpetuated, but to keep in view continually the means of consolidating, for the advantage of all, the principle of authority and of public morality, which bids defiance alike to the passions of men and the instability of laws." This message produced only a temporary lull of the hostilities between the Assembly and the President; and ere long a proposal was brought forward by M. Creton to repeal all the laws against the return of princes of the exiled families. This was done with the design of rearing up, in the Orleans princes, rivals to the President; but it was abandoned, because the Legitimist deputies refused to concur in the motion.

33. Still Changarnier retained the command of the troops in Paris and the department of the Seine; and this important military situation naturally caused him to be regarded as the military chief and man of action of the parties coalesced in the Assembly against the President. An event, however, occurred early in January 1851, which brought him directly in collision with the chief magistrate. On the 2d January, a journal known to be in the interest of the Assembly, reported certain standing instructions issued to the troops in January 1849,

requiring them to obey no orders but such as emanated from the general-in-chief, and declaring null "every requisition, summoning, or order on the part of *every functionary, civil, political, or judicial*." Louis Napoleon now deemed it indispensable to act, and he did so in the most decided manner. On the day following Prince Napoleon Buonaparte came unexpectedly to the Assembly, and demanded that they should either declare these instructions apocryphal, or censure the general-in-chief, who had republished them of his own authority. The minister-at-war, General Schramm, taken by surprise, asked for time to consult the archives of his office; but General Changarnier, with more candour, while denying that the interpretation put on the order was warranted, and asserting that he had never taken into consideration the right of the Commission to command the armed force, admitted that he "had drawn up the orders in order to preserve the unity of command during a combat, and in contemplation of a combat." The Assembly, "desirous to accept the homage of the commandant of the army of Paris, and in order to give him a proof of its confidence, passed to the order of the day." Upon this General Schramm resigned his situation of minister-at-war, which broke up the Cabinet. But Louis Napoleon's resolution was taken, and on the 7th January it was generally understood that in the afternoon General Changarnier was to be deprived of his military command at Paris.

34. Upon this bold resolution being known in the Assembly, the most violent storm commenced; but the public funds rose considerably. It was felt that the contest was now openly begun, and that everything would depend on the command of, and part taken by, the garrison of Paris. As in the English civil wars, the strife had commenced with a struggle for the command of an armed force. In the first transports of their indignation, the Assembly spoke of ordering the formation of an army of fifty thousand men, and placing them under

the orders of General Changarnier. The extreme division of parties in that body, however, rendered it impossible to obtain a majority for any decisive measure, and they contented themselves with proposing a vote of no confidence in the Ministry, which it was known would be carried. Meanwhile the President convened the leading members of the Assembly, on the 8th January, at the Elysée Bourbon, when he "declared his earnest desire to remain on good terms with the legislature; offered to take his ministers from the majority; to abandon his enlarged civil lists; in a word, to do everything they desired, except give up the right which the constitution gave him of dismissing an inferior officer." There was no doubt that this was legally within his power, and accordingly the conference broke up without any result. The formation of the Cabinet was now concluded, and the President reformed it with the changes only of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who was appointed to the ministry of Foreign Affairs; General Regnaud de Saint Jean l'Angely, who was made Minister at War; M. Ducos to the Marine; M. Magne to Public Works; and M. Bonjean to Agriculture and Commerce. On the same day (January 9), the military direction of Paris was divided; General Perrot being appointed to the command of the National Guards of the department of the Seine, General Baraguay d'Illiers to that of the regular troops in Paris, and General Carrelot to the charge of the troops in the first military division forming the environs of the capital. Thus General Changarnier was superseded without his name being once mentioned. The dismissed General repaired to M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, and proposed that he should receive an appointment as *General of the Army of the Assembly*; but Dupin declined to confer it on him, alleging, with truth, it was beyond his power to do so.

35. "The Assembly has lost its sword," exclaimed the *Gazette de France*, when the dismissal of General Changarnier was made public.

The coalition, however, did not lose heart, and preparations were made for a grand parliamentary demonstration against the President. It was brought on, after a tumultuous debate of five days, by a motion of M. Remusat, to the effect that "the Government should be called on to explain why the preceding cabinet has retired and the new ministry been appointed; and when this question is answered, that the Assembly should separate into its bureaux in order to adopt all the measures the public exigencies may require." The debate on this motion, as may well be supposed, ran entirely on the dismissal of Changarnier and the position of the President, antagonistic to the Assembly, and it lasted five days. In the course of it, Thiers said, "There are but two powers in the State. If the Assembly yields now, there will be but one power; the form of the government will be changed. The word will come when he pleases; that is of little moment. Let it come when it may, the EMPIRE IS MADE." The whole parties, Royalists, Orleanists, Republicans, Socialists, coalesced against the President, and the Assembly, amidst the utmost agitation, declared (Jan. 15) "that the Ministry has not its confidence, and passes to the order of the day," by a majority of 417 to 286.

36. Upon this defeat the President, to a certain extent, reformed his ministry, but he did so by selecting as the new ministers strangers to the Assembly.* In form and appearance, he yielded to the vote of the Assembly, but in reality and substance he did just the reverse, for not one cabinet minister was taken from their benches; that is, they lost the whole object for which they were contending. Sensible of their difficulties, the leaders of the parties which had coalesced, exhausted

by the violence of the conflict, and disconcerted by the manner in which the President had eluded the effects of their victory, relapsed into a state of comparative quiescence, and prolonged for eleven months longer the strife, which virtually divided the government between the Chief Magistrate and the Assembly. The latter took a discreditable advantage of their majority by refusing (Feb. 10), to the President, the endowment of 1,800,000 francs (£72,000), although his whole civil list amounted only to 3,000,000 francs (£120,000), instead of the 36,000,000 francs accorded to Charles X., and the 21,000,000 to Louis Philippe. This allowance was the patrimony of the old soldiers, artists, and men of letters, who hung upon the executive, rather than of the President who distributed it; but nevertheless they refused it by a majority of 98, the numbers being 396 to 294. This paltry economising, and reducing him to his bare salary of 3,000,000 francs (£120,000)-a-year, only increased his popularity; he sold off part of his horses, and dismissed the most of his establishment, but continued his support to the needy. The indignation excited by this treatment of the first magistrate of the republic was such that large subscriptions were immediately made, even among the workmen of the Faubourg St Antoine, to indemnify him for what the parsimony of the Assembly had refused. The President still further extended his popularity by respectfully declining the proffered bounty. It soon appeared that the majority was held together by a rope of sand; the exasperation of the parties of which it was composed was so great that they could unite on nothing but votes hostile to the common enemy, the President. M. Creton having renewed on the 1st March his motion for the repeal of the laws against the exiles, the Socialists, Orleanists, and Legitimists broke out into vehement and acrimonious declamation against each other; and to such a length did the exasperation on all sides proceed, that M. Berryer, fearful of the majority being openly

* The new Ministry was thus composed—Minister of Justice, M. Royer; Foreign Affairs, M. Bremer; War, General Randon; Marine, Admiral Vaillant; Interior, M. Vaisse; Public Works, M. Magne; Agriculture and Commerce, M. Schneider; Public Instruction, M. Giraud; Finance, M. de Germiny.—GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC, vol. ii. p. 247, 248.

disunited, with difficulty obtained an adjournment of the question till the 1st September. Meanwhile the President remained calm at his post, and the Assembly did not venture to take the only decisive step legally in their power, that of stopping the supplies, for fear of irritating the army, and enabling him to appeal to the people to deliver him from a factious parliament, which had rendered all government impossible.

37. Encouraged by this circumstance, and the lull of strife in the Assembly, he resolved cautiously to admit the parliamentary leaders into the Ministry, and with that view he sent (April 4) for M. Odillon Barrot to form a new cabinet, which might conciliate the legislature. That orator accepted the difficult mission, but he soon found that it was impossible either to reconcile the principles or satisfy the demands of the various and discordant parties of whom the majority in the Assembly was composed, and he was obliged to abandon the undertaking. Left in this manner to his own resources, but desirous of holding out the olive branch to the legislature, the President, on 10th April, formed a new cabinet, composed entirely, with the exception of General Randon, the war-minister, of members of the Assembly, although none of them were to be found among the leaders of the hostile parties.* They were all men, however, of respectability and business habits, though without shining parts, such as in ordinary times would have commanded general confidence. But as every one saw that a decisive struggle between the Assembly and the President was impending, and must sooner or later come on, these considerations were generally forgotten, and all eyes were turned to the future, straining to descry on what question the collision was likely to take place.

38. The revision of the constitution

* M. Ronher was Minister of Justice; M. Baroche, of Foreign Affairs; M. Leon Faucher, of the Interior; M. Randon, of War; M. Chasseloup Laubat, of Marine; M. Fould, of Finances; M. Magne, of Public Works.—*LESFÈS*, vol. ii. p. 273.

was the first question on which the looked-for trial of strength came on. This step was loudly demanded by all intelligent persons in the kingdom, from the proof which had been afforded of the impossibility of the public business being conducted, with the executive in a constant state of antagonism with the legislature, and the latter so split up into irreconcilable parties that no cabinet capable of carrying on the government could be formed out of the majority. The time was now approaching when this revision might legally be made, as the third and last year of the Legislative Assembly commenced on the 28th May, and from that date it was competent by the constitution to introduce changes into it, provided they were sanctioned by not less than three-fourths of the Assembly, consisting of at least five hundred members. Petitions on this subject began to be presented on the 5th of May, and between that day and the 30th June they contained the signatures of 1,123,625 persons, of whom 741,000 demanded the revision of the constitution, and 382,624, in addition, the prolongation of the powers of the President. Three hundred thousand more signatures were presented before the 24th July. So great a demonstration of opinion left no room for doubt that the revision was anxiously desired by a great majority in the country, and accordingly Odillon Barrot expressed himself to that effect. The public press was divided on the subject: the Orleanist journals were hostile to it, as likely to favour the Empire; the Legitimists were rather in its favour, as likely to advance the cause of Henry V.; the Republican and Socialist concurred, after a good deal of hesitation, in absolutely rejecting it, as likely to injure the dogma of the sovereignty of the people, the great conquest of the Revolution. This they foresaw would be endangered by any change which threatened the influence of the great towns. The Conservatives generally supported the revision, and M. de Broglie presented a petition, signed by 232 deputies, praying for it. But

the Socialists boasted that it would never pass, because it could only be done by three-fourths of a house of at least five hundred, and they were strong enough in the Assembly to prevent such a majority ever being obtained.

39. The President took advantage of a banquet at Dijon on 1st June 1851, to express his ideas on this all-important subject. "France," said he, "neither wishes a return to the ancient regime, under what form soever it may be disguised, nor an experiment of perilous and impracticable utopian schemes. It is because I am the most decided adversary of both the one and the other, that the people have such confidence in me. A new phase in our political course is about to commence. From one end of France to the other petitions are pouring in, praying for a revision of the constitution. I confidently expect the manifestations of the country and the decisions of the Assembly, which will be solely for the public good. If France sees that she is denied the right of disposing of herself without its concurrence, she has only to say the word: *my courage and energy shall not be wanting*. Whatever may be the duties which the country may impose upon me, it will find me ready to execute its wishes: be assured France is not destined to perish in my hands." On the other hand General Cavaignac said: "The revision of the constitution would put the Republic in the balance against the Empire. But the Republic should not permit itself to be called in question: every government which allows its principle to be called in question is lost. The national sovereignty is the fundamental principle which runs through all our institutions, and the Republic is the sole and only representative of that principle."

40. The question came on for decision on the 20th July. 724 members voted, and consequently the 111th article of the Constitution required 543 votes, being three-fourths, to authorise the change. The numbers were 446 for it, and 278 against

it: a preponderance, making a majority of 168, great indeed, but not sufficient according to the constitution to authorise an alteration of its fundamental articles. The coalition had therefore gained a victory by this decision, and on the day following it was succeeded by a motion, on the part of M. Bazé, one of the *questors*,* for a vote of censure on the Administration for the part they were alleged to have taken in getting up the petitions. This was carried by a majority of 18, the numbers being 338 to 320; and on the 10th October following, the session was prorogued to the 4th November. It is remarkable that in the minority against the revision of the constitution were to be found the names of M. Thiers and M. Remusat, though there were not probably in all France two men more thoroughly convinced of the ruinous tendency of the existing institutions than those political philosophers.

41. During the short interval of parliamentary strife the country was in anything but a state of repose. The secret societies, not only in the metropolis, but in all the chief towns of France, were in a state of unprecedented activity. Their members were full of hopes for the future. "Yet four months," said their organ, "and the Assembly will have reached the term of its existence. We shall be done with the President, as his reelection is forbidden by law, and victory will remain with the people." The period assigned for the great strife was March 1852, when the Assembly's term of existence would come to an end; and it was thought the vote against the revision of the constitution had secured the victory of the Jacobins on this occasion. The great legislative question on which the elections, it was believed, would hinge, and to which, therefore, all eyes were turned, was the repeal of the law of 31st May regarding the elections. On this sub-

* The "*Questors*," who became celebrated immediately after, were officers appointed by the Assembly, in imitation of the *questors* of Rome, to watch in an especial manner over the legislature and the public weal.

ject the President had never changed his opinion: he was decidedly in favour of its repeal, thinking that its removal would do more for him in the rural districts than against him in the metropolitan constituency. His ministers were decidedly of the opposite way of thinking. They deemed it certain that a restoration of the old law would give a majority to the Socialists, and ruin both the Government and France. The opinions of the chief magistrate and his cabinet being thus irreconcilably at variance, nothing remained but an entire change of ministry. They all resigned accordingly, and were succeeded by a ministry entirely new, composed of men of respectability, but for the most part unknown to fame. It contained, however, one name destined to celebrity—GENERAL ST ARNAUD—who was appointed minister-at-war. The new cabinet was universally regarded as a declaration of the President in favour of the repeal of the electoral law of 31st May.*

42. The last session of the Assembly opened on the 4th November; and in his message to it the President said: "A vast conspiracy of demagogues is organised in France and in Europe. The secret societies have spread their ramifications even in the most distant rural districts. All that the parties contain that is insensate, violent, incorrigible, without having agreed either on men or things, have fixed on a rendezvous for 1852, not to construct but to destroy. It is in the zeal of the magistracy, the strength of the administration, and the devotion of the army, that we can alone hope for the salvation of France. Let us then unite our efforts to take away from the Genius of Evil the hope of even a momentary success." Somewhat inconsistently after this gloomy exordium, the message contained a proposal to *repeal the law of 31st May*, which, as already mentioned, restricted universal

suffrage, and to substitute for it another, excluding only from the right of voting persons having no domicile, or convicted of crimes. It proposed to restrict the domicile required by law to six months instead of three years. By this change it was calculated that nearly three million of inoffensive citizens would be restored to the suffrage, of which, by the existing law, they stood deprived. It was evident that the President was playing out his last card: he had come to see to what the rural electors were inclined: he was preparing for an appeal to the nation, and securing beforehand the votes of the restored citizens.

43. The leaders of the coalesced majority in the Assembly viewed the matter in this light, and they immediately met this move of the President by a counter-move, which, three days after, was laid on the table of the Assembly by the questors, and which was qualified by the designation of "urgent." The motion was to this effect: "The President of the National Assembly is charged with the exterior and interior safety of the Assembly. He is to exercise, in the name of the Assembly, the right conferred on the legislature by the 32d article of the Constitution, to fix the amount of force required for its security, and appoint the chief to command it. He is authorised with that view to require the assistance of the armed force, and of all the authorities whom he may deem necessary for its support. These requisitions may be addressed to *all officers, superior and inferior*, who are all bound immediately to obey them under the pains fixed by law. The President may delegate his powers of requisition to the questors, or any of them. This law shall be read as an order of the day to the army, and placarded in all the barracks on the territory of the Republic." This proposal was a flagrant violation of existing law, as it went to take from the President the command of the armed force, expressly conferred upon him, and him alone, by the constitution. It amounted to a declaration of war against him; but gave him the immense advantage,

* The Cabinet included MM. de Thoirgn, Corbin, Turgot, Giraud, de Casablanca, Lacrosse, Fortoul, and Blondel. M. de Maupas was at the same time appointed Prefect of Police.

for which he had long been looking, of beginning the contest not only with the affections of the army and of the great majority of the people, but with the legal right on his side.

44. This proposal came on for discussion on the 17th November, after having been adopted by the committee to which it had been referred, and led to an animated debate. The agitation in the Assembly was extreme, especially when General St Arnaud admitted that he had given instructions to take down the decree of 11th May 1848, directing the soldiers to obey the orders of the Assembly, which had been recently put up by its command. St Arnaud's language was extremely firm on this occasion. "Passive obedience," said he, "is the vital principle of an army. I have learnt so in the school of Marshal Bugeaud. Discipline is essential to its existence: the moment that you destroy it you ruin the safeguard of the nation. The proposal of the quæstors goes to introduce deliberation and a division of power into the ranks; but the army is the servant of the country: it is united in the sense of its duty." These words spread a general conviction that the army would not support the Assembly, and shook the majority. "Do what you please," said the Minister of the Interior (M. de Thorigny), "we are prepared for all eventualities." A gloomy silence now succeeded to the tumultuous cries which had hitherto disturbed the debate: terror froze every heart, and detached crowds from the majority. Many thought the proposal of the quæstors was the signal for a parliamentary *coup d'état*; all saw in it the commencement of a bloody civil war. Under the influence of these feelings the vote was called for. On its being taken, 408 voted against the proposal of the quæstors, and only 300 for it. It was observed that Generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Bedeau, and Changarnier voted for the quæstors, all the other military men in the Assembly, twenty-one in number, against them. M. Rouher brought the decision of the Assembly to the President, who was in

the palace of the Elysée, ready, if the vote had been different, to mount on horseback. "It is better as it is," cried he, and the preparations were immediately countermanded.

45. This great debate left the parties in a state of mutual exhaustion, and materially damaged the coalition in the Assembly, which had hitherto been so hostile to the President, by showing that, on a crisis, a large part might be expected to leave it. The narrow escape which the country had made from civil war, and the obvious risk of its soon recurring, had suggested to thoughtful and reasonable men of all parties the necessity of a change in the constitution; and since the Assembly could not muster a majority sufficient to do this legally, the only recourse was a *coup d'état*. This was evident to all, and all were prepared to act upon it; the only question—and it was a most material one—was, to whose profit the *coup* was to be struck? Meetings of the leaders of parties accordingly took place, to consider what should be done in this emergency. M. Thiers "was of opinion that the President should be re-elected for ten years." "It will be a terrible day for Paris," said he, "when that is proposed; but I feel it is just and indispensable, and I am willing to agree to it." M. Molé and his friends were of opinion that the Assembly should be divided into two chambers, the President re-elected, and vigorous measures taken against Socialism. A third party, which met at M. Daru's, in the Rue de Lille, on the 15th November, and included M. de Montalembert, M. Fould, and M. Rouher, were for the division of the Assembly into two chambers, the re-election of the President, and the passing of these resolutions into a law by a simple majority of the Assembly, not three-fourths, as required by the constitution. Thus all parties were agreed, except the extreme Radicals, that a revision and change of the constitution were indispensable; but as it could not be effected in the present temper of the Assembly without a *coup d'état*, and they were by no means agreed how or

by whom that was to be done, matters seemed inextricable, so far as the civil leaders of parties were concerned.

46. But, meanwhile, a more efficient body than the statesmen or philosophers had taken the matter up, and the fervour of the Revolution was about to terminate in its natural and inevitable end. On the 26th November a meeting of general officers took place at General Magnan's; they were twenty-one in number, including himself.* The general-in-chief there briefly recapitulated to the meeting the state of the nation, menaced by a furious democracy on one side and an ambitious parliamentary coalition on the other; and the intention of the President, the people's choice, to appeal to them to deliver it from the otherwise inextricable difficulty in which it was placed. It needed no eloquence to enforce this appeal; the necessity of the case was felt by all. The recent proposal of the questors proved that a similar necessity was acknowledged on the other side. General Reybell was the first who came forward and declared that the generals were determined, one and all, to stand by the President in his effort to save the country. The other officers all followed his example, and mutually shook hands and embraced. When the emotion consequent on such a determination had a little subsided, General Magnan said, "Let us all swear, that, come what may, no one will ever reveal what has passed here to-day." They all took the oath accordingly; and so well was the secret kept that it was for the first time revealed, five years afterwards, by Cassagnac, with the consent of the officers present on the occasion.

47. While the generals were thus coalescing to support the President, a conspiracy to overturn him was preparing in the Assembly. It was proposed to denounce the President, and declare his powers terminated; commit him to Vincennes, and subsequently transport or banish him from France. All civil and military officers refusing their support to the Assembly were to

* General Magnan at this time commanded the regular troops in Paris.

be proceeded against according to law, as guilty of treason; and this decree was to be publicly affixed in all the barracks of the Republic. This motion was remitted (Nov. 25) to a committee of fifteen, consisting of the leaders of the three coalesced parties, by whom it was, with one dissenting voice, agreed to. The motion once formally carried, the command of the army would be assumed by the Assembly, and the President lodged in Vincennes. Those who agreed to this scheme were the leaders of the Legitimist, Orleanist, Moderate, and Jacobin parties, and the execution of the plan was fixed for an early day. The decisive moment had now come. The President or the Assembly must fall.

48. But meanwhile the President was not idle. The parliamentary coalition had to deal with a very different man from Charles X. or Louis Philippe, M. de Polignac or M. Thiers. Aware of the contest which was evidently approaching, he had in the utmost secrecy taken all the steps necessary, not only to meet, but to anticipate it. General St Arnaud, M. de Morny, M. de Manpas, were alone in the secret; but the heads of the military and police were apprised that something was in agitation, and were on the alert. To appearance, however, everything was going on in its usual course; the Assembly were quietly discussing, on 1st December, the interminable project of the Lyons railroad and the registers of the municipalities. In the evening, M. de Morny was in company with General Changarnier at the Opera Comique, and the President was doing the honours in his usual reception-room in the Elysée. A large party of ladies and gentlemen were there assembled, to whom the President attended with even more than his usual ease and affability, politely listening to any requests made to him, among which was one by the celebrated writer Mrs Norton, who had come for some papers wished by Mr Stirling of Keir, for his *Life of Velasquez*.* His visage was as calm, his manner as conciliatory and affable, as usual. No symptoms

* I had this from Mrs Norton herself.

of anything extraordinary were to be seen; and the election of a representative for the department of the Seine, which took place on the 1st, sufficiently accounted for the appearance of several couriers and *estafettes* in the streets. When the company had retired, General St Arnaud, M. le Comte de Morny, M. de Maupas, the head of the police, and M. de Beville, colonel of the *Etat-major*, retired with the President to a private apartment, where the duties of each were assigned. M. de Morny was appointed Minister of the Interior, and was to sign all the warrants of arrest, and that ordering the dissolution of the Assembly. General St Arnaud was to direct the whole military operations, M. de Maupas to carry out the arrests ordered, and M. de Beville was to undertake the delicate task of getting the proclamation announcing all these changes thrown off at the national printing-office, in concert with M. de St Georges, the director of that establishment. The whole measures concerted were forthwith carried into execution. The police and military were entirely at the devotion of the President, and executed energetically all the orders which they received. Before two in the morning of the 2d December—the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz—the whole leaders of all the coalesced parties were arrested, the most of them in their beds, and safely lodged in prison.* Among them were Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, de Lamoricière, Le Flo, and Bedeau; Colonel Charras, M. Thiers, M. Bazé, Lagrange, and Greppo. Along with these parliamentary leaders were arrested at the same time the chiefs of

* The arrest of Changarnier was effected thus: He had been at the Opera Comique, with M. de Morny and a lady friend of his, with whom he went to supper. He left them a little after one, went home and fell asleep. Between two and three he was awakened by a noise in the house, and immediately after, twelve gendarmes, armed to the teeth, came in, surrounded his bed, and desired him to rise and come with them. He demanded by what warrant; and he was answered, by that of the Minister of the Interior. He asked to see it, and it was shown him, signed by M. de Morny, whom he had just left. I had this from a friend who received it from Changarnier himself!

the clubs and secret societies, whose names were well known to the Government, and formidable from their influence with the Socialists of Paris. They comprehended the leaders of all the revolts which had taken place since the fall of Louis Philippe. The prisoners were all marched off to the prison of Mazas, under the escort of a strong body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, where they were safely lodged by seven; and when the Parisians rose in the morning, they were astonished to see the walls everywhere placarded by a proclamation signed by Louis Napoleon, and de Morny, Minister of the Interior, announcing the dissolution of the Assembly, the re-establishment of universal suffrage, the abolition of the law of 31st May, the convocation of the whole electors for the 14th December, the dissolution of the council of state, and the proclamation of the state of siege in the 1st military division, which included all Paris and its environs.

49. The Empire was in reality established on this day; and the appeal of the President to the people was accompanied by a proclamation, in which he said: "If you desire to perpetuate the state of distrust and anxiety which degrades the present and endangers the future, choose another in my place; for I will not condescend to hold a power which is powerless for good—which renders me responsible for acts which I cannot prevent, and chains me to the helm when I am unable to save the vessel from drifting to destruction. The Assembly, which should be the support of order, has become the centre of factious designs; it is forging the arms of civil war, and striving to subvert the power which I hold directly from the people. It compromises the repose of France; I have dissolved it, and call on the people to judge between it and me. If you trust me, give me power to accomplish the great mission which I hold of you, which is, *to close the era of revolutions*, by satisfying the legitimate demands of the people. Persuaded that the instability of power, and the preponderance of a single assembly, are lasting

causes of trouble and discord, the bases of a new constitution which I propose to you are—1. A responsible chief, elected for ten years. 2. A cabinet appointed by him alone. 3. A council of state, consisting of the most eminent men, who are to prepare the laws which are to be introduced, and support them before the legislative body. 4. A legislative body named by universal suffrage, without any scrutiny of the votes. 5. A second assembly, formed of all the eminent men in the country, at once the guardians of the fundamental pact and the public liberties.”

50. Some of the democratic members of the Assembly who had not been arrested assembled at ten o'clock in the Rue Petits-Augustins, and M. Cremieux was elected president. They were immediately surrounded, and conducted to prison. Later in the day, the Legitimist, Orleanist, and Moderate members, to the number of 217, collected at M. Odillon Barrot's house, and having in vain endeavoured to get into the palace of the Legislative body, assembled in the mayor's office of the 10th arrondissement, where they flattered themselves they would be supported by the national guard of the district. They were mistaken; it kept aloof; and the place being surrounded by a body of the Chasseurs of Vincennes, the deputies were all conducted in the midst of the troops to the cavalry barracks on the Quai d'Orsay, where they were kept under guard. The High Court of Justice was at the same time invited to suspend its sittings, which was immediately done; and a few deputies having succeeded in making their way into the hall of the Assembly with the President, M. Dupin, they asked him to proclaim the dismissal of the President; but he said, “Gentlemen, the constitution is violated; we are not the strongest. I have the honour to wish you good morning.” He then withdrew, followed by the members, the most reluctant of whom were gently moved on by the military. At noon all was accomplished; the President, accompanied by the minister-

at-war, the commander-in-chief, the commander of the National Guard, and a brilliant staff, rode through Paris, and past the troops, who were drawn up in all quarters, and was everywhere received with loud acclamations.

51. Hitherto the revolution had been entirely bloodless, and as the telegraph had announced the change of government to all France, it was hoped that it would continue to be of the same peaceful character. The troops in Paris, which consisted of eighteen regiments of the line, three of light infantry, four battalions of Chasseurs, ten squadrons of cavalry, nineteen batteries of artillery, and a large body of sappers and miners, in all 35,000 combatants, under tried and experienced generals, devoted to the President, had shown themselves zealous in the cause, and had been so disposed on the night of the 1st and the whole of the 2d as to render any popular rising, or attempt at resistance, out of the question.* The Socialists and Jacobins were, however, not discouraged. During the whole of the 3d they were to appearance quiet, but in reality they were making preparations for erecting barricades and commencing a struggle. It broke out early on the morning of the 3d, in the Faubourgs St Antoine, St Jacques, and St Marceau. At daylight several barricades were found to be erected in the most crowded quarters of those populous districts. The secret societies were all in activity, and their members were in great numbers in the streets. But the mass of the workmen would not rise in their support, and about four o'clock in the afternoon they transferred the theatre of their operations to the Carré St Martin and the streets Transnonain and St Denis, in the centre of the most crowded part of the city. There they proceeded to intrench themselves. The barricades, however, were speedily carried, under

* There were, besides, two battalions of the “garde republicaine” and two of the “gendarmierie mobile,” and a heavy-cavalry division of five regiments was brought up from Versailles.—GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC, ii. 408.

a heavy fire, by the columns of General Levasseur, supported by the *chasseurs-à-pied* and municipal guards. Great part of the insurrectionary quarter was occupied before night; but the insurgents still held the Faubourg St Martin, the streets of St Denis and St Martin, and the adjoining districts, and a strong body of young men, chiefly belonging to the public press, occupied in strength the houses on either side of the Boulevards Italien and Montmartre, so as to endanger the military passing. The youths, however, though brave, were no match for the Algerian veterans. The troops, who were held back during the early part of the 4th to allow the insurrection to develop itself, advanced about two o'clock in the afternoon. Sweeping unopposed through the Boulevard Italien, they entered that of Montmartre, and kept up such a fire upon every house there from which a shot issued that the passage was soon cleared. Unfortunately, the corridors in that fashionable quarter were in great part filled with mere spectators, a large proportion of whom were ladies, who, thinking no evil, and regarding the whole as a military spectacle, became victims to the quick and deadly discharge which issued from the soldiers below.* Having gained this, the military then converged from all quarters on the insurgent districts; the barricades, after being severely battered by cannon, were all carried, and the insurrection was at an end. It had cost the lives of two hundred men, however, to the conquerors, and a still larger number to the insurgents. The secret societies stirred up insurrections in several parts of France, which occasioned much local bloodshed and devastation; but they were all speedily suppressed by the military.* In a few days all was over; and so firmly did the President feel his government established, that he was enabled to

release, or merely banish beyond the frontiers, without any further proceedings, the whole persons arrested on occasion of the *coup d'état*.

52. It only remained to see how the revolution was to be received by the inhabitants of France when they came to give their votes in their several electoral districts. The result exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the President and his friends. The Presidency for ten years, in effect the imperial crown, with the constitution which he had proposed, was approved on the 21st December 1851 by 7,439,216 votes, there being only 640,737 against it. The public funds, which were 91 on the 1st December, rose to 100 by the 8th. By an overwhelming majority France closed the convulsions of the Revolution by a military despotism based on universal suffrage.

53. With the accession of Prince Louis Napoleon to the imperial throne of France, the series of changes immediately flowing from the first Revolution came to an end. With it, accordingly, the Author concludes his engagements with the public, and brings to an end the continuous labour of thirty years. Great changes have taken place in the world since the work now concluded was first thought of, during the great review in the Champs Elysées in July 1814, and he was far either from suspecting then the magnitude to which it was to extend, or the immense alterations in human affairs which were to take place before it was concluded. Insensibly his work has assumed a different character from what was originally either intended or anticipated: and annals, which at first were almost entirely taken up with revolutionary convulsions or military events, have latterly been chiefly occupied with social changes and conclusions from statistical details. Yet are these pacific changes nearly all the direct consequence of the former political or military struggles, and therefore it is that the History would be incomplete if it were not brought down to the restoration of the Napoleon Dynasty. The

* Granier de Cassagnac gives the loss of the troops as 20 killed, 184 wounded; of the insurgents, 175 killed, 115 wounded. The wounded of the latter, of course, do not mean the total wounded, but only those so badly wounded as to be unable to get away. —GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC, ii. 432.

events which have since occurred have been second to none in European story: the Crimean War and Indian Revolt will for ever stand forth among the most memorable episodes in the annals of mankind. But they have no connection, direct or remote, with the French Revolution: they have sprung from causes of discord more ancient than the struggle for freedom; they arose from the hostility of the Asiatics and Europeans, the same now as when Achilles dragged the body of Hector round the walls of Troy, or Godfrey of Bouillon and his victorious crusaders waded ankle-deep in blood to the Holy Sepulchre. But from 1789 to 1852, all the events which occurred sprang from one source: they all belonged, as it were, to one family; and the great war of opinion which commenced with the declamations of Mirabeau in 1789, and the renewal of which was predicted by Mr Canning in 1825, was only terminated by the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1849, and the accession of Louis Napoleon in 1851. But all these changes, remote as they were, flowed directly from the principles diffused through the world by the first French Revolution; and we are now in a situation, from having witnessed its results, to discern some at least of the intentions of Providence in permitting that convulsion.

54. So far as the persons conducting government are concerned, the innovating party have been victorious in the strife. The Bourbons, after a contest of sixty years, have been finally expelled from the throne of France; the compromise of Louis Philippe has proved as unsuccessful as the forced restoration of the elder branch of the family, and seven millions of Frenchmen have been gratified by having an elective monarch of their choice intrusted with the imperial sceptre. The legitimate order of succession has been changed in Spain, and a revolutionary queen, in defiance of the Treaty of Utrecht, seated on its throne and that of Portugal. Belgium has been handed over from its lawful sovereign to an elective mon-

arch, who owed his throne to successful revolt; and a constitutional government is now established in that country. The King of Piedmont has united all Italy, except Venetia and a part of the Papal dominions, into a single kingdom endowed with free institutions. The Emperor of Austria was forced to resign during the strife of 1848-9; and although the reigning family is unchanged there and in Prussia, yet the form at least of a constitutional government has been established in both countries. Even Russia has been affected by the general passion for Liberal institutions; the slaves have been all at once emancipated by the Emperor's decree, and the government is advancing, perhaps too rapidly, in the career of constitutional freedom. In Great Britain, although no dynastic change has taken place, and Queen Victoria still holds the sceptre of a loyal and grateful people, yet it is well known that this is in consequence of alterations having taken place in the real balance of government as great as ever were effected by a revolution; and that the constitution now is a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions, more truly analogous to that of the United States of America, than to that which existed in these islands under George III.

55. If, from the consideration of the dynastic changes or alterations in the frame and form of government in the European States during this period of anxious effort and checkered achievement, we turn to the substantial and lasting acquisitions which have been made by the cause of freedom, or additions to human happiness, during its continuance, we shall have little cause for congratulation. There is no concealing the fact, that the result of the struggle in Europe generally has been eminently disastrous to the cause of liberty, and seriously endangered that of independence. France, after seventy years of almost incessant turmoil and frequent bloodshed, has been landed in an elective military despotism twice as costly, supported by a standing army three times as numerous and four times as

strong, as that which defended the monarchy of Louis XVI. To appease the public discontent, vast works, continued at an enormous cost, have been undertaken by the Emperor, which are kept going only by regularly contracting £12,000,000 of debt every year of general peace. The strength of Russia has waxed greater in the strife, and became such that it taxed, in 1854-5, the whole military and naval power of France and England to the very uttermost to wrest from her a single fortress on the Euxine. The unity, lust of conquest, military courage, and slavish disposition of the seventy millions who obey the commands of the Czar, are unchanged and seemingly unchangeable; and the European States regard with distant dread a power of such magnitude, animated by such desires, and whose inhabitants are doubling every seventy years. The shadow of a constitutional government has been established in Spain, but it is the shadow only, stained by the corruption and venality, without any of the vigour or patriotism, which that form of government sometimes develops. Italy, divided between France and Austria, with one of its capitals in possession of each, is oppressed by a military force of overwhelming magnitude, crushed by a taxation more than double what it ever knew before, and with difficulty making good its engagements by borrowing no less than £16,000,000 a-year during a period of profound peace. The progress of real freedom has been commensurate only with the spread of the Teutonic race, whether in their native seats or the countries to which they have subsequently emigrated; and the main hopes of the friends of freedom in Germany are now founded on the defeat of the Jacobin party, who, by establishing themselves in power, would have destroyed the elements of liberty on the right, as they have done on the left bank of the Rhine. But although we may now hope that Germany has entered on the career of gradual and progressive, and therefore desirable reform, yet there are

many symptoms which lead to the conclusion that in the first-born of freedom—England and America—the safe line has been passed, the just equilibrium subverted, and both nations launched in that career which, by vesting power in one only, and that the most dangerous class of society, renders the durable preservation of freedom extremely difficult.*

56. If we limited our survey to the European States only, there would be too much room in these results for melancholy foreboding. But if we extend our views to a wider sphere, and take into consideration the effects of the passions which have so violently convulsed and desolated the ancient monarchies of the Old World, on the extension of the European race and civilisation of distant regions in the New, we shall feel warranted in arriving at very different conclusions. Without presuming to scan the designs of Providence farther than as they may be rendered undeniably manifest by accomplished changes, and disclaiming any attempt to divine the future plans of Omnipotence, it must be evident to all that a mighty system has been going forward during all the complicated events which have been commemorated in this History, and that the effect of that system has been to check the further growth of the human race in its ancient seats, and promote its extension over the desolate parts of the earth. To the European race, and most of all to the Teutonic branch of that family, this great and arduous mission has been intrusted; and the means by which it has been impelled into the discharge of this duty have been the development of the passions consequent on an advanced and luxurious state of society. The whole movement—the greatest which has yet occurred in the annals of the species, for it is nothing

* How exactly has this prediction, written in 1859, been verified by the terrible civil war and annihilation of freedom which occurred in the United States of America in 1861-2-3, and has already burdened the Union with £600,000,000 of debt, and destroyed, on the two sides, not less than a million of lives.

less than the transposition of the race of Japhet from its ancient seats to the New World—has been accomplished by the altering effect of the same active desire of men on their social interests with the natural progress of opulence. And it is the magnitude of this change, and the intensity of the feelings by which it has been brought about, which have been the cause at once of the vehemence of the strife in the European States during the period embraced in this History, and the magnitude of the world-wide events which have followed its termination.

57. That the European race, gifted by nature with an energy, a love of freedom, a roving disposition, and a passion for gain beyond any other, was the portion of mankind to whom the mission of spreading into the remote parts of the earth was intrusted, is manifest from what they have already achieved in accomplishing it, and the stationary condition of the inhabitants of the greatest and most ancient Asiatic empires in comparison. No one ever heard, till very recently, of an Indian or Chinese colony settling in distant lands, but the British colonies encircle the earth. The problem which Providence had to solve in inducing the European race to enter upon the discharge of this duty, was to impregnate them in the advanced stages of society with the *desire to move*, a desire which usually diminishes among men with the progress of civilisation, and the increase of the gratifications and comforts which they can command at home. If there is any disposition which, in the ordinary case, increases with these changes, it is the *inhabitative*; if there are any chords which are daily more and more strengthened in the later stages of society in the breast of man, it is those which "bind him to his native shore." How, then, is this stationary disposition of mankind, which has a tendency to increase at the very time when its removal to a great extent has become desirable, to be overcome, and the European be brought to snap asunder the chains of centuries, and

set forth, away from the scenes of opulence in which he has been bred, a hardy emigrant, despising comfort, courting hardship, braving danger, into distant lands? This is accomplished by the counteracting influence of still more powerful desires, which spring up with the growth of opulence in a large class of society, and are in a great measure unfelt before. And these desires are, the love of power and the love of gain.

58. I. The love of power is universally felt by such of mankind as have attained, or are near attaining, the position in life where it can be exercised; but it is absolutely unknown in the lower ranks of society in the first periods of their progress. It begins with those classes in the middle ranks which have gained a certain degree of independence by the acquisition of property, and first appears in such strength as to attract notice and influence society in boroughs or populous places, where numbers inspire confidence, and prosperity of condition confers the means of defence. As it is the tendency of increasing wealth to add to the number of these boroughs and populous places, from the augmented demand for the handicraft of wares which can only be produced in them, the democratic spirit increases rapidly in prosperous countries in the later stages of society, and soon becomes recruited by the great majority of those who, from education and the consequent acquisition of intellectual strength have come to feel as galling the chains of those who rest on brute force or military power. Hence the revolutions of France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, and the endless convulsions and wars, both foreign and domestic, which have arisen from them.

59. The result of these contests, whether they terminate in the triumph of the people or the victory of the government, inevitably is either a great check to domestic increase or a still greater augmentation of foreign emigration. The triumph of either side is immediately followed by grievous disappointment and depression of mind, alike in the victorious and the

vanquished in the strife. Independent of the actual waste of life in these struggles, the destruction of capital, and shock given to credit during their continuance, is such that the demand for labour is so much reduced as to induce for a long course of years a decline, if not an absolute stoppage, of the increase of population. In those countries in which the democratic spirit is weak in the country and rife only in the towns, as France, Italy, and Austria, the result of this is a great decline in the rate of increase in the people. But in those in which the democratic spirit is more widespread, and extends over the rural districts or mining and manufacturing provinces, as well as the towns, the effect is a vast and most important increase of emigration. The ardent republicans, finding their hopes blasted, and their expectations disappointed by the result of their efforts at home, turn their eyes abroad, and seek in the solitude and seclusion of a yet virgin world, that freedom of which Europe, as they conceive, has become unworthy. Decisive proof of this has been afforded by the annals of France, Germany, and Great Britain since the Revolution of 1848;—for, in the first country, the shock given to industry by that convulsion has been such that the quinquennial increase, which, from 1844 to 1849, had been 1,250,000 souls, had sunk in the next five years to 225,000, with only a very inconsiderable emigration; and in each of the years 1854 and 1855, the deaths exceeded the births by 70,000. The impulse given to emigration in the second, by the same event, has been so great that, within three years after it occurred, it has risen from 20,000 to 250,000 a-year,* and in ten years immediately following the Revolution of 1848 it had amounted to 1,200,000 persons;—and the emigrants from the third had swelled to the enormous amount of 368,000 in

1852, and the average for ten years immediately following 1846 was 266,000 annually.

60. II. While such is the effect of the ferment in men's minds, which arises in our and highly civilised States in the later stages of their progress, from the spread of opulence and the extension of information among the people, another change, not less decisive in its influence on the progress of population, takes place from that very increase of wealth. Money, from being plentiful, becomes cheap; in other words, every article of commerce, the price of which is measured in money, becomes dear. The consumers of commodities, and all persons depending on fixed money payments, whether from the public funds, bonds, annuities, or other fixed obligations, seeing this, and comparing the price of articles especially of rude produce in their own country with what it is in the younger and poorer neighbouring ones, naturally feel dissatisfaction, and are inspired with a strong aversion to those protective duties which prevent them from obtaining these articles of consumption as cheap as their neighbours. The common complaint, so often heard in Britain during the last half-century, that everything is so dear here compared to what it is abroad, and the numbers of persons, especially with limited incomes, who go to the Continent to obtain the benefit of low prices, proves how strongly this growing inconvenience, the necessary result of an extended commerce and great realised wealth, has been felt during that period in the centre of the British dominions.

61. During the growth of a great and prosperous empire, this evil is felt, and often sorely, by all the consumers who live on fixed money incomes; and never was more so than by that class in Great Britain during the war. But for long their com-

* Emigrants from Germany, 1819-26,	2,000 to 4,000
" " 1851,	112,500
" " 1853,	162,368
" " 1854,	251,031

plaints are powerless to obtain redress ; they submit and suffer in silence from the effect of evils of the origin of which they are ignorant, as they would do to the inclemency of the weather or any other visitation of Providence. But after a time they are no longer doomed to this state of hopeless submission. They become so powerful from the addition which a long period of prosperity has made to their numbers and influence, that they at first equal, and at last come to exceed in political power, all other classes put together. From the moment that this change takes place, the protective system is endangered, and at last, probably after a severe struggle, it is overthrown. Free Trade is first demanded for the productions of the soil, as it is in them that the improvements of machinery and application of capital can do least to counteract the rise of prices incident to a state of long-continued opulence ; but when once introduced, it does not stop there ; it is loudly demanded, and, in the circumstances, with justice, for all other branches of industry, whether in manufactures, shipping, colonies, or commerce. Thus, the encouragement of wealth, and the demand for labour, are rapidly transferred from the old and rich to the young and poor States ; their agriculture comes to displace that of their ancient rival ; their shipping conducts the greater part of its trade ; their manufactures, at least of the ruder kinds, come to supplant its fabrics. From the moment that the protective system is abandoned, and Free Trade introduced in an old State, a check is given to domestic industry, and an increase to foreign, which at first retards, and at length comes to stop altogether, the growth of its population. As a nation, it at first becomes stationary, and at length declines. Accordingly, all the empires of whom history makes mention, which once were great and powerful, the Roman, the Spanish, the Turkish, have perished, not from the excess, but the want of population ; and a decline in the rate of increase, and at last in the number of their inhabitants, has ever

been observed as the first symptom of national decay.

62. III. Two other circumstances come in the national progress of opulence to contribute powerfully to expel the human race from their ancient seats, and disperse them over the desolate parts of the earth. These are the monetary measures, into which the love of gain impels the wealthy and influential capitalists, and the progressively increasing dependence of manufacturers on the foreign instead of the home market. On the first point an ample commentary has already been made ; and this History has been written to little purpose if it is not apparent that, in an ancient, opulent, and commercial nation, the monetary measures which the holders of realised wealth, for their own sake, are prompted to pursue, is the source of such frequent industrial distress and recurrence of monetary and commercial crises, as perhaps more than any other cause impels the industrious part of the nation into distant lands. The second cause is hardly less influential in conducing to the same result ; for the manufacturer for the export sale has no interest in common with his fellow-countrymen as the one for the home market has, inasmuch as he is not benefited by their prosperity, but depends on that of foreign countries. On the contrary, his interest is decidedly adverse ; for it is for his benefit that the labouring classes around him should be as indigent, and their wages in consequence as low, as possible. Thus that class comes to support all measures tending to depress, to their own profit, the wages of labour. In the progress of a nation, and some time after its maturity, the amiable after-dinner sentiment, that the interest of all classes is identical, is strictly true ; after its maturity, it changes into the sad reality that they are adverse to each other.

63. IV. Hardly less powerful than any of the causes already enumerated in retarding the advance of population in the later stages of society is the opposite effect of town and country life upon the health of the commu-

nity, especially that of its youngest members. That the tendency of men, from the causes which have been mentioned, is in the later stages of society to leave the country to flock into towns, is well known. It has been decisively demonstrated by the last census of France and England, which in both countries exhibits a considerable increase in all the great towns, and a proportionate decline in most of the entirely rural districts. But the effect of this change on the progress of population is great, and ere long comes to be decisive. While the annual mortality of the town districts in Great Britain is 264 in 10,000, that of an equal number in the country districts is only 1 in 160. About fifty per cent of the deaths in the town districts are children under five years of age; a rate of mortality which alone stops any increase in them from their own resources, and renders them dependent for increase entirely on immigrants from the country. When half the people come, as is the case in the British empire at this time, to live in the town districts, increase is rendered impossible in one-half of the entire inhabitants.

64. Thus it distinctly appears that there is a provision made by nature in the progress of society, first, for the increase of population, the augmentation of wealth, and the growth of national greatness, and after a time, for their retardation and ultimate decline. This is effected without any violation of the laws of nature, but by their continued operation; by the two ruling principles of mankind in all ages, the desire for power and the desire for gain, producing effects directly opposite in different stages of society. It takes its rise from the progressive vesting of the ruling power in the State, in the later stages of its progress, in different hands, in consequence of the growth of a class interested in low prices; that is, the discouragement of domestic industry, from the effect of the very wealth which has grown up under the opposite system of protection. This cause of retardation is strongly co-operated with by the discontent

which invariably attends all democratic movements, whether successful or unsuccessful. Thus the growth of an empire which has reached its maturity is inevitably arrested, partly by the diminution of the rural population, the true cradle of the species, and the influx of men into great towns, its graves, and partly from the general migration of its inhabitants to distant lands, where they are to begin the same circle of "valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decline." This it is which has torn them up from their native seats, and sent them into remote countries to be instruments in the hands of Providence in the great and prophesied work of "replenishing the earth and subduing it." The dangers of a redundant population, so forcibly portrayed by Mr Malthus in the beginning of the century, were far from being unreal or imaginary, as the instances of China, Hindostan, and Ireland have clearly demonstrated. But they never can be felt to any extent where the natural progress of society has not been set aside by human injustice or iniquity, because, long before they can have arisen, or population has approached the limits of subsistence, the retarding causes must have come into operation from the very circumstances which had induced the former increase.

65. In effecting this great change, the increase of wealth in the higher classes of society, and the spread of the democratic passion in the lower, are the great agents; and it is their combined operation which has rendered the period embraced in this History so prolific of great and memorable events. The aged monarchies of Europe were making the transition from the growing to the stationary or declining state; and out of their suffering loins were springing up new nations in the Transatlantic and Australian wilds. Vast revolutions have ensued from this violent convulsion; the cause of freedom seems ruined in France by the destruction of hereditary descent, and the abolition of any intermediate class between the throne and the peasant, which has caused Asi-

atic to succeed European civilisation in that great country. The French Imperial Guards have been at Moscow, the Cossacks at Paris; but none of these changes have left behind them any lasting effects. But the "mighty maze was not without a plan." During these alternate victories and defeats, and from the consequences with which they were naturally attended, the designs of Providence have been gradually unfolding themselves; the principles which were to move the European race to the western and southern hemisphere were silently gathering strength and increasing in power; during the ten years succeeding 1848 four millions of Europeans were transported to the new worlds, and the annual migration from their native seats came on an average to be five hundred thousand.

66. Observe in this view how marvellously the great physical changes of the period have conspired with the moral agencies in bringing about this stupendous result. Steam navigation has arisen, and been brought almost to perfection, during the period when these moral influences were so strongly impelling civilised man into the wilderness of nature. By the effects of this great discovery the Atlantic has been bridged, the great rivers of the old and new worlds opened to European enterprise and energy, and ample means furnished to the ardent and discontented denizens of Europe to leave their ancient dwellings, cross over into a new hemisphere, and ascend the mighty rivers by which it is penetrated. The application of steam to travelling by land, and the construction of railways, have, at the same time, opened innumerable feeders to these great highways of civilisation, and brought the means of rapid and cheap conveyance almost to every man's door. The electric telegraph, by rendering nearly instantaneous the transmission of intelligence, not only by land, but through the bosom of the deep, has sensibly increased the influence of the moral causes which were so strongly impelling man from his native seats, and given force to the

exciting causes which were agitating society. Finally, the gold-discoveries, first in California and next in Australia, presented a magnet of irresistible attraction to large numbers of men in all countries, and not only drew them in great bodies to the places where it was thought, and often with truth, wealth was to be had merely for the taking, but stimulated industry and adventure by increasing prices over every part of the earth. When we recollect that these great physical causes of change came into operation immediately after the Irish famine had in a manner loosened a whole nation from its moorings, and the failure of the European Revolution in 1848 had spread political discontent, the great moral instigator to emigration, far and wide through European society, it is not presumptuous to say that the great designs of the Almighty in the world have been made manifest even to the most finite of His creatures.

67. The real friends of freedom, therefore, must not be discouraged because the efforts to attain it have so generally and rapidly terminated in disaster, and that to such an extent that it is doubtful whether, in an equal time, any other cause ever produced such an amount of social disorganisation or private misery. These disasters and repeated failures have arisen, not from any inadequacy of the democratic spirit to produce the effects for which it was really intended, but from expectations being formed of its consequences and means of regulation utterly at variance with what it ever had or ever can produce. It is to society what fire is to the material world. The great moving power of the moral world, it is, like its counterpart in the material, capable of bringing about lasting beneficial results on society, only when it is duly coerced, and kept under firm management. The explosion of a boiler does not more certainly scatter ruin and desolation around, or more quickly stop the onward way of the vessel it was impelling, than the triumph of democracy ruins freedom, and in the end stops

the advance of the nation in which it takes place. The government of the few by the many—that is, of superior by inferior civilisation, of property by numbers, knowledge by ignorance, forethought by improvidence—is such an inversion of the natural order of society as cannot fail, after a brief period of suffering, to terminate in its only result, military despotism. During the struggle for supremacy, it often succeeds, by calling into action the energies of a whole nation, in making great changes, and often does great things; and the final cause of its development is very apparent from the vast progress of society which it occasions, and transposition of mankind which it effects. But it is a means, not an end; it never was intended to be, and never can be, the lasting state of society; and when it has done its work, and caused the swarm to hive off, or the oppression to cease, it quickly gives way, and is succeeded by the stillness of military despotism.*

68. The great and universal error which in every age has caused the strife for freedom to terminate in this disastrous result, is an over-estimate of the average capacity of human nature. It is the enormous inequality in mankind in point of intellectual power, and the immense mass of mediocrity with which the world is over-spread, which causes the universal failure. It is easy to see why it is so. Society could not exist without it. If all were philosophers or orators, who would be the hewers of wood and drawers of water? There is not in any stratum of society, from the highest to the lowest, one man in twenty who is or ever can be made possessed of the information requisite to form for himself a correct judgment on public affairs: there is not one in a hundred capable of thinking otherwise than as he is taught by the few who are interested in leading, or misleading, him. No amount of education, no change of religion or political institutions, can make the least change in these proportions; on the contrary,

they often make them more alarming, by augmenting the profit to be made or the power acquired by impelling the multitude in the wrong direction. Sometimes it is towards republicanism, sometimes towards despotism; never towards the right system, which is the government of a *real* aristocracy; that is, of the best in morals, intellect, capacity, and intelligence. But nothing terminates their sway so quickly as the government of the multitude, because they are in general led by the worst. Thence the extreme experienced difficulty of preserving freedom for any length of time in any State, and the impossibility of inducing the majority of men so far to do violence to their *amour propre* as to acknowledge the general fallacy which is at the root of the difficulty.

69. The same error—viz. an over-estimate of the average capacity of human nature—is the cause of the greatest mistakes committed by those who aim at social improvement, and the frequent failures with which their efforts are attended. This last age has witnessed the most energetic and persevering exertions to educate and elevate the great body of men; but it is now generally acknowledged that nearly all these attempts have proved failures. We have had Labourers' Institutes, Popular Lectures, Athenæums, Public Libraries, Schools, Academies, and other similar institutions established in all quarters; and, without doubt, they have all done some good to limited numbers, eradicated in some degrading propensities, and opened to others means of improvement they would not otherwise have enjoyed. But upon the great mass of men and women of every rank their effect has been next to nothing. The general taste is still, as in uneducated societies, for the startling and the marvellous: stories of murders, seductions, and horrors, fill the cheap press; "sensation articles" have become the staple of the periodicals. The theatre has turned into a mere phantasmagoria of startling effects; and all the beauties of the Crystal Palace could not have preserved that noble establish-

* Written in 1859. Witness the United States of America in 1865.

ment from ruin if Blondin had not come to its aid with his breakneck exhibitions. The great body of men and women of all ranks are as prone to delusions as they were before the siege of Troy, and there is no Homer to give immortality to these myths.

70. "Progress" is the watchword of the Liberal party throughout the world, and the idea of those who have embraced it is, that there is a continual tendency to social improvement going on in human affairs, and that the great means by which it is developed is, by the general disturbing of old prejudices, adopting of new institutions, and bringing the talents and virtues of the great body of the people to bear on the government of men. Perhaps there is no opinion which is at once so widespread and which has had such pernicious results. That there is a progress, and an incessant progress, in human affairs, no one can doubt any more than that there is an incessant progress in animal or vegetable life. But it is not always in one direction. It is as often from maturity to decay, as from infancy to maturity; from fifty to seventy-five, as from fifteen to thirty. Nothing in nature warrants the belief that the progress is always *in one direction*; on the contrary, everything coincides in indicating that action and reaction are the universal laws of nature, and that it is by the counteracting influence of opposite powers, that the equilibrium of the moral as of the physical world is maintained. Whenever one set of principles has been for some time in the ascendant, it may be predicted with unerring certainty that the counteracting ones have been gathering strength, and will, ere long, move society in the opposite direction.

71. These two great moving and antagonistic powers are human passion and the lessons of experience. The former is the steam-power in human affairs, indispensable to setting the machine in motion, but the latter is the fly-wheel which regulates its movements, checks its aberrations, and at length impels it in the right direction. So prone to delusion is the human

mind, so great the preponderance of error in men's thoughts when unaided by experience, that we are almost tempted to say, that the general mind, unenlightened by that warning monitor, "abhors truth," as the schoolmen said Nature did a vacuum. There is no great truth in science now universally acknowledged—the motion of the earth, the Copernican system of the heavens, the agency of fire in the crust of our planet, the circulation of the blood—which was not for long and obstinately denied by philosophers. The lessons of experience, again, are slow of being learnt, and of tardy development; but they are unerring, for they are the voice of God. It is these opposite principles which impel mankind alternately in opposite directions; and it is the observation of this which made Goethe say they advanced not in a straight line but in a spiral. Whether the progress at any particular time is to good or to evil, depends upon whether the one or the other is then the impelling power.

72. In science and philosophy, without doubt, there is a steady and unchanging progress in one direction. The discoveries of the human mind in these departments are lasting acquisitions to the species. The Copernican system of the heavens, the gravitation of Newton, the knowledge of geology, will never be lost; the Atlantic will for ever be traversed by steam vessels, and men will never cease to massacre each other with the Christian weapons of powder and ball. But it is otherwise in the moral world and the affairs of nations. *There*, the principles of improvement are perpetually crossed and combated by opposite principles of evil. The progress of civilisation modifies essentially the direction of wickedness and the forms it assumes; but it seems to have no tendency to check its amount. The melancholy facts that the glories of European civilisation terminated in the horrors of the French Revolution and the despotism of Napoleon—that the boundless riches of Great Britain cannot hinder the country being overwhelmed by a million of paupers, endangered

by 150,000 criminals, and disgraced by a number of murders unparalleled in any European State; that China, which has known printing, the compass, and gunpowder for 2000 years; where education is universal, where every office, from the highest to the lowest, has from time immemorial been given to the victors in competitive examinations, is still in the lowest state of political and social degradation; and that the boundless natural advantages and liberty of America have terminated in corruption more universal, and a civil war more cruel, than modern times have exhibited—precludes the idea that any common progress of civilisation can extirpate or materially lessen the seeds of evil inherent in the nature of all. This world was never meant for heaven—it is the steep and rough path which may lead to it.

73. It is not to be supposed from this, that the progress which undoubtedly exists in human affairs is always to evil. Alternation of good and evil is the law of nature alike in the moral and material world. Night does not succeed day, summer winter, autumn spring, old age youth, more certainly than the principles of improvement after a time succeed to those of corruption, and those of corruption those of improvement. In the progress of society, the principles of virtue, the causes of improvement, are in the ascendant; in its stationary condition or decline, the seeds of evil in greater number come to maturity. We should err as much if we accorded eternity to the one set of principles, as if we thought the influence of the other would be interminable. Perhaps the centre round which the alternate movement revolves is silently advanced, and the condition of mankind upon the whole, amidst all the oscillations, sensibly ameliorated. Philosophers tell us that the sun with all its attendant satellites, the source of life and heat, is itself perpetually impelled round a far-distant centre.

74. Akin to this, and arising from the same cause—the pride of intellect

—is the great error of nations in their intercourse with each other, which has, especially in modern times, and in the most civilised countries, been so prolific a source of public disaster and private suffering. This is the opinion that all nations are adapted for the same religious and political institutions, and that the only way to put them on the high-road to felicity is to force those of the most advanced states upon them. No such erroneous and disastrous opinion ever was propagated among men. The religious wars of the sixteenth century were the result of the application of this error to matters of faith. The still more sanguinary contests of the French Revolution, and the diplomatic efforts at propagandism which have followed it on the part both of the French and the British, have resulted from the second. Both have terminated generally in defeat or disaster, and it is not difficult to say to which these multiplied failures have been most owing. The attempt so often made in recent times to force free institutions on men in different circumstances, will be classed by future times with the efforts to establish uniformity of faith by the rack or the faggot. Such is the variety in the minds and inclinations of men, arising from difference in the character of race, physical circumstances, and degrees of civilisation, that nothing in general is so destructive, both to individual happiness and social progress, as to endeavour to force the same faiths or political institutions upon them. Religious belief and forms of government, generally speaking, are not so much a cause as an effect. Men embrace that faith and establish those political institutions which are best adapted to their circumstances and the social stage in which they are placed. The Gospel itself is no exception to this; on the contrary, it is its strongest confirmation. It was not delivered to man in the days of Moses, but in those of Cæsar. To attempt to force Christianity upon the Asiatics in their present state of civilisation, is the same mistake as it would be to endeavour to force the Koran

upon Europeans ; and it is not less an error to try to establish free institutions among the serfs of Russia, than to engraft slavery on the freeman of England. Make men fitter for advanced institutions by elevating their position in the social scale, augmenting their comforts, or improving their moral character, and they will of themselves embrace the religion and political government adapted for an advanced stage of civilisation. Till this is done, it is worse than useless to attempt to make any violent change upon them. This work will not have been written in vain if it at all aids in

the establishment of these great truths, and teaches that all attempts are hopeless to improve the condition of men, either by religion, education, or political change, without improving their physical well-being, and rendering more favourable the circumstances in which they are placed. It is thus, and thus only, that a foundation can be laid for elevating their moral character, and thus leaving progress to be effected by the silent amelioration of time and well-being, won by industry, without the aid either of the sword of proselytism or the armies of propagandism.

INDEX.

A

- ABBARANE, battle of the, iii. 11.
 Abbas Mirza, prince, iii. 2—repeated defeats of, by the Russians, *ib.*—defeat of, at Djevan Boulak, 11—battle of Abbarane, *ib.*—retreats, *ib.*—further defeats of, 12—peace concluded by, 13—capture of two sons of, *ib.*—defeats of, by the Russians, vi. 212.
 Abbasabad, fortress of, besieged by the Russians, iii. 10—captured, 11.
 Abbeville, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146.
 Abbey, an American sympathiser, execution of, vi. 103.
 Abbot, Mr., trial of Hone before, i. 169.
 Abbot, Mr., sent to superintend the fortifying of Herat, vi. 241—the artillery under, at Jungdilluck, vii. 40.
 Abdallah Pacha, becomes grand-vizier, ii. 393—deposed, 396—defence of Acro against Ibrahim Pacha, by, v. 246.
 Abd-el-Kader, first appearance of, in Algeria, iv. 367—rise and character of, 332—his first successes, *ib.*—defeats General Trezel, *ib.*—defeat of, by Clausel, and capture of his capital, 333—defeat of, on the Tafna, 334—and again on the Sickak, *ib.*—forces and position of, 338—conference with Bugeaud, *ib.*—treaty of La Tafna, 339—renewed insurrection of, 371—its outbreak, *ib.*—successes of the French, 372—position, &c., of, 1840, vii. 177—defeat of, before Cherchell, *ib.*—operations of, in the Atlas, &c., 178—defeated at the Col de Mouzala, *ib.*—change in tactics of, 1841, 179—defeat of, near Milianah, *ib.*—submission of his adherents to the French, 180—defeat and flight of, *ib.*—his reappearance, 181—capture of his herem, *ib.*—his flight into the desert, *ib.*—retreats to Morocco, and efforts there, 182—terms of treaty with Morocco regarding, 187—fresh efforts of, among the Kabyles, *ib.*—his capitulation, and its violation by the French, 188.
 Abdool Rachid Khan, betrayal of Ghuznee by, vi. 231.
 Abdoolah Khan, death of, at Beh-Meru, vi. 258, 259.
 Abdul-Ahmed, execution of, demanded, ii. 380—his death, 386.
 Abdul-Medjid, sultan, birth of, ii. 396—accession of, v. 264—pacific views of, 267—reforms under, *ib.*
 Abercromby, Mr., motion on Parliamentary Reform by, 1824, iv. 279—appointed chief baron, 378—opposes the Irish coercion bill, v. 21—becomes master of the mint, 64—majority for, as Speaker, 410—resignation of, as Speaker, vi. 118.
 Aberdeen, lord, and the French expedition to Algiers, iii. 120—answer of, to the application on behalf of Donna Maria of Portugal, 372—becomes foreign secretary, 328—colonial secretary, 1835, v. 407 note—foreign secretary under Peel, vi. 279—settlement of the right of search question with the United States by, 318—of the Oregon question by, 322—and of the Taliti affair by, 325—on the increase of the slave trade since emancipation, vii. 225, 228—efforts of, for suppression of the slave trade, 137, 139—treaty with France regarding right of search for slaves, 196—views of, on the Spanish marriages, 211—arrangements regarding them, 212, 213—on the arrest of Mr Pritchard, 191—his pacific policy, 192.
 Aberdeen, member given by reform bill to, iv. 56—ratio of mortality in, vii. 271 note.
 Abington bank, failure of the, 1817, vii. 277.
 Abisbal, the comte d', invasion of France, in 1815, by, i. 337—measures of, regarding the revolt at Cadiz, 343—at first arrests it, 344—treachery of his proceedings, *ib.*—deprived of the command, *ib.*—measures of, against Riego, 346—fresh treachery of, 349—forces under, 1823, ii. 287—surrender of Madrid by, 289—his flight, *ib.*—execution of his son by the Carlists, and his death, v. 154.
 Able-bodied poor, absence of provision for, under Scotch poor-law, vi. 351—principles of statute law regarding them, *ib.* note—relief of the, in Scotland, 1848, vi. 293.

- Abolition de la Propriété, secret society** called, iv. 373 note.
- Abrahen, the duchess of, her Memoirs, ii. 301.**
- Absenteeism, extent and effects of, in Ireland, iii. 271—alleged to be no evil, *ib.*—alleged influence of the Union in inducing, v. 59.**
- Absolutism, confirmation of, in Europe, by the Revolution of 1848, i. 12—elevation of the drama under, iv. 265.**
- Absolutists, attempts of the, on Portugal, iii. 307.**
- Academies, institution of, in Turkey, v. 268—number of, in Prussia, iv. 321.**
- Academy, the, opposes the re-establishment of the censorship, iii. 94.**
- Acarnania, insurrection throughout, ii. 372.**
- Accurno das Never, M. Josep, v. 121.**
- Achaian Gates, forcing of the, by the Turks, ii. 398.**
- Achelous, losses of the Turks at the, ii. 390.**
- Achmet Bey, joins the league against the French, v. 339—defence of Constantine by, 340 *et seq.*—his flight, 341.**
- Achmet Pacha, defence of Silistria by, iii. 54.**
- Acl, prince, murder of, at Palermo, i. 367.**
- Ackerman, negotiations between Russia and Turkey at, iii. 7, 8—convention of, 8—treaty of, confirmed by that of Adrianople, 62.**
- Acland, Sir Thomas, returned for Devonshire, 1830, iii. 393—motion by, on the Irish title bill, 1838, vi. 38.**
- A'Court, Sir Wm., efforts of, to preserve peace between France and Spain, ii. 267—refuses to accompany the King to Cadiz, 291.**
- Acra, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 396.**
- Acro, pacha of, revolt of, in 1823, ii. 394—quarrel between Mehemet Ali and, v. 244.**
- Acre, views of Mehemet Ali on, v. 244—siege of, by Ibrahim Pacha, 246—its capture, *ib.*—pachalic and fortress of, conditions of treaty of the five powers regarding, 269—position of, 273—bombardment and fall of, 277—magnitude of conquest of, and its effects, 278—the capture of, as an instance of naval attack on land defences, 358.**
- Acro-Corinthus, siege and capture of, by the Greeks, ii. 375—capitulation of, to the Greeks, 398.**
- Acropolis, the, capture of, by the Greeks, ii. 390—again besieged by the Turks, 408, 423—progress of the siege, 424—its capture, *ib.***
- Acte Additionnel, the, i. 90.**
- Action and reaction, rapidity of, in modern times, i. 30.**
- Actors, modern French, iii. 212—Talma, *ib.*—Mademoiselle Georges, 213—Mademoiselle Mars, *ib.*—Rachel, *ib.***
- Adam, lord chief commissioner, i. 108.**
- Adam, Sir Charles, on the English navy in 1840, v. 282.**
- Adam, Mr, provisional governor-general of India, vi. 183.**
- Adana, Ibrahim Pacha at, v. 248—proposed surrender of, to Mehemet Ali, 253, 255.**
- Adda, retreat of the Sardinians across the, viii. 104.**
- Addington administration, attack by Canning on the, ii. 214 note.**
- Addison, the essays of, i. 235.**
- Address, the, motions on, 1833, v. 14—debate on, in parliament, 1835, 471—1837, vi. 82—defeat of the Melbourne ministry on, 1841, 149—1842, 288—debate on, in France, 1840, v. 392—the French, vote on, 1844, vii. 193—the last to Louis Philippe, debate on, 376 *et seq.*—division on it, 381.**
- Adelaide, princess, of Saxe-Meiningen, queen of William IV., character of, iii. 391—jointure voted by Parliament to, iv. 30—insults of the populace to, 52 and notes.**
- Adelaide, madame, sister to the Duke of Orleans, interview between, and the envoys sent to offer him the crown, iv. 87—urges his acceptance of it, *ib.*—urges Chateaubriand's acceptance of the foreign ministry, 97 and note—during the revolt of St Meri, 337—views and influence of, v. 288—present at Alibaud's attempt on Louis Philippe, 313—death of, vii. 383.**
- Adige, the military line of, viii. 82—retreat of Radetsky to, 84—retreat of the Austrians behind, 87.**
- Adjar, check of the Russians in, iii. 48.**
- Adlesberg, colonel, ii. 62.**
- Admiralty, motion for reducing the board of, ii. 204—the, at St Petersburg, 32, 48.**
- Adramyti, naval victory of the Greeks at, ii. 372.**
- Adrianople, pacha of, ii. 397, iii. 49—population of, ii. 331 note—the advance of the Russians in 1829 to, 342—advance of Diebitch to, and its surrender, iii. 60—treaty of, 62 *et seq.*—policy of Russia as shown in it, 67—weakness of Turkey after treaty of, v. 242—establishment of academy at, 268.**
- Adriatic, coast of, proposed cession of, to Austria, vi. 334.**
- Advertisements, reduction in duty on, v. 31 note.**
- Ætolia, insurrection in, ii. 368, 372.**
- Afghans, invasions of India by the, vi. 208—character of the, 209.**
- Afghanistan, danger from war in, vi. 136—as the barrier to India on the north, 208—character of the population, 209—general character of its history, *ib.*—extent of the empire in 1810, 210—treaty with England, 1808, 211—treaty with Persia regarding, 212—as the barrier against Russia, 215—means by which it might have been retained in interest of England, *ib.*—state of, in 1835, *ib.*—expulsion of Shah Soojah, and accession of Dost Mahommed, 216—true policy of the British toward, 217—claim of Persia on, *ib.*—jealousy between, and the Sikhs, 218—intrigues of Russia in, *ib.*—policy of Lord Auckland toward, 219—policy resolved on toward, 225—error of this, *ib.*—treaty for restoration of Shah Soojah, 226—preparations and forces for expedition, 227—commencement of the march, 229—its difficulties, *ib.*—passage of the Indus, 230—the Bolan Pass, 231—increased sufferings of the troops, *ib.*—reception of Shah Soojah in Candahar, 232—passage of the Khyber, *ib.*—movement toward Cabul, 233—description of Ghuznee, and plans of Dost Mahommed, 234—tragedy before it, *ib.*—its capture, 235 *et seq.*—results of this, 236—efforts of Dost Mahommed to make a stand, and his flight,**

Afghanistan, *continued*.

ib.—entry into Cabul, 237—flattering appearances in the country, *ib.*—real causes of embarrassment, 238—plans for the future, *ib.*—attack on Khelat, 239—quarters of the troops, *ib.*—their growing difficulties, 240—disquieting intelligence from Herat, 241—progress, &c., of the insurrection, 242—conflicts in the Bamian, *ib.*—defeat of Dost Mahommed, 243—fresh attempt by him, *ib.*—and victory, 244—his surrender, *ib.*—increased tranquillity of the country, 245—renewed insurrection, and victories of the British, 246—progress of the insurrection in eastern, 246—last insurrection, 247—state of affairs at Cabul, *ib.*—forces there, 248—infatuation of defensive arrangements, *ib.*—conduct of the British, 249—progress of insurrection, and death of Burnes, *ib. et seq.*—inactivity of those in command, 250—loss of Commissariat fort, 251—further loss of stores, *ib.*—fatal effects of these losses, 252—storming of Mahomed Shereef's fort, *ib.*—jealousy between the commanders, 253—storming of the Rickabashee fort, *ib.*—results of this, 254—actions on the heights, *ib.*—Macnaghten calls up the troops from Candahar and Jellalabad, *ib.*—disaster in Kohistan, 255—proposed removal into Bala-hissar, 256—attempt at negotiation, 257—defeat of the British, *ib.*—renewed negotiations, 258—and arrival of Akbar Khan, *ib.*—capitulation of the British, 259—faithlessness of the enemy, and misery of the troops, 260—secret negotiation of Macnaghten with Akbar, *ib.*—murder of Macnaghten, 261—its effects, &c., *ib.*—fresh treaty, 262—final treaty, 263—commencement of march, *ib.*—its increasing horrors, 264—passage of the Coord Cabul, *ib.*—ascent of the plateau, and surrender of the ladies, 265—continued losses, *ib.*—retreat to Jugdulluck, 265—arrival of the survivor at Jellalabad, 266—conduct of Sale and Nott, *ib.*—injustice of the expedition, 267—errors in its conception, 268—disproportion of force employed, *ib.*—error in the final military arrangements, 269—causes of this, *ib.*—real causes of the disasters, 270—Peel's conduct on intelligence of the disaster in, 302—danger of India after retreat from, vii. 21—divided councils regarding it, 23—passage of the Khyber Pass, 27 *et seq.*—relief of Jellalabad, 28—Ellenborough's views regarding, 30—position of the British in Candahar, 31 *et seq.*—defeat of England, 33—fall of Ghuznee, 34—defence of Khelat-i-Ghilzye, *ib.*—murder of Shah Soojah, 36—views of Lord Ellenborough, 35—and of Pollock, &c., 36—condition of the troops, 38—expedition to Shinwaree, *ib.*—advance of Pollock, 39—victory at Jugdulluck, 40—and at Tezeen, *ib.*—operations of Nott, 42—capture of Ghuznee, 43—removal of gates of Sounnauth, *ib.*—advance to Cabul, *ib.*—destruction of bazaar, 44—expedition to Istahiff, *ib.*—general submission, *ib.*—recovery of the prisoners, 45 *et seq.*—final retirement of the British from, 47—joy in India at these successes, *ib.*—restoration of Dost Mahommed, 48—moral

lessons from the war in, 49—Sikh population in, 76.
 Affré, archbishop of Paris, murder of, vii. 48.
 Afrancesados, measures of the Spanish government toward the, i. 352—measures of the Cortes regarding, 355.
 Afredis, the, defence of the Khyber Pass by, vi. 232.
 Africa, influence of the slave trade on the civilisation of, v. 40—affairs of, 1837, 329 *et seq.*—affairs of, after capture of Constantine, 370 *et seq.*—proposed relaxation of laws against deportation of labourers from, vii. 223—effect of the restriction, 224.—*See also* Algeria.
 African campaign, Vernet's paintings from the, iii. 215.
 African races, Christianity not adapted to the, i. 41.
 Afzul Khan, son of Dost Mahommed, defeat and flight of, vi. 236.
 Agier, M., defection of, from the royalists, iii. 122.
 Agion-Oros, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 391.
 Agitation, increase of, in Ireland since Catholic emancipation, iii. 358—effects of, in Ireland, 360—cessation of, in Ireland, 363—the Catholic effects of, in relation to reform, 367—increase of, in Ireland, 1830, iv. 12—increased, against tithes in Ireland, v. 9, 11—importance given to, by its results in case of free trade, vii. 219.
 Agogna, defeat of the Sardinian insurgents at, ii. 43.
 Agra, bank of, vi. 171 note—road from Bombay to, vii. 108 note.
 Agram, insurrection organised in, viii. 206.
 Agrarian disturbances and crimes, increase of, in Ireland in 1823, ii. 193—origin and objects of, there, iii. 271—prevalence of, 1823, 275—diminution of, 1824, 276—increase of, 1845, vi. 346, 372.
 Agrarian law, partial establishment of, in Prussian Poland, vii. 197.
 Agricultural classes, effects of the high prices of 1817 on the, i. 163—parliamentary measures for relief of the, 1822, ii. 198—arguments used by the anti-corn-law agitators to the, vi. 287—distress of the, 1847, &c., vii. 287.
 Agricultural depression, influence of, on the immigration from Ireland, iv. 58.
 Agricultural distress, debates in parliament on, 1816, i. 59 *et seq.*—appointment of committee to inquire into, 1820, ii. 178—Brougham's speech on it, *ib. et seq.*—answer by Ricardo, 171—new committee of inquiry into, 1821, 184—its report, 186—continued prevalence of, 1823, iii. 221—effects of, in inducing Catholic emancipation, 357—prevalence of, in Ireland, 1829, 374—influence of, in rousing the passion for reform in the counties, iv. 65—motion on, 1835, vi. 11—committee on, 1836, 28—motion by Cobden on, 1845, 354—and of Mr Miles for its relief, 355.
 Agricultural districts, disturbances in, 1830, iii. 399—emigration of workmen to the manufacturing from, vi. 288—effects of railway system in promoting emigration from, 340—mortality in, compared with manufacturing, vii. 271.

- Agricultural horses, repeal of the tax on, ii.** 186.
- Agricultural institutions, decree for establishing, in the Papal States, vii.** 339.
- Agricultural interest, representation of the, under the old constitution of England, iv.** 59—causes of the decay of the, 61—preponderance of the commercial over, since the reform bill, vi. 380—influence of this with regard to the corn laws, 381.
- Agricultural labourers, numbers of, in England and Ireland, vi.** 34.
- Agricultural population, effects of the free-trade policy on the, in Great Britain, i.** 5—proportion of, in Russia and Great Britain, ii. 8—that of Ireland, state of the, and its causes, 192.
- Agricultural produce, comparison of the old and new state as to raising, i.** 23—fall in prices of, on the peace, 46, 63—effects of fall of prices of, on Ireland, ii. 193—continued fall in price of, 196—value of, in England and France, iii. 125—rise in prices of, in England, 1823, &c., 220—annual value of, in England, 239—depreciation of, distress caused by, in Ireland, 274—low prices of, 300—influence of low price of, in Ireland, v. 26—fall in value of, 1833, and distress resulting from it, 29—increase of, Canada, vi. 106—falling off of, in the West Indies, 113.
- Agricultural Protection Society, the, vi.** 358.
- Agriculture, decline of, from free trade in England, i.** 5—causes of the decay of, in Rome, 17—inapplicability of steam to, and its results, 23—comparison between the old and the new state with regard to, *ib.*—alleged excessive development of, during the war, 60—pressure of taxation on, 61—of the poor-rate, 62—low state of, in Russia, ii. 8—predominance of, there, 11—impetus given to, in Russia, by free trade in England, 28—revival of, in France, 77—Council of, formed in France, 79—prosperous condition of, in France, 1824, iii. 76—alleged effect of division of properties on, 89—French prosperity of, 1830, 125—importance of, as compared with manufactures, 239—superiority of interests of, in England, *ib.*—prosperous state of, in the beginning of 1825, 249—joint-stock companies for, 1825, 253 note—small proportion engaged in, 302—large number in France, 303—depression of, by free trade, and its effects in Ireland, 362—influence of the railway system in developing, 396—classes dependent on, 66—numbers dependent on, 77—progress of, in Germany since the peace, iv. 220—distressed state of, 1833, v. 29—continued depression of, 1834, 56—improvement of, in Algeria, 285—depressed state of, 1835, 406—English and Irish, comparison of, vi. 368—anticipated effects of corn-law repeal on, *ib.*—Sir R. Peel's measure the withdrawal of protection from, 382—depression of, under free trade in Ireland, and influence of this in inducing emigration, vii. 349—influence of capital in, compared with manufactures, 311—decline of, in France, 314—state of, in China, 4—great improvements in, consequent on free trade, viii. 295—effects of the railway system on, *ib.*
- Agriculturists, distress among the, on the peace, i.** 45, 46—Lord Liverpool on the necessity of protection to the, ii. 169—increased desire for parliamentary reform among the, 187—alienation of, from the Wellington ministry, 394—distress of, and motion in parliament for their relief, v. 412—distress of the, in Great Britain, 1839, vi. 65—the Irish, wages of, 1839, 69—influence of contraction of the currency on the, 138—opposition to the sliding scale among the, 294—alarm on the new tariff among the, 299—advantages of the railway system to, 340—depressed condition of the, 1846, and use made of it by the Free-traders, 354—proposed relief to the, under the corn-law abolition act, 363—alarm of the, on Sir R. Peel's proposed changes, 366—motion for relief to the, 1849, viii. 293—outray among them, 296.
- Ahmed, prince, death of, ii.** 396.
- Ahmed Bey, siege of Akhalzikh by, iii.** 39—his defeat, 40.
- Ahmed Bey of Constantine, see Achmet.**
- Aidez-toi Society, the, in France, iii.** 99—directed against the Polignac ministry, 112.
- Aidos, pass through the Balkan by, iii.** 58—defeat of the Turks at, and advance of the Russians to, 59.
- Airdrie, riot at, 1842, vi.** 286—intended rising in, 1848, vii. 295.
- Aisne and Marne Canal, the, vii.** 136.
- Aivaly, revolt and desperate conflict in, ii.** 372.
- Aix, the Duke of Orleans at, iv.** 353—resistance to the new valuation in, vii. 146.
- Aix-la-Chapelle, the congress of sovereigns, &c., at, i.** 297—the ambassadors, &c., at it, 298—the treaty of, 299—secret protocols, 300—military arrangements, 301—secret royalist memoir presented, *ib.*—Alexander at, ii. 33—disturbances in, 1830, iv. 115.
- Aizzabal, cannon foundry at, seized by the Spanish insurgents, i.** 349.
- Ajaccio, Murat at, i.** 136.
- Ajeet Singh, murder of Shere Singh by, vii.** 67—his death, *ib.*
- Akbar Khan, arrival of, at Cabul, vi.** 258—secret negotiation of Macnaghten with, 260—murder of the latter by him, 261—surrender of the ladies to, 181—during the retreat, 265—blockade of Jellalabad by, vii. 25, 26—defeat of, 28—spoliation of Futeh Jung by, 39 note—position chosen by, 40—his defeat, 41—submission of, 45—death of, 97.
- Akhalkalaki, capture of, by the Russians, iii.** 33.
- Akhalkali ceded to Russia, iii.** 62.
- Akhalzikh, pacha of, iii.** 81—march of the Russians on, 38—capture of it, 36 *et seq.*—attack on, by the Turks, 89—its defence, *ib.*—and deliverance, 40—again attacked and relieved, *ib.*—ceded to Russia, 62.
- Akhtar Khan, insurrection and defeat of, vi.** 246—again in insurrection, 247.
- Akram Khan, junction of, with Shere Singh, vii.** 104—flight of, 106.
- Alabama, statistics of banks in, vi.** 49 note—increase of banks in, 1837, 56.

Alaix, general, pursuit of Gomez by, v. 201, 202 *et seq.*
 Alava, general, during the attack of the guard on Madrid, ii. 248—parting of Berdianand from, 297—v. 184.
 Alazan, the marquis, i. 353.
 Albania, insurrections against the Turks in, ii. 351—state of, in 1821, 361.
 Albanians, race of the, ii. 319—revolt of the, from Turkey, 399—junction of the, with Redeschid Pacha, 415.
 Albemarle, lord, master of the horse, 1830, iv. 3 nota.
 Alberg, the duke de, made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 84.
 Albert, prince, marriage of Queen Victoria to, vi. 120—his family and Protestant principles, 121—present during debate on repeal of corn laws, 362—at Wellington's funeral, viii. 329, 330.
 Albert, the archduke, captures Mortara, viii. 116—at Novara, 117, 118.
 Albert, M., appointed one of provisional government, vii. 400—socialist demonstration organised by, viii. 28—conspiracy in favour of, 30—votes for, 1848, 34 note—discontent of, 37—arrested, 39.
 Albi, resistance to the new valuation in, vii. 143.
 Albion, the, at the battle of Algiers, i. 78—at Navarino, ii. 428, 429.
 Albrecht, M., viii. 155.
 Albufera, the duke of, made a peer, i. 314—at the birth of the Duke de Bordeaux, ii. 113.
 Aldama, general, defeat of, v. 174.
 Aldobrandini, movement of, at Rome, vii. 342.
 Alendix, the count de, v. 105.
 Alentejo, invasion of, from Spain, iii. 308.
 Aleppo, earthquake of August 13, 1823, in, ii. 394—capture of, by Ibrahim Pacha, v. 247—cession of, to Mehmet Ali, 255.
 Alessandria, revolutionary movement at, i. 370—occupation of, by the Austrians, ii. 43, 44—conditions of armistice regarding, viii. 120.
 Alessandrini, heads the insurgents at Bologna, viii. 124.
 Alexander, the emperor, i. 153—demands the disbanding of the army of the Loire, 96—alienation of, from Talleyrand, 104—intimacy of Richelieu with, 105—views of, in the negotiations, 107, 108—views of, in the Holy Alliance, 110—its terms, 111—views of, regarding the punishment of Ney, &c., 123—efforts of, regarding the army of occupation, &c., 283, 284—arrival of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—conversation of, with the Duke de Richelieu, *ib.*—visit of, to Louis XVIII. at Paris, 304—ships of war bought by Spain from, 341—acquisition of the grand-duchy of Warsaw by, ii. 2—educational measures of, 12—establishment of military colonies by, 23—on the universal corruption in Russia, 26—return of, to Russia in 1815, 30—his beneficent measures, 31—marriage of his sister, &c., *ib.*—incessant travels of, *ib.*—his various measures, 32—his arrival at Warsaw in 1818, *ib.*—his speech to the Polish Diet, 33—his journey to his southern provinces, *ib.*—efforts of, for the

enfranchisement of the serfs, 34—measures, &c., during 1819, *ib.*—expulsion of the Jesuits, *ib.*—change wrought in his mind by the revolution of 1820, 35—dissolution of the Polish Diet in 1820, *ib.*—the Congress of Troppan, 36—at that of Laybach, 37—measures of, against the Piedmontese insurgents, 41—revolt in a regiment of his guards, 44—refuses to support the Greeks, 45—his views on the Greek revolt, *ib.*—extension of his empire in North America, 46—suppression of freemasons' and other secret societies, *ib.*—failure of his philanthropic schemes, 47—his charity after the inundation at St Petersburg, 49—parentage, character, &c., of his empress, 50—the conspiracy in the army revealed to him, 60—congratulations of, on the birth of the Duke de Bordeaux, 114—at the Congress of Verona, 258—his views, 259—views of, on the Spanish question, 262—denunciation of the Spanish constitution by, 271—urges moderation on Ferdinand, 300—his offer of assistance in Spain rejected by France, 302—acquisition of Georgia by, 349—a rumoured member of the Hetairia, 353—reasons for supporting the Greek insurgents, 363—he remains neutral, 364—official declaration of, against the Greek insurgents, 369—opposes the recognition of Greece by the Congress of Verona, 395—pacific tendencies of, toward the close of his reign, iii. 1—friendship of, for Diebitch, 51 note—countenance given to the expectation of liberal institutions by, iv. 223—amours of, and alienation from his empress, ii. 56—death of his natural daughter, 51—reconciliation to the empress, 52—service in the cathedral of Kazan, *ib.*—his departure, 53—his arrival at Taganrog, *ib.*—his last illness, and death, 54—his funeral, *ib.*—character of, 55—his failings, 56—extent of Russia under, 29 note
 Alexander the Great, the invasion of India by, vi. 208—his route, *ib.* 209—proportion of European and Asiatic troops in army of, 168.
 Alexander's column, arrival of the British at, vii. 46.
 Alexandretta, capture of, by Ibrahim Pacha, v. 248.
 Alexandria, Constantinople supplied with grain from, ii. 327—improvement of harbour of, by Mehmet Ali, v. 243—defection of the Turkish fleet at, 266—blockade of, by the British, 273.
 Alfieri, marquis, vii. 341.
 Alfort, veterinary school of, decree disbanding, iv. 334.
 Algarvez, liberal revolt in, v. 120—expedition of Don Pedro into, 129.
 Algeria, see for conquest, &c., Algiers—further successes in, 1830, iv. 129—affairs of, 365—origin of the Zouaves in, 366—military successes, and establishment of the colony, 367—flourishing state of, 1834, v. 285—affairs of, 1837, 329 *et seq.*—the migratory Arabs and their annual migration, *ib.*—the conquests of the Romans and Saracens, 330—faults of the French government after the revolution, *ib.*—the Numidian horsemen, 331—early difficulties of Clausel, *ib.*—

Algeria, continued.

- character of Abd-el-Kader, 332—his first successes, *ib.*—disaster of General Trezel, *ib.*—victory of Clausel, 333—capture and recapture of Klemens, *ib.*—Ahmed Bey joins the league against the French, *ib.*—operations in the west, and victory of the Sickak, 334—preparations for siege of Constantine, 335—commencement of expedition, *ib.*—march on Constantine, and its hardships, *ib.*—description of it, 336—repulse of the French, *ib.*—their disastrous retreat, *ib.*—forces voted for, 336—diverging views of the commanders, *ib.*—conference between Bugaud and Abd-el-Kader, *ib.*—treaty of La Tafna, 339—indignation at it in France, *ib.*—preparations for expedition against Constantine, *ib.*—commencement of siege, 340—death of Damremont, 341—storming of it, *ib.*—joy in France on the successes in, 343—force voted for, 1838, 350—affairs of, after storming of Constantine, 370—their threatening aspect, 371—commencement of the insurrection, *ib.*—defensive measures, and successes of the French, 371—description of, vii. 167—the Sahara, *ib.*—influence arising from its character to the rulers of the Tel, 168—varieties of the climate, *ib.*—the Kabyles, *ib.*—statistics of the colony, 169—difficulties of it in respect to industry, *ib.*—exports and imports, 170—its importance as a school for war, *ib.*—qualities called out in the officers and soldiers, *ib.*—characters of the French generals engaged in, 171 *et seq.*—state of, in 1840, 176—first operations, and storming of Medeah, 177—expedition against Milianah, 178—combat on the Col de Mouzaia, *ib.*—campaign of 1841, 179—successes during it, *ib.*—submission of various tribes, 180—final defeat and flight of Abd-el-Kader, *ib.*—his reappearance, 181—capture of his harem, *ib.*—difficulties and rupture with Morocco, 182—first hostilities, *ib.*—conference with the Morocco chief, 183—failure of it, *ib.*—commencement of hostilities by sea and land, 184—bombardment of Tangiers and Mogadore, *ib.*—critical position of the French, 185—battle of Isly, *ib. et seq.*—peace with Morocco, 187—campaign against the Kabyles, and fresh efforts of Abd-el-Kader, *ib.*—capitulation of Abd-el-Kader, 188—general submission and pacification of the country, *ib.*—general view of it, 189—diminutive scale of its industrial resources, *ib.*—parallel between it and the British empire in India, 190—reception of the revolution of 1848 in, viii. 23.
- Algerines, defeat of, by the Greeks, ii. 401.
- Algeriraz, reception of Riego at, i. 348.
- Algiers, the expedition to, motives which led to it, i. 73—outrages of the Algerines, *ib.*—first negotiations with the Dey regarding piracy, &c., 74—description of, its defences, harbour, &c., 75—the force for the attack on it, *ib. et seq.*—preparations for defence, 77—arrival of the fleet at, *ib.*—battle, 78 *et seq.*—its results, 80—submission of the government, liberation of the prisoners, &c., 81 *et seq.*—reflections on the battle, 81—the French expedition to, iii. 126—grounds of the quarrel, and negotiations with England on it, *ib.*—departure of the expedition, 127—its landing, *ib.*—attack on the town, 129—its surrender, *ib.*—statistics of, 130—true objects of the expedition to, 167—expense of the expedition to, iv. 107—suspicion excited in Turkey by the French invasion of, v. 252—demand of Turkey of tribute from France for, 263—dissensions in cabinet regarding governor of, 284 note—improvement in town of, 285—province of, terms of treaty of La Tafna regarding, 339—the bombardment of, as an instance of naval attack on land defences, 358—population of province of, vii. 169—city of, danger of, in 1840 from the Arabs, 178—province of, 189.—See Algeria.
- Ali Bey, appointed grand-vizier, ii. 596.
- Ali Pacha, the dethronement, &c., of, ii. 328—the revolt of, against Turkey, 333—victory of the Suliotas over, 352—sketch of his career, *ib.* note—insurrection of, 352—betrayal of the Hetairia to, 358—the cessation of Parga demanded by, 359—its surrender to him, 360—besieged in Janina, 376—capitulation of, 382—his peridious seizure and death, 382—rejoicings at Constantinople on his fall, 383.
- Ali Musjid, capture of fort of, vi. 232—attempt to relieve, and its abandonment, vii. 24—recapture of, 23.
- Ali Yar, governor of Tunis, iii. 12.
- Alibaud, the attempt of, to assassinate Louis Philippe, v. 313—his trial and execution, *ib.*
- Alicante, declared a free port, i. 341—violence of the royalists in, ii. 293—massacres of Carlists in, v. 227.
- Allen Act, continuation of the, i. 182—renewal of the, 1824, iii. 279—reflections on it, 280—passing of the, 1845, vi. 354.
- Aliens, statistics regarding, iii. 279—true principles of legislation regarding, 280.
- Alison, Rev. Archibald, on the peace, i. 44—the works of, 234.
- Alison, Dr, his efforts on behalf of the poor of Scotland, vi. 350.
- Alwal, movement of the Sikhs to, vii. 90—battle of, 98 *et seq.*
- Allaghez mountains, the, iii. 31.
- Allais, a spy, viii. 347.
- Allan, Sir William, the paintings of, i. 260.
- Allemagne Constitutionnelle, journal called, prohibited in Germany, iv. 134.
- Allemandi, general invasion of the Tyrol by, viii. 85—his defeat, *ib.*
- Alliance, first divergence of policy in the, ii. 38.
- Allied indemnities, arrangement with regard to the, in 1818, i. 207.
- Allied powers, treaty with the, regarding the right of search, vii. 188.
- Allied sovereigns, the, arrival of, in Paris, i. 94—secret memoir of the French royalists to, 301—preparations of, against the Piedmontese insurgents, ii. 41.
- Allies, the, occupation of France by, their requisitions, &c., i. 84—demand the punishment of the Napoleonists, 92—compel the disbanding of the army of the Loire, 95—first requisitions of, on France, 97—settle-

Allies, continued.

- ments of their troops in the country, and their exactions, 98—difficulties of the negotiations with, 107—convention between, for exclusion of Napoleon from France, 109—moderation toward France shown by, 112—views and influence of, with regard to the punishment of Ney, 123—the indemnity from France to, 282—new convention with, regarding the army of occupation, 284—evacuation of France agreed to by, 299—secret treaty between them and France, *ib.*—secret protocols between them, 300—evacuation of France by their troops, 802—new arrangements, &c., regarding Greece by, v. 259—treaty of, for settlement of Eastern question, 269—their preparations to enforce it on Mehemet Ali, *ib.*—conciliatory note from them to France, 270—plans of, and forces for the operations in Syria, 272—note from the French government to, 276—pacification of the East as arranged by, 279—their treaty of 15th July 1840 on the affairs of the East, 385—memorandum to France, 386—final treaty of, regarding the East, and recognition of that of Unkiar-Skelessi, 396.
- Altonville, M. d', the *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, by, iii. 200.
- Allowance system, proposed abolition of the, v. 75.
- Almaden, capture of, by Gomez, v. 203—again taken by the Carlists, 225.
- Almassy, Count Ernest, viii. 236.
- Almeida, liberal revolt in, v. 120.
- Almodavar, count d', evades the trial of Elio, ii. 250.
- Almora, capture of, by the British, vi. 176.
- Alo, establishment of university at, ii. 34.
- Alouzo, M., minister of the interior, v. 218.
- Alpuente, a leader in the Cortes of 1820, i. 355.
- Alsace, cession of, demanded by Austria, i. 108.
- Alskhur, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 37.
- Alta Mira, Don José de, becomes minister of the interior, ii. 241.
- Altai mountains, the gold mines of the, ii. 25.
- Altenburg, accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
- Althorpe, lord, on the resumption of cash payments, i. 75—motion by, regarding British enlistment in foreign service, ii. 305—dissensions in Goderich cabinet regarding, 327—opposes the grant to Canning's family, 329—on the test and corporation acts, 332—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—motion by, on the regency, 1830, 392—chancellor of the exchequer, iv. 3 note—his opinion of the reform bill, 5 note—budget of, 1831, and its defeat, 14—thanks voted by the political unions to, 41—announces resignation of ministers, 51—budget of, 1832-1833, v. 6 note—arguments of, on the Russo-Belgian loan, 6—motion by, for forenoon hours in the house, 15—statistics of crime in Leinster, 16 note—arguments of, for Irish coercion bill, 16—bill for reduction of Irish church introduced by, 22—arguments of, for Irish church bill, 24—budget of, 1833, 31—taxes taken off by, *ib.*—opposes the partial repeal of the malt tax, *ib.*—counter motion by, 32—bank charter act introduced by, 33—arguments for it, 34—arguments of, for the India bill, 86—motion by, on the Irish church, 64—declaration of, on the Irish church, 66—views of, on the Irish coercion bill, 69—resigns, *ib.*—but resumes office, 70—modified coercion bill brought in by, 71—brings in the poor-law amendment act, 74—arguments for it, *ib.* *et seq.*—becomes Earl Spencer, 80.
- Alvarez, governor of Barcelona, his inactivity during massacre there, v. 195.
- Alzkow, ceded to Russia, iii. 62.
- Amarante, the comte d', attempt of, to arrest the revolution of 1820, i. 360—royalist insurrection under, ii. 300—defeated, and retires into Spain, 301—heads the reactionists in Portugal, v. 87, 88—created Marquis of Chaves, 89.
- Amarillas, the marquis las, exiled from Madrid, ii. 249.
- Amatola, defeat of the British in, viii. 312—operations at, *ib.*
- Amazon steamer, loss of the, viii. 325.
- Ameer Khan, leader of the Patans, vi. 179.
- Ameers of Scinde, the, vii. 50.—*See* Scinde.
- Amele, selected for punishment in 1815, i. 93.
- Amélie, princess, sister of Louis Philippe, iv. 103.
- Ameen Oollah Khan, an Affghan chief, proposed seizure of, vi. 260—defeat of, at Istaliff, vii. 44—submission of, 45.
- America, increased emigration to, i. 6—exports from Great Britain to, 213 note—settlement of the Russian boundaries in, ii. 50—Chateaubriand's residence in, 217 note, iii. 182—Tocqueville's Democracy in, 204—reaction against popery in, 364—immigration from Germany and the British Isles into, iv. 216 note—acquisitions of Russia in, vi. 213—food-growing districts of, 292—Irish emigrants to, 1841-1855, vii. 247 note.—*See* also United States, Canada, South America, &c.
- Americans, the aboriginal, disappearance of, v. 39.
- American mines, influence of the discovery of the, on Europe, i. 18—their diminished produce, 19.
- American sympathisers, efforts of the, in Canada, vi. 94—disclaimed by their government, 95—renewed efforts and defeats of the, 1838, 102—execution of the leaders, 103.
- Amersham, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Amescoms, victory of the Carlists at, v. 162.
- Amherst, lord, appointed governor of Canada, vi. 16—appointed governor-general of India, and commencement of the Burmese war, iii. 226, vi. 183.
- Amiens, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146.
- Amis du Peuple, society of, dissolved by government, iv. 108—at Lamarque's funeral, 330.
- Amnesty, professed general, in Spain, i. 336.
- 338—proclamation of, in Spain on the marriage of the king, 346—the pretended, of Ferdinand, ii. 299—law of exceptions to the, repealed in France, iv. 107—proclamation of, in Prussia, on the 300th anniversary of the Reformation, iv. 248—general,

Amnesty, continued.

proclaimed by Otho in Greece, v. 260—proposed, in France, 1834, 284—discussion on it, 285—general, on the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, 327—and on the Duke de Nemours', 377—general, proclaimed by Pius IX., vii. 338—political, proclaimed in Naples, 349—Venice, viii. 132—general, proclaimed in Austria, 209.

Amor, general, v. 168.

Amoy, storming of, vii. 15—opening of, 20.

Amphitheatre, the, at Verona, ii. 258.

Anagnostoros, gallant defence and death of, at Sphacteria, ii. 412.

Anapa, capture of, by the Russians, ii. 349—again captured by the Russians, iii. 21—and ceded to Russia, 62.

Anatolia, amnesty from Turkey to, 1833, v. 255.

Anatoliko, revolt in, ii. 372—siege of, by the Turks, 400—is raised, *ib.*

Anatolicon, fort of, Missolonghi, ii. 415—captured, 418—captured by the Greeks, iii. 64.

Annclion, M. d', at the congress of Muntz Graetz, iv. 364—supports France at the congress, 365.

Ancona, democratic insurrection in, 1830, iv. 132—its suppression, 133—expedition to, resolved on by France, and reasons for it, 314—its success, 316—sensation caused by it, *ib.*—evacuation of, by the French, v. 334—capture of, by the Austrians, viii. 124.

Andalusia, brigandage in, i. 335—disturbances in, 1819, 342—ravages of yellow fever in, 345—secret royalist committee in, 353—revolt of the Carabineers in, ii. 347—their defeat, 249—advance of the French into, 290—Carlist revolt in, v. 168—march of Gomez into, 202.

Andersen, Hans, the autobiography of, iv. 288—the novels of, 290.

Anderson, brigadier, wounded at Mangore, vii. 70.

Anderson, captain, defeat of the Ghilzies by, vi. 242—operations of, at Cabul, 254.

Anderson, lieutenant, murder of, at Mooltan, vii. 98.

Andilla, the baron d', appointed governor of Cadiz, ii. 237—his appointment resisted, 238—evades presiding at Elio's trial, 250.

Andros, defeat of the Turkish fleet near, ii. 413.

Androuzou, a Greek naval leader, ii. 386.

Andujar, the decree of, ii. 293.

Angerstein Gallery, purchase of the, by the nation, iii. 225.

Anglesca, marquess of, becomes master-general of the ordnance, iii. 314—lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 328 note—letter from, on Catholic emancipation, 341—recalled, 342—lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1830, iv. 4 note—master-general of ordnance, 1846, vii. 221 note—at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330.

Anglo-Mexican Mining Company, the, iii. 256 note.

Anglo-Saxons, in England, i. 317—persistent character of, the, 33.

Anglo-Saxon character, adaptation of, to the office assigned to it, i. 40.

Anglo-Saxon race, influence of the reform bill on the spread of, the, iv. 58—practical character of, the, v. 3.

Angora, population of, ii. 331 note.

Angoulême, the duke d', i. 98—views of, regarding the electoral ordinance of 1816, 91—difficulties experienced by him in the south, *ib.*—made member of Chamber of Peers, 94—proceedings of, at Nîmes, 101—views of, as to the ordinance of Sept. 5, 155—procures the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, 337—at the funeral of the Duke de Berri, ii. 98—patronage of Villèle by, 220 note—commands the army of invasion in Spain, 282—first difficulties of, in Spain, 286—forces of, 287—passage of the Bidasoa, 288—his progress, *ib.*—advances to Madrid, 289—its capitulation, *ib.*—and his entry, 290—advances into Andalusia, and decree of Andujar, 292—at the siege of Cadiz, 294 *et seq.*—negotiations of, with the Cortes, 296—his reception of the king, 297—urges moderation on him, 298—triumphant return of, to Paris, 301—declared Dauphin, iii. 72—counsels measures against the Jesuits, 104—superintends the preparation of the expedition to Algiers, 127—during the Three Days, 145—appointed generalissimo, 150—opposes concession, 151—violent attack on Marmont by, 153—agrees at last to abdication, 154—at Valognes, 157—objects and effects of his invasion of Spain, 167.

Angoulême, the duchess d', inveteracy of, against Ney, i. 129—and Lavalette, 132—intercession of, on behalf of Clausel, &c., 140—on the ordinance of Sept. 5, 155—demands the dismissal of Décazes, ii. 95—at the funeral of the Duke de Berri, 98—influence of, over the king, 125—secures the ratification of Ouvrard's contract, 287—absent during the Three Days, iii. 146—during the retreat to the coast, 156—at Valognes, 157—at Cherbourg, 158—views of, at Holyrood, iv. 321—during the last years of Charles X., v. 318.

Anhalt, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.

Animal food, comparative consumption of, in France and England, iii. 172.

Ann, the grand-duchess, marriage of, to the Prince of Orange, ii. 31.

Anne, queen, creation of peers under, iv. 75—the copyright act of, vi. 302.

Annual parliaments, one of the objects of the Radicals, v. 1—one of the points of the charter, vi. 80.

Annual Register, Burke's essays in the, i. 235—picture of the state of England in 1825 from the, 250.

Annuitants, injustice of the income tax on, vi. 301.

Anti-corn-law League, origin of, vi. 84—causes of its success, *ib.*—increased efforts of, 138, 139—use made of the distress of 1842, &c., by the, 286—opposite arguments adduced by them, 287—increased agitation of the, 316—arguments of the, on railways, 339—progress of the, 1843, &c., 354—increased efforts of, on the appear-

- Anti-corn-law League, *continued*.
 ance of the potato disease, 358—great influence of the, 382.
- Anti-corn-law movement, the Chartists hold aloof from the, vi. 81.
- Anti-corn-law Rhymes, publication and influence of the, vi. 139.
- Antigua, free negroes in, v. 48.
- Ant Jacobin, Canning's contributions to the, ii. 214 note.
- Anti-Lebanon, range of, v. 244.
- Antioch, fearful earthquake in, ii. 304.
- Antiochia, repulse of the Russians at, iii. 52.
- Antiquary, the, remarks on, i. 219.
- Antiquity, increased reverence for, in France, iii. 172.
- Anti-Union association, the, in Ireland, iii. 394.
- Antoinette, Louise, iv. 339.
- Antomarchi, Dr. Napoleon's conversations as recorded by, iii. 197.
- Antwerp, democratic spirit in, iv. 111—outbreak of the insurrection in, *ib.*—capture of town of, by the insurgents, and occupation of citadel by General Chausse, 115—Dutch party in, 149—cessation of the armistice at, 152—the siege of, its effect on Germany, 238—importance of, in all ages, 342—convention between France and England for ceding it to Belgium, *ib.*—preparation for its siege, 344—description of the citadel, 345—the siege, *ib. et seq.*—its surrender, 346—reflections on the siege, 347.
- Anunghoy, capture of forts of, vii. 13.
- Apollo, action between the, and the Stanislaus, i. 74 note.
- Apostoli, Nicholas, ii. 386.
- Appa Sahib, a Pindarree leader, vi. 182.
- Appeal, supreme court of, proposed by Prussia, &c., viii. 185.
- Appel cases, increase of, iii. 281 note.
- Appeals, judicial, proportion of, in India, vi. 169 note.
- Appel, general, at Novara, viii. 117, 118—occupies Milan, 121.
- Appenzell, supports the Sunderbund, vii. 354—neutral in the contest between the Radicals and Sunderbund, 358.
- Appleby, disfranchised, iv. 20 note—discussion regarding disfranchising of, 36.
- Appony, count, v. 275—views of Metternich on Italy as addressed to, vii. 343.
- Apprenticeship, proposed system of, in West Indies, v. 46—failure of it, 54, vi. 109—its abolition, 111—reception of this, *ib.*—difficulties consequent on it, 112.
- Appropriation clause, the, in the Irish church bill, v. 72—arguments against it, 418 *et seq.*—defeat of Melbourne ministry on it, vi. 10—compromise regarding it, 38.
- Apsley House, attack by the reform rioters on, iv. 83, 41.
- Apthorp, major, wounded at Hykulzie, vii. 34.
- Aquila, the comte d', sent as lieutenant-general to Sicily, vii. 349, viii. 76—his position at Palermo, 77.
- Aquila, capture of, by the Austrians, ii. 40.
- Arabs, persistent character of the, i. 33—the conquests of the, ii. 317—in Turkey, 319—number of, in Algiers, iii. 180 note, vii. 169—hostility of the, in Algeria, iv. 366—the migratory, of Algeria, v. 329—conquests of the Romans and Saracens over, 380—as horsemen, 331—long hostility of, in Algeria, vii. 170.
- Arad, siege and relief of, viii. 244—blockaded by the Hungarians, 258—surrender of, to the Austrians, 280.
- Arago, Emmanuel, counsel for Hubert, v. 352.
- Arago, Etienne, connected with the Spanish liberals, iv. 108—opposes insurrection, vii. 390—member of the provisional government, 400 note—heads the insurrection of June 1849, viii. 339.
- Arago, Francois, conference on the part of the liberals with Marmont, iii. 146—returned to Chamber in 1831, iv. 147—one of the deputation to the king after the revolt of St Meri, 337—heads the liberal committee in Paris, his career and character, v. 344—report on railway lines by, 346—speech of, on parliamentary reform, vii. 125—heads the reform movement, 131—speech of, on the wages question, 132 *et seq.*—on the Polish banquet, 140—nominated one of the provisional government, 400—votes for, 1843, viii. 34 note—a member of the executive commission, 36 note—moves commission on the working classes, 36—elected to the Assembly, 60.
- Aragon, brigandage in, i. 335—secret royalist committee in, 353—reception of the decree against the priests in, 357—royalist insurrection in, ii. 239—movements of the royalists in, 245—Carlist insurrection in, v. 192.
- Aranjuez, tumult at, ii. 244.
- Aranzazu, destruction of convent of, v. 161.
- Afarat, cession of, to Russia, iii. 350—mount, 344.
- Araxes, the, Russia advanced to, ii. 348—defeat of the Persians on, iii. 10—passage of, by the Russians, 46.
- Arbois, insurrection at, 1834, iv. 376.
- Arbuzoff, lieutenant, a Russian conspirator, ii. 62.
- Are de l'Etoile, completion of the, v. 360—grant for it, *ib.* note.
- Are de Triomphe, inauguration of the, v. 313.
- Area, Val d', forced by the Austrians, viii. 97.
- Arcadia, capture of, by Ibrahim Pacha, ii. 414—Ibrahim Pacha in, 427.
- Archangel, the first seaport of Russia, ii. 21.
- Archipelago, the, the seamen of the, ii. 321—commercial prosperity of the islands of the, 356—the revolt in the, 365.
- Architecture, recent progress of, in England, i. 257—imitative character of, in Russia, ii. 22—modern, in Paris, iii. 214—modern German, iv. 298.
- Arco-Arguerro, señor, appointed captain-general of Estremadura, i. 358.
- Arcos, capture of, by the insurgent Spaniards, v. 346—check of Gomez at, v. 204.
- Arrot, bursting of tanks in, 1827, vi. 159.
- Ardabil, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 13.
- Ardagan, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 37.

Arenenburg, chateau of, the headquarters of the Napoleonists, v. 314—Napoleonist intrigues at, 319, 358.
 Areso, combat at, v. 164.
 Arethusia, capture of La Pomone by the, i. 74 note.
 Arga, combat on the, v. 185.
 Argonson, M. d', a leader of the conspiracy of 1816, i. 151—in the chamber of 1816, 275—heads the extreme liberals in 1819, ii. 88—a leader of the conspiracy in the army, 111, 112—one of the leaders of the French Carbonari, 225—named a member of Berton's provisional government, *ib.*—objects of the party of, iii. 160.
 Argos, capture of, by the Turks, ii. 389—civil contest in, v. 258—massacre by the French in, 260.
 Argout, M. d', mission of, to Charles X., iii. 148—abortive attempt of, to negotiate, 152—becomes minister of marine, iv. 124—appointed minister of public instruction, 143—resignation of, 372—appointed minister of finance, v. 805, 807 note—report on the bank, 1848, viii. 12.
 Argovia, changes in constitution of, 1830, iv. 117—decree suppressing convents in, vii. 853.
 Arguelles, señor, arbitrary punishment of, i. 337—becomes minister of the interior, 351—denounced by the clubs, 356—votes against the deposition of the king, 291.
 Arieta, defeat of the Christians near, v. 167.
 Aristocracy, territorial and commercial, difference between, i. 161—connection of, with the army in England, iii. 163—effects of the destruction of, in France, 168, 172, 211—a landed, effects of want of, in France, 178—jealousy of Canning among, 314—transference of political power from, iv. 1—alleged effect of the reform bill on, 21—representation of, under the old constitution of England, 59—diminished influence of, in France, 168—superiority of, as statesmen, 169—causes of this, *ib.*—importance of their interests being identified with those of production, *ib.*—effect of their heading the English movement, v. 3—confined to the towns of the United States, vi. 51—unrepresented under Louis Philippe in France, vii. 121—of fashion, rise of the, and its influence, i. 266.
 Aristocratic ascendancy, results of, in England, i. 161.
 Aristocratic classes, Catholic emancipation a triumph of the, iii. 357.
 Ariaban, defeat of the Christians at, v. 196—carried by Corlova, 199.
 Arlanger, general d', operations and defeat of, v. 334.
 Armagh, the archbishop of, address on the Irish church presented to the king by, v. 65.
 Armagh, great Protestant muster at, iii. 337—conflict between Catholics and Orangemen in, 375—falling off in Protestants in, v. 416.
 Armellini, a member of the Roman triumvirate, viii. 126.
 Armenians, number of, in Constantinople, ii. 336 note.
 Armorica, secret society of the, iv. 235.
 Armoughi, defeat of the Greeks at, ii. 401.

Arms, act authorising searching for, ii. 153—bill regarding the importation of, into Ireland, 196—act for Ireland, passing of the, vi. 307—bill, the Irish, brought forward by the Russell ministry, vii. 237—skill of the Turks in the use of, ii. 338—law against unauthorised possession of, in France, iv. 378.
 Armies, correspondence between France, &c., regarding reduction of, 1834, iv. 368—various continental, statistics of, 365 note—British and foreign, different composition of the, vii. 233.
 Army, course to be followed by, in revolutionary movements, i. 872.
 Army, the Austrian organisation, &c., of the, viii. 142—its fidelity, 212, 233.
 Army, &c., the British, 1818, i. 44—reduction in it, on the peace, 48—strength of it, 1792 and 1816, 57—arms, &c., voted for it, 1816, 59—1818, 186—comparison of it, 1792 and 1821, ii. 186 note—improvement in it, under the Duke of York, *ib.* 311—impossibility of relying on it in 1828, 340—motion for reduction of it, 389—reductions in it, 1832, v. 6—and 1833, 31—reduced state of, in 1841, 232—suppression of Orange lodges, vi. 11—its weakness, 1836, 29—weakness of the empire from its smallness, 45—additions to it, 1839, 137—weakness of it, 1841, 283—flogging in it, discussion on, 1846, vii. 251 *et seq.*—motion on the subject, and Wellington's order on it, *ib.*—reflections on the subject, 232—class from which it is drawn, 233—necessity for flogging in the field, *ib.*—its available strength, 1846, 234—introduction of system of limited service into it, 272 *et seq.*—its strength, 1847–8, 360—and in 1849, &c., viii. 300—in 1850, 320.
 Army, the Chinese, vii. 2.
 Army, the Egyptian, its organisation under Mehmet Ali, v. 243.
 Army, the French, changes introduced into, in 1817, i. 281—its fidelity in 1820, ii. 103—new organisation of it, 117—ordonnance of Charles X. regarding it, iii. 76—in 1826, 92—state of it in 1829, 108—its treachery during the Three Days, 162—effects of this on freedom in France, *ib.*—its peculiar constitution, 163—increase in it after the Revolution of 1830, and expense of it, iv. 129—increased expenditure for it under Louis Philippe, 133, 312, 381—in 1832, 344—great increase of it under Louis Philippe, 351—how secured on behalf of his government, 352—vote for increase of it, 1834, 378—its fidelity under Louis Philippe, 382, vii. 362—in 1834, v. 264 note—disclosures regarding it, 349—in 1838, 1839, 350—increase of it on the Eastern crisis, 387, 388—force, &c., of it in Algeria, vii. 170—importance of the province as a school for it, *ib.*—in Algeria, 1850–5, 189 and note—increase of it, 1848, viii. 24—in 1848, 334—motion in the Assembly regarding it, 352.
 Army of the Germanic Confederacy, iv. 218—it the expression of general opinion in Germany, 259—effects of its fidelity in Germany, 1843, viii. 198.
 Army, the Greek, v. 261.
 Army, the East Indian, strength, &c., of,

Army, continued.

vi. 186 and note—it not excessive, 187—its popularity among the natives, 188—danger of reducing it there, 189—undue reduction of it after the Burmese war, 190—abolition of corporal punishment in it, 202—great reductions in it, *ib.*—abstraction of officers to fill civil situations, 203—in 1857, viii. 198.

Army, decree for reorganising the, in the Papal States, vii. 339.

Army, the Polish, reorganisation of, under Constantine, ii. 5—in 1830, iv. 175, 191—organisation and strength of, 182.

Army, the Portuguese, revolutionary movement of, 1820, i. 359, 360.

Army, the Prussian, regulations regarding, iv. 236—its fidelity, viii. 172.

Army, the Roman, failure of, from deficient currency, ii. 136.

Army, the Russian, the composition, strength, &c., ii. 22—its discipline, training, &c., 24—secret societies, &c., in it, 59—in 1826, iii. 3—in Poland, 1830, iv. 191.

*Army, the Spanish, disposition, &c., of, i. 324—danger to the crown from it, 337—its state, 1818, 341—causes of its revolt at Cadiz, 343—the first outbreak, 344—measures of d'Albalat, *ib.*—its treason, 350—report to the Cortes on its state, 1820, 354.*

Army, the Turkish, ii. 336—entirely recruited from the Turks, 320.

Army of occupation in France, new convention regarding the, i. 284.

Arnim, Count d', v. 275—ministry of, in Prussia, viii. 151—retires, 153.

Arnold, Dr, the History of Rome by, i. 248, iv. 283—on the paper currency of Rome during the Punic war, ii. 135 note—on Sir Robert Peel, 203.

Arnoldi, a Russian general, iii. 56.

Aronez, defeat of the Christinos near, v. 174.

Arquijas, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 170.

Aracan. flight of peasantry from Burmah into, vi. 183—defeat of the British on frontier of, 186—storming of, by the British, 189—cession of, to the British, 192.

*Arrest, discussion in the French Chamber on new law of, i. 121 *et seq.*—proposed new law of, and discussion on it, in France, ii. 99 *et seq.**

Arrigorriaga, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 192.

Arrondissements, colleges of, 1815, i. 90—colleges of electors for, ii. 104.

Arroyo, colonel, a Carlist leader, v. 174.

Art, the works of, carried off from France, i. 90—patronage of, by the Russian nobility, ii. 22.

Arta, captured by the Greeks and retaken by the Turks, ii. 876—defeat of the Turks near, 91—atrocities of brigands in, v. 261.

Artazi, defeats of the Christinos at, v. 158, 177.

Artesian wells, early invention of, in China, vii. 7.

Arthur, Sir George, appointed Governor of Upper Canada, vi. 96.

Artificial wants, absence of, as a restraint in Ireland, iii. 266—restraints imposed on population by, vi. 350.

Artillery, efforts of Lord Hardinge for increasing the, viii. 324.

Artisans, emigration and combination of, repeal of laws against, iii. 244—strikes among, and violence employed in these, 255.

*Artois, the count d', supports Fouché, i. 86, 87—views of, regarding the electoral ordinance of 1815, 91—opposition to him in the north, *ib.*—made member of Chamber of Peers, 93—procures the dismissal of Fouché, 103, 104—party in the Chambers headed by, 114—objects to taking the oath of fidelity, 117—and the ordinance of Sept. 5, 184—feelings of, on the appointment of St Cyr, 289—conversation between the king and, on the elections of 1819, ii. 86—at the deathbed of the Duke de Berri, 92—demands the dismissal of Décazes, 95—supports the Richelieu ministry, 96—dissatisfaction of, with the ministry, 1821, 123—influence of, over the king, 125, 311—secures Chateaubriand being created a peer, 218 note—at his deathbed, 312.—See afterwards Charles X.*

Arundel, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

Arvillars, general d', at Santa Lucia, vii. 88.

Arzew, taken by Abd-el-Kader, and retaken by the French, v. 332—terms of treaty of La Tafna regarding, 339.

Arzobispo, capture of bridge of, by the French, ii. 291.

Ascot, attack on the king at, v. 2.

Ashburnham, brigadier, at Sobraon, vii. 92, 93.

*Ashburton, lord, sent out to settle the Maine boundary question, vi. 320—treaty concluded by him, *ib.*—on the commercial crisis of 1825, vii. 284 and note.*

Ashburton, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

Ashley, lord, bill for regulating factory labour by, v. 55—bills brought in by, for regulating infant labour, vi. 312—his ten hours bill, 313—on the approaching fall of the corn laws, 359—his advocacy of the factory operative, vii. 270.

Asia, the, at Navarino, ii. 428, 429.

Asia, Turkish ship, destruction of, ii. 413.

*Asia, passion for migration in, ii. 817—conquests and settlements of the tribes of, *ib.*—interventions of Russia in, 347—earthquake in, 1823, 394—cession of fortresses in, demanded by Russia, iii. 7—commencement of campaign of 1823 in, 30—forces of the Russians, 31—the scene of operations, *ib.*—terrible wars between, and Europe, iv. 170—causes of this perpetual strife, 171—opposite sources of their strength and weakness, *ib.*—effect of the raising of the siege of Herat in, vi. 224—increased influence of England from it, 225—effects of want of a middle class in, vii. 5.*

*Asia Minor, description of, ii. 345—its military resources, 346—mountainous nature of, and want of roads, *ib.*—cruelties of the Turks in, 367—preparations and forces of the Turks in, 1828, iii. 15—scene of campaign of 1828 in, 31—terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding, 62—physical structure of, v. 244—its military character, 245—excitement in, on the battle of Koniah, 251—progress of Ibrahim Pacha in, 258—importance of Syria in relation to, 273.*

*Asiatics, characteristics of, iv. 171—sources of their strength and weakness, *ib.**

- Asiatic habits, prevalence of, among the Russians, ii. 10.
- Asiatic monarchies, the revolt of distant provinces the usual cause of their decay, v. 242.
- Asiatic races, Christianity not adapted to the, i. 41.
- Asiatic and European troops, right proportion of, in India, vi. 168.
- Asiatic Turkey, natural defences of, ii. 344.
- Askani, occupied by the Russians, iii. 37.
- Asnières, cholera at, iv. 817 note.
- Aspre, baron d', forces under, in Italy, viii. 71—surrender of Treviso to, 97—at Cus- toza, 101—entry of, into Milan, 108—defeat of Garibaldi by, 107—movements of, on renewal of the war, 116—at Novara, 117—intervention of, at Leghorn, 124—cap- tures Bologna, *ib*.
- Assam, successes of the British in, 1825, vi. 189.
- Assassination, open recommendation of, in the French press, ii. 89.
- Assaiceira, defeat of the Miguelites at, v. 157.
- Assembly, the Canadian, refuse the supplies, vi. 16—opening of, 1835, and demands of the opposition, 17—report by, on the wants of Canada, 96—effect of the union of the provinces on, 105.
- Assessed taxes, reduction of the, 1823, iii. 222—and 1825, 257 note—class by which paid, iv. 60—reduction in, 1833, v. 31 note—additions to, 1839, vi. 136.
- Assignat system, effects of the, in France, ii. 136.
- Assignats, destruction of capital by the, iii. 175.
- Association, law proposed against, in France, iv. 369—violent debate on it, 370 *et seq.*—it is passed, 372.
- Association, the Central, in Dublin, its or- ganisation, &c., v. 16.
- Astigarra, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 212.
- Astrakhan, population of, ii. 11 note—con- quest of, by Ivan the Terrible, 20.
- Astros, meeting of the Greek National As- sembly at, ii. 397.
- Asturias, reception of the decree against the priests in, v. 357—expedition of Gomez into, v. 200.
- Auranghur, surrender of, to the British, vi. 179, 182.
- Ateliers Nationaux, formation of the, in Paris, viii. 7—who was responsible for them, 8—Louis Blanc's share in them, *ib.*—admissions to them, 14—their cost, 42—revolt of the workmen of the, 43 *et seq.*—dissolved, 51.
- Ateliers Sociaux, Louis Blanc's proposed, viii. 8.
- Athalin, general, ambassador from Louis Philippe to Russia, iv. 101.
- Athens, advantages of her colonies to, i. 318—commencement of the insurrection in, ii. 365—formation of a senate at, 368—siege of Acropolis raised, 374—again besieged by the Greeks, *ib.*—surrender of the Acri- polis to the Greeks, and violation of the capitulation, 890—reoccupied by the Turks, 398—again abandoned by the Turks, *ib.*—abandoned and again occupied by the Greeks, 408—statistics of, population, &c., 1824, 410—siege of, by the Turks, 1826, 424—its fall, *ib.*
- Athos, mount, the monks of, ii. 377—mas- sacre of hostages from, 389.
- Atlas, nomad races of the, v. 329—extension of the French conquests into the, 370—expedition into the, 371—the ascent from Algeria to, vii. 167—the Great and Little, *ib.*—the climate of the, 168—passage of the, by the French, 177.
- Atlas tribes, number of, in Algiers, iii. 130 note.
- Atneidan, defeat of the Janizaries in the, iii. 5.
- Attala and René, Chateaubriand's, ii. 217 note, iii. 182.
- Attica, commencement of the insurrection in, ii. 365—ravaged by the Turks, 373—again evacuated by them, 374, 398—the Turks again expelled from, 408—statistics of, 1824, 410—operations in, 1825, 422—in- vaded by the Turks, 423.
- Attock, route to India by, vi. 208, 209—ces- sion of, to Runjeet Singh agreed to by Shah Soojah, 226—capture of, by the Sikhs, vii. 101.
- Attwood, Mr. speech of, on the currency question, 1822, ii. 201 *et seq.*—his speech on the causes of Irish distress and agita- tion, iii. 370—motion by, on the currency, 1830, 381 and note—speech of, on the state of the country, 1833, v. 29—motion by, for investigation into the currency, vi. 28—motion by, on the case of the Vixen, 40—presentation of Chartist petition by, 81—motion by, on the Charter, *ib.*
- Aubospère, M. de l', vii. 395.
- Auchterarder church case, the, vi. 86.
- Auckland, lord, president of board of trade, 1830, iv. 3 note—becomes first lord of the admiralty, v. 64—and again, 1835, 421 and note—appointed governor-general of India, and his character, vi. 207—policy of, to- ward Dost Mahommed, 220—interference of, at Herat, 224—treaty for restoration of Shah Soojah, 226—forces, &c., for the expe- dition into Afghanistan, 227—meeting, &c., of, with Runjeet Singh at Lahore, 228—created an earl, 237—plans of, for the future in Afghanistan, 238—efforts of, to retain Herat in British interest, 241—ap- pointment of General Elphinstone by, 247—efforts of, to retrieve the Afghanisthan disaster, vii. 21—recall of, vi. 267—suc- ceeded by Lord Ellenborough, vii. 29—his visit to Runjeet Singh, 77—first lord of ad- miralty, 1846, 220, 221, note.
- Auctions, reduction of duties on, iv. 15 note.
- Audry de Puyraveau, M., iii. 140 note, 145 note—meeting of liberals in house of, 144—counsels of, *ib.*—views of, 147—signs de- thronement of the king, 152—objects of the party of, 160—heads the committee of the secret societies, iv. 373—demanded as counsel by the prisoners for treason, v. 292—letter by, on their trial, 293—first chairman of the Assembly, viii. 84.
- Auersperg, count, during insurrection of Vienna, viii. 228, 229—operations there, 59—joined by Jellachich, 61.

Auerswald, M. d', moves demand for constitution in Diet of Eastern Prussia, iv. 248—minister of interior in Prussia, vii. 151—ministry of, 166—its fall, *ib.*—attack on, 167.

Auerswald, major, murder of, viii. 175.

Augusta, surrender of, to the Neapolitans, viii. 126.

Auldborough, York and Suffolk, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Aulich, general, at Tapio-Bisceke, viii. 252—at Isaszeg, 253—wounded, 263—execution of, 281.

Aumale, the duke d', the Bourbon estates bequeathed to, iv. 106—triumphal entry of, into Paris, vii. 148—in Algeria, 177—capture of Abd-el-Kader's harem by, 181—appointed governor of Algeria, 187—surrender of Abd-el-Kader to, 188—proposed marriage of Queen of Spain to, 210—proclamation of, on leaving the army, 1848, viii. 23.

Aumont, the duke d', made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 93.

Austen, admiral, operations under, in Burma, vii. 109.

Austen, Miss, the novels of, i. 253.

Austerlitz, pillar of, at Paris, iii. 214.

Australia, effects of the revolution of 1830 on, i. 5—effects of the gold discoveries on, 16, 22—rapid progress of, 21—effects of the gold discoveries on emigration, 36—rate of exports per head to, ii. 319 note, 173 note—recent progress of Great Britain in, ii. 1—effects of the discovery of the gold-fields on the price of gold, 137—present population, revenue, and exports, 299—Mr Hume on, iv. 37—influence of the reform bill on, 58—exports to, *ib.* note—emigration to, 58—state of, since the reform bill, 72—Irish emigrants to, 1841-1855, vii. 248 note—effects of the monetary crisis in England on, 304—effects of the increased supply of gold from, 306—effects of transportation system on, viii. 304—loyalty in, under the new colonial system, 310—the gold discoveries in, 327.

Austregal court, establishment of the, in Germany, its powers, &c., iv. 227.

Austria, effects of the alliance of France and England on, i. 4—violence of the Revolution of 1848 in, 10—suppression of it, 11—standing army of, 12—position of the forces of, in France, 98—exorbitant demands of, from France, 168—contribution from France to, 109 note—a party to the Convention of the 20th November 1815, 109—a party to the Holy Alliance, 111—representatives of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—coercion of Naples by, ii. 363—acquisition of, from Poland in 1815, ii. 2—population per square mile in, 10 note—representatives of, at the Congress of Troppan, 36—march of the troops of, against Naples in 1820, 40—loans raised by, 1817-18, 142 note—number of children receiving education in, 164—representatives of, at the Congress of Verona, 258—views of, at the congress, 259—empress of, at the congress, *ib.*—treaty for the evacuation of Piedmont and Naples by, *ib.*—declaration of, regarding South American Independence, 260—views of, on the Spanish question, 262—withdraws her ambassador

Austria, continued.

from Spain, 267—acquisitions of, from Turkey, 332—support of, necessary to the Russian conquest of Turkey, 348—efforts of, to avert a rupture between Russia and Turkey in 1821, 330—efforts of, to bring about accommodation between Russia and Turkey, iii. 62—repayment of loans by, 222—reciprocity treaty with, 232 note—recognition of Louis Philippe by, iv. 102—want of representative institutions, and state of political feeling in, 116—repression of the excitement in Italy in 1830 by, 118—jealousy toward France excited in, 120—a party to convention for separation of Belgium and Holland, 129, 130—policy of, in Italy, 1830, 132—intervention of, in Italy, 1830, 133—suppresses the insurrection in Bologna, &c., *ib.*—defensive measures of, 1830, 134—share of, in the partition of Poland, 172—conference between, and Prussia and Russia regarding Poland, 183—secret views of, *ib.*—treatment of Dwer-nicki and his companions by, 202—retreat of the Polish troops into, 212—presidency of the confederacy assigned to, 217—votes given to her in the Diet, *ib.* note—population, military contingent, &c., 219 and note—education in, 221—statistics of it in relation to crime, *ib.*—emperor of, letter to the Diet from, 1819, 226—resolutions proposed by, against liberalism, *ib.*—circular from, on the repressive measures in Germany, 231—and on the Neapolitan revolution, *ib.*—increasing influence of, in the Diet, 232—withholds all approach to constitutional government, 233—resolution regarding Holstein moved by, 234—military preparations of, on the French Revolution of 1830, 238—effect of the Belgian and Polish revolutions in, *ib.*—repressive measures against the press by, 239—martial law proclaimed by, in that city, 243—the emperor of, at Congress of Munchen-gratz, 241—death of the Emperor Francis, and unchanged policy of, 244—law regarding state criminals, 245—extension of the railway mania to, *ib.*—extension of railways in, 1841, 251—effect of the refusal of the promised constitution in, 257—influence of her preponderance in the Diet, 258—supported by the Catholic states, *ib.*—her jealousy of Russia, 259—attitude of, toward France, 1832, 313, 314—intervention in Romagna, 1831, 314—and again in 1832, 316—supports Prussia on the Antwerp question, 343—but compelled to remain quiet, 348—measures of, against the Polish refugees in Switzerland, 363—a party to the Congress of Muntz-Gratz, 364—statistics of army of, 365 note—reasons of, against disarmament, 1834, 368—her sympathy with the absolutists in Spain, v. 100—declines to recognise the Queen of Spain, 111—commercial treaty with England, 263—views of, regarding Russia and Turkey, 1839, 268—a party to treaty for settlement of the East, 269—military preparations to enforce it, 270, 272—naval force for operations in Syria, 272—a party to the treaty of March 1841, regarding the Dardanelles, 280—a party to the occupation of

Austria, continued.

Cracow, 311—reception of the Duke of Orleans in, 312—measures of, against the refugees in Switzerland, 314—demands the expulsion of Louis Napoleon from Switzerland, 353—amnesty proclaimed in Italy by, &c., *ib.*—sides with England on the Eastern question, 385—proportion of army to population in, *vi.* 167—position of, toward England, 1841, 281—proportion of children at school in, 314 note—proposed share of, in partition of Turkey, 334—class from which the army is drawn in, *vii.* 233—details of army of, 236 note—effects of the monetary crisis in England on, 303—negotiations with, regarding the slave trade, 158—policy of, in her Polish provinces, 197 *et seq.*—conduct of, during the insurrection in Galicia, 201—retreat of her troops from Cracow, 202—recaptures it, 203—annexation of Cracow, *ib.*—her conduct in the insurrection, 204—formal cession of Cracow to, 331—views and policy of, 1847, in the Papal States, 342, 343—charge brought by Palmerston against, in regard to Italy, 350—policy of, toward Switzerland, 352—supports the Swiss conservatives, 355, 356—a party to the proposed league against England, 360—entry of troops of, into Modena, *viii.* 70—forces of, in Italy at outbreak of revolution, 71—feeling in Lombardy on her rule, 72—the Pope declares war against, 80—the war with Sardinia, 81 *et seq.*—difficulties of Radetsky from distracted state of, 90—renewal of the war with Sardinia, 111—forces for it, 112—armistice concluded, 120—intervention of, at Leghorn, 123—occupation of Bologna, 124—peace concluded with Sardinia, 132—had previously agreed to the separation of Lombardy, *ib.*—different races in, 137—population of empire by race, 138 note—statistics of German, 140 note—commerce of, 1831-45, *ib.* note—peculiar military system of, 142—views of, at the general Diet, 155—increasing jealousy at the central government, 176—breach between them, 178—views of, on the German constitution, 180—withholds her concurrence from the Prussian constitution, 185—measures of, against Prussia, 188—dissension between them regarding Hesse-Cassel, *ib.*—treaty with Russia, 189—the Olmutz Convention, 190—accedes to settlement of Schleswig question, 192—liberal excitement in Vienna, 199 *et seq.*—tumults in the capital, 200 *et seq.*—resignation of Metternich, 201—progress of revolution, 202—commencement of troubles in Bohemia and Hungary, 203 *et seq.*—suppression of the revolt in the former, 205 *et seq.*—commencement of the revolt in Hungary, 206—constitution for the latter, 207—general constitution for the empire, *ib.*—animosity of races in, 208—hostility of Hungarians to Austrians, *ib.*—conciliatory measures of government, 209—fidelity of the Croats, *ib.*—increased disturbances in Vienna, *ib.*—flight of the emperor from Vienna, 210—fresh revolutionary movements in Vienna, 211—proclamation from Innsbruck, *ib.*—fidelity of the army, 212—rupture between Magyars and

Croats, *ib.*—meeting of the Hungarian deputies, and their proceedings, 213—meeting of Constituent Assembly, 214—return of the emperor to Vienna, *ib.*—differences with the Hungarian government, 215—parties in Hungary, 216 *et seq.*—preparations for war, 221—plans of, 222—appointment of Lamberg in Hungary, &c., 223—Hungary declared in a state of siege, 225—the insurrection in Vienna, *ib.* *et seq.*—murder of Latour, 228—conduct of the Constituent Assembly, 229—retirement of the emperor to Olmutz, *ib.*—march of Jellachich on Vienna, 230 *et seq.*—capture of the city, 232 *et seq.*—execution of Blum, &c., 237—Schwarzenberg ministry, *ib.*—resignation of the emperor, and accession of Francis Joseph, 238—proclamation by the new emperor, *ib.*—new constitution, 239—the Hungarian war, 240 *et seq.*—execution of Bathiany, 246—Welden appointed to command against the Hungarians, 255—Hungarians declare their independence, 256—desperate condition, and resolves to seek the aid of Russia, 257—continued disasters, 258—capitulation of Georgey, and close of the war, 279 *et seq.*—execution of the leaders, 281—jealousy between, and Russia after the war, 282—demands of, for expulsion of Hungarian refugees from Turkey, 317—the representative of, absent from Wellington's funeral, 330—final results of the French Revolution to, 358.

Austria proper, education and crime in, *iv.* 222 note.

Austrians, their mode of fighting the Turks, *ii.* 340.

Austrian empire, representative institutions inapplicable to the, *i.* 35.

Austrian Poland.—See Galicia.

Autichamp, count, force under, for invasion of Spain, *ii.* 287.

Autos-da-fe, abolition of, in Spain, *ii.* 334.

Auxerre, insurrection at, 1834, *iv.* 376—reform banquet at, *vii.* 131—resistance to the new valuation in, 146.

Ava, advance of the British toward, *vi.* 191.

Avaray, the duke d', made member of Chamber of Peers, *i.* 93.

Avellino, revolutionary movement at, *ii.* 364.

Aventura, crew of the, liberated at Algiers, *iii.* 130.

Aversa, capitulation of, to the Austrians, *ii.* 41.

Avezana, revolt of, at Genoa, *viii.* 122—breaks the armistice, *ib.*—letter from, to Lord Hardwicke, 123 note—heads the insurgents at Rome, 126.

Avignon, murder of Marshal Brune at, *i.* 100—railway from Marseilles to, *v.* 346.

Avray, the duke d', resignation of, *iv.* 99.

Aya, defeat of the Turks at, *ii.* 414.

Ayans, institution of, in Turkey, *ii.* 330.

Aylesbury, election of 1830 for, *iii.* 393.

Aylmer, lord, recalled from Canada, *vi.* 17.

Aynar, general, during the revolt at Lyons, 1834, *iv.* 375.

Ayr, reform riots at, 1831, *iv.* 33—intended rising in, 1848, *vii.* 295.

Aytoun, W. E., the poems of, *i.* 257.

- Azarta**, general, capitulation of, at Genoa, vii. 122.
- Azeglio**, marquis d', influence of the works of, vii. 338.
- Azof**, regiment of, destroyed before Varna, iii. 27.
- Azrou**, capture of, by the French, vii. 187.
- B**
- Babaud-Larivière**, M., viii. 333.
- Babylona**, barracks of, captured by the insurgents, iii. 149.
- Bach**, M., minister of justice, viii. 216, 237—measures of, during insurrection of Vienna, 228.
- Bachelors**, the, in the *Hetairia*, ii. 357.
- Bacheluz**, general, a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 112.
- Back settlements**, extension of the American banks in the, and enmity of the democrats at this, vi. 83.
- Backhouse**, captain, vii. 47—the artillery under, at Jugdulluck, 40.
- Backwoodsmen**, the American, vi. 51.
- Baden**, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—the princess of, married to the Emperor Alexander, ii. 50—representative institutions in, iv. 115—revolutionary excitement, &c., in, 1831, 185—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—establishment of representative assembly in, 224—suppression of newspapers in, 240—army of, 365 note—statistics of, viii. 140 note—a member of the Zollverein, 144—concessions of government of, 1848, 149—revolt under Struve in, 175—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, 181—renewed insurrection in, 183—its suppression, 184.
- Baena**, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 203.
- Baeza**, defeat of Carlists at, v. 224.
- Bagdad**, population of, ii. 331 note—cholera in, 394—establishment of academy at, v. 268.
- Bagot**, Sir C., governor-general of India, vi. 280 note.
- Bahama**, free negro labour in, v. 48.
- Bahout**, submission of, to the Russians, iii. 47—evacuated by them, *ib.*—occupied by the Turks, 48—their defeat at, *ib.*
- Baillie**, Joanna, the poems and dramas of, i. 227.
- Baillot**, M., iii. 140 note.
- Bailly**, the marquis de, iii. 77.
- Bajazeth**, overrun by the Russians, iii. 37—defeat of the Turks at, 46.
- Baka**, capture of, by the Russians, ii. 349.
- Bakers**, reforms regarding, in Turkey, v. 207.
- Balaguer**, retreat of the royalists from, ii. 252.
- Bala-Hissar**, entry of Shah Soojah into the, vi. 237—importance of possession of, by the British, 248—its neglect by them, *ib.*—its strengthening urged by the engineers, *ib.* note—proposed removal of the troops into the, 256—evacuation of, by the British, 260—the neglect to occupy, 269.
- Balanat**, brigadier, made minister at-war, ii. 241.
- Balbek**, position of Ibrahim Pacha at, v. 111.
- Balbi**, his estimate of the population of China, vii. 2.
- Balbo**, comte di, influence of the works of, vii. 338.
- Bâle**, the railway to, vii. 135—growth of radicalism in, 352—decision of, on the *Sunderbund*, 354—neuter in the contest between the Radicals and *Sunderbund*, 358.
- Balkan**, defensive line of the, ii. 341—difficulties presented by it, 342—the country between it and Constantinople, 342—defences of the, 343—description of the passes of the, iii. 58—preparations of Diebitch for passing it, 59.
- Balkh**, route to India by, vi. 208.
- Ballarat**, the gold-fields of, viii. 327.
- Ballart**, M., attack on, at Brest, ii. 116.
- Ballasteros**, general, measures recommended in 1820 by, i. 349—during the attack of the Guard on Madrid, ii. 248—forces under, in 1823, 287—capitulation of, to the French, 292—junction of, with Riego, 296.
- Ballingarry**, rising of Smith O'Brien at, vii. 301.
- Bellini**, general, heads the insurgents at Bologna, viii. 124.
- Ballot**, the, petition in favour of, iv. 16—would only increase corruption, 75—one of the objects of the Radicals, v. 1—one of the points of the charter, vi. 80—established in France by constitution of 1848, viii. 60.
- Ballybay**, great popish meeting at, iii. 337.
- Balnacceda**, captured by the Carlists, v. 197.
- Baltic**, the Russian navy in the, ii. 24—the storm of Nov. 1824 in the, 47—the Russian navy in the, 1836, vi. 28.
- Baltic states**, statistics of exports to the, iii. 236.
- Baltic trade**, British and foreign shipping employed in the, iii. 233.
- Baltimore**, the crash of 1837 in, vi. 59.
- Bamberg**, democratic excitement in, 1831, iv. 135.
- Bamford**, trial and sentence of, for sedition, ii. 149—on military training among the Radicals, 154 note.
- Bamian Pass**, the, vi. 208, 209—occupation of, by the British, 241—checks of the British in, 242, 243—defeat of *Dost Mahommed* at, 243—the British captives sent to, vii. 45.
- Bancroft** on the English language, i. 160.
- Bandon**, insurrectionary gathering at, 1822, ii. 194.
- Bangalore**, road from Madras to, vii. 108 note.
- Banishment**, expedience of punishing political offences with, i. 158.
- Bank acts** for Scotland and Ireland, the, 1845, vi. 332.
- Bank cash payment bill**, debate on the, 1821, ii. 184.

Bank charter, bill for renewal of the, v. 33—arguments against it, 34—and for it, *ib.*—reflections on this debate, 35—renewal act, effect of, in stimulating industry, 56.

Bank charter act, 1844, vi. 323 *et seq.*—its influence on the railway and other speculations, 335—operation of it in the crisis of 1847, 202—defence of it in 1847 by Sir R. Peel, 265—suspension of it, 277—reflections on this, 279—great and immediate effect of it, 280—Queen's speech on its suspension, *ib.*—Sir R. Peel's statement on it, 281 *et seq.*—answer of Lord George Bentinck, &c., 282—report of the parliamentary committees on it, 284—reflections on the debate on it, *ib.*—objects of Sir R. Peel in it, 309—effects which have followed it, 310—how it inflamed speculation, *ib.*

Bank restriction act, debates on the, 1819, i. 188—the committee on it, *ib.*—its alleged influence on the national distress, 1830, iii. 376—Graham on its effects, 379—and Mr Baring, &c., 381 note—fall of prices caused by it, and influence of this in compelling repeal of taxes, 386.

Bank of Belgium, cash payments suspended by, 1848, viii. 147.

Bank of England, discussion in parliament in 1816 regarding the resumption of cash payments by, i. 63 *et seq.*—its prosperity, 1818, 174—its increased issues, *ib.*—debates on the resumption of cash payments, 175 *et seq.*—its petition against the resumption of cash payments, 190—its circulation, 1814 to 1817, 194—metallic drain on it, 1817-18, ii. 142—effects of the act for the resumption of cash payments on its issues, 144—its issues, 1818-22, *ib.* note—its discounts, 1808-22, 145 note—its circulation, 1817-20, 202—and 1824, iii. 219—purchase of the military and naval pensions by it, 223—its circulation, &c., 1824-5, 251—drain of specie from it, caused by the South American speculations in 1825, 254, 262 and note—pressure on it, 262—measures of government, 263—increased issues, 1825, 238—bullion in, 1823-4, 292—pressure on it, 1825, *ib.*—suppression of the small notes, *ib.*—circulation of notes, 1818-32, as compared with exports, &c., 294 note—act authorising establishing country branches, 296—additional issues and loans, 310—reduction in its notes, 376—run on it, 1832, iv. 52—effect of the bank charter act regarding its notes, v. 56—circulation of, 1832-6, 57 note—restriction of its issues, 399, 400—evils of its paper being convertible, 400—and given by it to United States Bank, 1838, vi. 60—effects of distress of 1839 on its circulation, &c., 65—averages of, 1838-40, 66 note—contraction of them, 1840, 66—drain of gold, &c., from it, 1842, &c., 282—fall in its circulation, *ib.*—bullion and circulation of, 1840-5, 310 and note—Peel's proposed changes in it, 329—bullion in, issues, rates of discount, &c., 1844, 335 and note—drain of gold, &c., from, 1845-7, vii. 261 and note—proceedings of, during the crisis of 1847, 261—increased discounts, 266—raising of discount and other proceedings, Aug. 1847, 276—its perilous state, 277—suspension of the charter act, *ib.*—its

rates of interest, Oct. 1847 to Nov. 1848, 280 note—preparations against the Chartists at, 297—drain of gold from, 1856, 306—variations in gold held by it since act of 1844, 310.

Bank of France, discounts, &c., of the, 1831, iv. 139—rise in value of shares of, 1836, v. 304—and 1837 to 1841, 348 note—measures of, on the crisis of 1846, vii. 364—enlarged issues of notes authorised, 365—circulation, specie, &c., 1846-7, 366 note—state of, 1848, viii. 12—cash payments suspended, 13—efforts, &c., of, 1848, *ib.*

Bank of Ireland, act of 1846 regarding the, vi. 332.

Banks, failure of, in Russia, ii. 47—country, failures of, 1825, iii. 262—their stability, 264—state of the, opening of 1826, 287—pressure on the, 1825, and its causes, 292—the Scottish, their circulation, and stability during 1825, 296—defence of them by Sir Walter Scott, 297—run on the, urged by O'Connell in 1830, 394—of issue, regulations of the new bank charter act regarding, v. 33—public companies for, in France, 348 note—restriction of paper issues of the, 399, 400—private, circulation of, 1834-6, 406 note—joint-stock, mania for, 1835-6, 405—number of, in the United States, 1814, vi. 47—failures of, 1811 to 1820, *ib.*—general prudence of, in the United States, 48—statistics of them, *ib.* and note—jealousy of them, on the part of the democratic party, 52—measures of General Jackson against them, *ib.*—causes of complaint against them, *ib.*—enmity to their extension in the back settlements, 53—commencement of the crusade, *ib.*—crash among them, 55—New York petition in favour of, *ib.*—increased madness of the, in the West, 56—their operations, 57—treasury order regarding cash payments, *ib.*—general crash among them, 1837, 58—increased measures against them, 59—general suspension of them, 60—effect in Canada of Jackson's crusade against them, 89—the joint-stock, of Great Britain, circulation of, 1836, 65—statistics of, in India, 171 note—the American, effects of their distress in Great Britain, 287—private, the act of 1844 as regards, 329—absence of run on, in the crisis of 1847, vii. 262—failures of, 1847, 277—suspension of cash payments by the, in France, viii. 13.

Bank notes, sudden contraction of, and its effects, i. 49—committee on preventing forgery of, 183—circulation of, in England, 1816-19, ii. 142 note—circulation of, 1818 to 1822, 144 note—circulation of, 1817 to 1820, 202—circulation of, in England, as compared with price of wheat, 1820-24, iii. 219 note—and of wheat and cotton, 1815-25, *ib.* note—circulation of, in England, 1824-5, 251—alleged over-issues of, 1825, 288—preference of, to coin, 290—circulation of, compared with price of wheat, 1818-26, 320 note—diminished circulation of, 378—circulation of, 1830 to 1833, v. 29 note—proposed declaration of them a legal tender, 34—circulation of, 1832-6, 57 note—contraction of, 1840, vi. 66—1837-41, *ib.* note—small circulation of, in India, 171—

Bank notes, *continued*.

circulation of, 1839, &c., 282—increased circulation of, 1840-44, 810—circulation of, as regulated by act of 1844, 109, 329—total circulation of, under Peel's acts, 332 note—circulation of, 1844, 395—1844 to 1846, *ib.* note—contraction of, by bank charter act, vii. 279—table of circulation of, 1844-51, *ib.* note—enlarged issue of, in France, 1847, 365—1846-7, 366 note—circulation of, in France, 1848, viii. 14—made inconvertible in Belgium, 1848, 147.

Bank stocks, high prices of, 1824, iii. 251.

Bankers, over-issues of the, alleged as the cause of the crisis of 1825, iii. 288—private, new act regarding number of partners, 296—prosperity of the, in France, iv. 81—the country, alarm of, on the bank act, vi. 328.

Banking, Adam Smith on, ii. 187—mania for, in the western United States, 1837, vi. 56.

Banking companies, new, 1825, iii. 253 note.

Banking department of the Bank, the, as arranged by act of 1844, vi. 329.

Banking system, the, in Scotland and Ireland, iii. 296.

Bankes, Mr., opposes the grant to Canning's family, iii. 329—arguments of, against Catholic emancipation, 348—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—and on the civil list, 1830, 403.

Bankhead, Dr., physician to Lord Castle-reagh, ii. 208.

Bankruptcies, reduced number of, in 1818, i. 174—increase of, 1819, ii. 145—number of, in Great Britain, 1834 to 1841, vi. 68, and note—number of, in France, 1838, &c., 68—commercial, 1847, vii. 276—increase of, during 1847, and subsequent years, 285—number of, in Berlin, 1848, viii. 173.

Bankruptcy cases, increase of, in Chancery, iii. 281 note.

Baños, Lopez, appointed captain-general of Navarre, ii. 358.

Baptist missionaries, the, connection of, with the slave insurrection of 1831, v. 45—*in* the West Indies, vi. 112.

Baraguay d'Hilliers, general, operations of, in Algeria, vii. 180—a candidate for the vice-presidency, viii. 332—appointed to command in Paris, 348.

Barante, M., appointed to the ministry of the interior, i. 91—made a councillor of state, 309—supported by the Doctrinaires, ii. 87—course followed by, after the fall of Decazes, 98—dismissed from the Council of State, 115—one of the Doctrinaires, iii. 119—a writer for the daily press, 211—the works of, 193.

Barbadoes, great hurricane in, 1831, v. 44.

Barbara, captain, and Murat, i. 136—betrays him, 137.

Barbarians, the conquests of the, ii. 317—their settlements in Eastern Europe, 318—successive invasions of, into Austria, viii. 138.

Barbarin, captured by the Christinos, v. 229.

Barbarous tribes, tendency to migration among, i. 38.

Barbastro, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 215.

Barbé Marbois, M., a member of the Riche-

lieu ministry, i. 105—law against seditious cries introduced by, 118.

Barbès, Armand, a leader of the Société des Saisons, v. 362—heads the insurrection of 12th May, *ib.*—taken prisoner, *ib.*—trial of, 364—his conviction and sentence, *ib.*—views of, in the conspiracy, 365—liberation of, viii. 6—during the revolt of May 15, 38—appointed by mob to provisional government, 39—taken prisoner, *ib.*—implicated in the revolt of June, 53.

Barcelona, conspiracy in, 1817, i. 339—execution of political prisoners at, 1619, 342—proclamation of the Constitution at, 350—violence of the people against the priests in, 357—arrests of royalists at, ii. 232—the Communos in, 236—ravages of yellow fever in, 237—contests between the royalists and republicans in, 242—holds out for the revolutionists, 292—atrocities of the mob in, v. 187, 188—demands of Junta of, 190—fresh outbreak in, 194.

Bardaxi, Don Eusebio, becomes minister of foreign affairs, ii. 231.

Baring, Mr. Alex., on the commercial crisis of 1825, vi. 284 and note.

Baring, Sir F., chairman of the committee on the bank charter act, vi. 284.

Baring, H., a lord of the treasury, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Baring, Mr. T., arguments of, against bank charter act, 1847, vii. 282—a member of the committee on it, 284.

Baring, Hon. W., secretary of board of control, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Baring, Mr., arguments of, against the continuance of the income-tax, i. 50—at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—petition on free trade presented by, ii. 168—speech of, on the resumption of cash payments, 185—arguments of, against the suppression of small notes, iii. 291—motion by, on the currency, 1830, 381 and note—speech of, on the abandonment of the sinking fund, 383 *et seq.*—attack on his house by the reform rioters, iv. 33—proposed as chancellor of the exchequer, 51—arguments of, in favour of the bank charter act, v. 34—president of board of trade, 1835, 407 note—arguments of, against retention of income-tax, vi. 344—illustration of the crisis of 1847 by, vii. 262—speech of, on the commercial crisis of 1847, *ib.*

Baring and Hope, Messrs, loans contracted for by, 1817, &c., ii. 142.

Barley, produce of, in France, iii. 173 note—prices of, in England, 1822-5, 220 note—prices of, 1824-5, 251 note—proposed new duties on, 1827, 319, 78—average price of, for forty-four years, 1827, 320—fall of prices of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—proposed sliding scale of duties on, 291.

Barlow, Sir George, concludes the Mahratta peace, vi. 173—recalled, *ib.*

Barnsley, riots at, 1829, iii. 874.

Barr, Genl., during the Afghanistan expedition, vi. 232.

Barrackpore, the mutiny at, vi. 193—its suppression, 194.

Barrera, a Christino general, atrocities of, 174.

- Barrett, major-general, at the storming of the forts of Canton, vii. 14.
- Barricade de St Meri, society called, iv. 373 note.
- Barricades, the first, in Paris, iii. 100—how to attack, 104.
- Barrier fortresses, abandonment of the treaty regarding the, iv. 349.
- Barrington, Mr, on the state of Ireland, 1833, v. 19.
- Barrot, Odillon, iii. 138—political banquet under, at Paris, 123—embassy of, to the king, 155—at the Hotel de Ville, iv. 89—favours the attempt to revolutionise Spain, 108—and the mob, 122—his dismissal demanded by the Doctrinaires, and resisted by the Republicans, 123—tenders his resignation, but withdraws it, 128—is leader of the Opposition in 1831, 147—arguments of, for the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 162—opposition of, to the civil list, 312—preparations for new insurrection by, 329—one of the deputation to the king after the revolt of St Meri, 337—on the law against associations, 370—at the funeral of Lafayette, 378—majority against, as president, 1834, 381—votes for, as president, 1834, v. 283—declaration of, in the Deputies, after the accession of Thiers, 310—demand of Thiers regarding, 360—majority against, as president, *ib.*—attacks of the press on, 1839, 363—views of, on the suffrage, 1839, 372—supports the Thiers ministry, 377—joins the reform party, vii. 131—arguments of, on reform, 1841, 143—character of, 162—opposition of, to the Jesuits, 195—heads the coalition against the Government, 371—speech of, at the Chateau Rouge banquet, 373—on the affair of M. Petit, 376—declaration of, regarding the procession, 384—appointed minister of the interior, 392—orders the withdrawal of the troops, 393—becomes premier, 394—arguments of, against single chamber in Assembly, viii. 57 *et seq.*—president of council under Louis Napoleon, 67—a member of Louis Napoleon's cabinet, 332—at Bugeaud's funeral, 341—a member of the permanent commission, 345—formation of a ministry intrusted to, 350—on the revision of the constitution, *ib.*
- Barry, the new houses of parliament designed by, i. 258.
- Barslem, riots at, 1842, vi. 285.
- Barter, prevalence of, in France, 1848, viii. 7.
- Barthé, M., iii. 138—becomes minister of public instruction, iv. 128—appointed minister of justice, 143—arguments of, for the law against associations, 370—resignation of, 372—becomes president of Court of Accounts, *ib.*—becomes minister of justice, v. 326—announcement of amnesty on the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, *ib.*, 327.
- Barthelemy, M., i. 309—arguments of, for a change in the electoral law, 310, 311.
- Bartholdy's War in the Tyrol, on, iv. 287.
- Bartley, general, vii. 19.
- Barukzye clan, the, in Afghanistan, vi. 216.
- Barzykowsky, a member of the National Council of Poland, iv. 185.
- Basa, general, murder of, v. 188.
- Bascher, Charles de, murder of, iv. 326.
- Basque provinces, political feelings prevalent in the, i. 324—their support of Don Carlos, v. 138—rising in his favour in, 142.
- Bassano, the duke de, indemnity to, ii. 122 note—becomes premier, v. 285—overthrown with his ministry, *ib.*
- Bassano, garrisoned by Radetzky, viii. 98.
- Bassein, storming of, vii. 109.
- Basserman, M., on the state of Berlin, 1848, viii. 169 note—arguments of, against the Frankfort insurgents, 176.
- Bassora, population of, iii. 331 note.
- Bastan, defeat of the Christians in, v. 172.
- Bastard children, regulations of new poor-law regarding, v. 75—arguments against this, 76—amendment carried, *ib.*
- Bastia, capture of, by the papal troops, iv. 315.
- Bastide, M., violence of, at the Hotel de Ville, iv. 89—and the Duke of Orleans, 94—and the Polish banquet, vii. 140—minister of foreign affairs, 1848, viii. 36 note—urges the appointment of Cavaignac, 45—minister of marine under Cavaignac, 51 note.
- Bastile, post of the, captured by the insurgents, iv. 384—barricade of the, carried by the troops, 385—monument de la, grant for, 360 note—place of the, inauguration of pillar to Insurrection on, v. 380.
- Bath, reform riots at, iv. 45.
- Baths, joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.
- Bathiany, count, heads the Hungarian liberals, viii. 203—succeeds Kossuth, 215—conference with Jellachich, 216—heads the aristocratic party, *ib.*—arrest and execution of, 246.
- Bathurst, earl, on the detention of Napoleon at St Helena, i. 68—arguments of, for the foreign enlistment bill, 207 *et seq.*—resigns on Canning's appointment, iii. 313—becomes president of the council, 327.
- Bathurst, Mr, becomes president of the Board of Control, ii. 180.
- Bathurst, Mr W. L., struck off as commissioner of the navy, iii. 381.
- Bathurst, captain, killed at Navarino, ii. 429.
- Bati, the Tartar invasion of Russia by, ii. 20.
- Batta question, the, vi. 201.
- Baudé, M., signs the protest against the ordonnances, iii. 138—becomes prefect of police, iv. 128.
- Baudin, admiral, bombardment of St Juan d'Ulloa by, v. 257—at Naples, viii. 78.
- Baudin, M., aids in the escape of Lavalette, i. 133.
- Baudrand, general, recognition of, in England as ambassador from Louis Philippe, iv. 101.
- Bava, general, defeats the Austrians at Goito, viii. 84, 93—movement of, on Governolo, 100—further movements of, 102—at Valleggio, 103—removed from the command, 112—his intended plans, 114.
- Bavaria, position of the forces of, in France, i. 98—contributions from France to, 109 note—the queen of, ii. 50—the king of, his death, 53—the crown-prince of, said to be a member of the Hetairia, 358—democratic excitement in 1831, iv. 135—votes of, in

Bavaria, continued.

- the Germanic diet, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—suppression of newspapers in, 239—army of, 365 note—auxiliary force furnished to Greece by, 259—expansion of her paper currency by, vii. 283—statistics of, viii. 140 note—a member of the Zollverein, iv. 242, viii. 144—excitement in, on the French Revolution of 1848, 149—revolution in, 152—opposition to Prussia in, 152—rejects the Germanic constitution of 1848, 160—aids in suppression of revolt in Baden, 184—withholds her concurrence from the Prussian constitution, 185—dissolution of Chamber, 186—a party to treaty with Russia, 189—system of prison labour in, 335.
- Bavoux, M., iii. 140, 145 notes.
- Bayley, Mr Butterworth, vi. 199—opposes the abolition of half batte, 201.
- Bayley, Mr Justice, trial of Hunt, &c., before, ii. 149.
- Bayona, colonel, surrender of Orbaizeta to, v. 151.
- Bayonet, atrocious form of, employed by the Christians, v. 147 note.
- Bayonne, proposed railway from Paris to, v. 346—resistance to the new valuation in, vii. 146—proposed railway from Paris to, 154.
- Bazarlik, combat of, iii. 21.
- Bazé, M., motion by, for censure on the government, viii. 351—arrested, 355.
- Beauchamp, Alphonso, Fouché's Memoirs compiled by, iii. 200.
- Beaumont, M. de, heads the violent royalists at Paris, iv. 821.
- Beaumont, Gustave de, a revolutionary leader, 1847, vii. 872.
- Beauvais, the bishop of, iii. 105.
- Beauvois, M. Jossé de, i. 119.
- Bebutoff, prince, occupies Akhalzikh, iii. 37—defence of Akhalzikh by, 39 *et seq.*—at Debrezin, viii. 271.
- Beclur, the emir, convention between, and the allies, v. 277.
- Bedeau, general, occupies Tlemsen, vii. 181—defeats Abd-el-Kader, *ib.*—defeat of the Moors by, 183—conference with the Morocco chief, *ib.*—during the insurrection of 1848, 393—a member of the provisional government, 400, note—during the insurrection of June, viii. 44—wounded, 49—foreign minister under Cavaignac, 51 note—arrested, 355.
- Budford, state of corporation of, v. 5.
- Bedwin, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Bedworth, riots at, 1829, iii. 374.
- Beer, fall in, 1818 to 1822, ii. 125 note—comparative consumption of, in France and England, iii. 172—prices of, 1824-5, 251 note—fall of prices of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—imported, proposed new tariff on, 296 note—fall in price of, 1841 to 1845, 355 note.
- Beer, rise in the duty on, i. 62—alleged diminished consumption of, v. 413.
- Beer duty, repeal of, the 1830, iii. 382.
- Boeralston, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Beethoven as a composer, iv. 299.
- Beet-root sugar, discussion on duties on, in France, vii. 182.
- Béfort, abortive conspiracy at, 1822, ii. 225.
- Begging, prevalence of, in Ireland, iii. 265.
- Beguin, M., returned to the Deputies in 1817, i. 289.
- Beh-Meru, defeat of the British at, vi. 257.
- Behrend, attack by the mob on, viii. 168.
- Bejar, defeat of the Carlists at, v. 225.
- Belascain, surrendered to the Christians, v. 229.
- Belfast, increase of, since the Union, v. 62 note—proposed reform of corporation of, vi. 20—foundation of secular college of, 347.
- Belgian loan, discussion on the, 1832, v. 6.
- Belgians, queen of the, dowry of, v. 326.
- Belgide, the duke de, dismissed from office, ii. 249.
- Belgium, effects of the alliance of France and England on, i. 4—position, &c., of the forces of, in France, 98—designs of France on, iii. 131—state of, and its disposition, 1830, iv. 109—causes of discord, 110—the revolutionary party, and its increase by the French Revolution, *ib.*—commencement of the Revolution, 111—progress of the insurrection, *ib.*—negotiations of insurgents with king, 112—demands of the leaders of the Revolution, *ib.*—king's speech on opening the Chambers, 113—the army directed on Brussels, *ib.*—its defeat, and retreat on Antwerp, 114—spread of the insurrection, and separation from Holland decreed, 115—jealousy excited in Europe by the revolution in, 120—competition for crown of, and its final separation from Holland, 129—crown offered to Duke de Nemours, and refused, 130—protocol fixing its limits, *ib.*—feeling in England on refusal of its crown by Louis Philippe, 131—its weak and distracted state, *ib.*—danger of war between, and Germany, 134—want of preparation in, and defenceless state of, 148—what the London Congress should have done regarding, 149—views of France and England, *ib.*—reasons which led them to support her, *ib.*—Prince Leopold elected king of, 150—change this election made in the views of, *ib.*—change in policy of Great Britain regarding, 151—change in language of France and England regarding Luxembourg, *ib.*—negotiations, and secret treaty between these powers, 152—Holland declares war, *ib.*—her forces, 153—their defeat, *ib.*—intervention of the French, 154—amistice, and withdrawal of the French, *ib.*—acquiescence of the Northern Powers in the intervention, *ib.*—advantages gained by Holland by the invasion, 155—final arrangements proposed by the conference, *ib.*—excitement caused in Paris by the intervention in, 156—the revolution in, its effect in Germany, 238—convention for cession of Antwerp to, 342—siege and capture of Antwerp, 345 *et seq.*—reasons of, for desiring accommodation, 348—treaty with Holland, *ib.*—abandonment of the barrier treaty, 349—resolution of Congress of Muntz Gratz regarding, 364—proposed railway from Paris to, v. 346—affairs of, 1838, 354—military preparations, and views of the republicans, *ib.*—views of the English cabinet, 355—obstinacy of

Belgium, *continued*.

the Belgians, and preparations of France and Prussia, 356—failure of bank of Brussels, and settlement of the question, *ib.*—views of the republicans regarding Limbourg, &c., 365—panic in, and failure of the bank of, 1838, vi. 68—increase of exports to, 1837-40, 289—prosperity of, 1847, vii. 283—miles of railway in, 290 note—proposed railway from Paris to, 154—attempts of the French to revolutionise, 1848, viii. 23—acknowledgment of the French republic by, 25—effects of the French revolution of 1848 in, 146—monetary and commercial crisis in, 147—system of prison labour in, 335.

Belef, death of the Empress Elizabeth at, ii. 55.

Belief, impossibility of unity of, vii. 359.

Bell, Mr, the affair of the Vixen, vi. 39 *et seq.*

Belleisle, imprisonment of the insurgents of June in, viii. 49.

Belliard, general, reception of, in Austria, as ambassador from Louis Philippe, iv. 102—French minister at Brussels, 152—evacuation of Belgium by, 154.

Bellido, general, capture of Cervera by, ii. 243.

Bello, general de, saved by the Duchesse d'Angoulême, i. 140.

Belluno, the duke of, *see* Victor.

Belobeeches, the capture of Kheilat by, vi. 242—in Scinde, vii. 51.

Beloochistan, expedition of Napier into, vii. 55.

Belvidère, colonel, forces under, viii. 114.

Bem, general, character of, viii. 232—during the defence of Vienna, 234—forces under, in Transylvania, 241—operations and successes there, 243—operations of, in Transylvania, 249—successes there, 251—forces under, 264—the supreme command offered to, 270—disasters of, in Transylvania, 272—defeated at Segeswar, 273—and finally at Hermanstadt, *ib.*—at battle of Temesvar, 275—jealousy of Georgey, 277—interview between them, 278—his flight, *ib.*—takes refuge in Turkey, 280—becomes Mussulman, 318.

Benaugien, armed muster of Catholics at, iii. 375.

Benavente, defeat of the Constitutionalists at, ii. 251.

Bencoolen, cession of, to the Dutch, vi. 199.

Beneventum, revolutionary movement in, i. 369.

Bengal presidency, finances of, 1839-52, vi. 160 note—the Zemindar system in, 165—bank of, 171 note.

Benkendorf, general, operations of, in Persia, iii. 10.

Bentham, Jeremy, the works of, i. 255.

Bentinck, Lord George, arguments of, for the corn laws, vi. 867—arguments of, against the Irish coercion bill, 876—arguments of, against the change in the sugar duties, vii. 223—views of, on Ireland, 252—his railway scheme for it, 253—division on the subject, 256—his character, 257 *et seq.*—speech of, on the commercial crisis of 1847, 262—arguments of, against bank charter act, 1847, 292.

Bentinck, Lord William, governor of Madras,

vi. 173—recalled, *ib.*—governor-general of India, character of, 201—his first measures of economy, *ib.*—further economical reforms, 202—reduction of army, *ib.*—abstraction of officers for civil situations, 203—abolition of suttee, *ib.*—destruction of the Thugs, 204—removal of civil forfeitures on conversion, *ib.*—political transactions, 205—restoration of passage by Red Sea, *ib.*—return to England, 206—failure of his abolition of flogging in the Indian army, vii. 234—treaty with the Ameers of Scinde, 51—visit of, to Runjeet Singh, 77.

Bequests, church, law regarding in France, i. 285.

Beranger, his songs in favour of Napoleon, ii. 88—the songs of, iii. 207—supports the Orleanists, iv. 86—efforts of, on behalf of the Duke of Orleans, 88—efforts of, to restrain the crowd at the Hotel de Ville, 93—chosen vice-president of Deputies, 1831, 148—letter from, to Louis Napoleon, v. 382.

Beranger, M., made a councillor of state, i. 309—majority for, as vice-president of Deputies, iv. 357—votes for, 1848, viii. 34 note.

Berar, incorporation of, vii. 112.

Berard, M., iii. 140 note.

Berbes, M. de, vote for, for the Presidency, iii. 118.

Beresford, marshal, ii. 360—efforts of, against the revolution in Portugal, and his return to England, 361—return of the British officers to England with, *ib.*

Bergami, Bartolomeo, ii. 177—dismissal of, by the queen, 175.

Bergamo, revolt in, vii. 74.

Bergato, fort of, stormed by the Sardinians, viii. 122.

Berger, general, viii. 244.

Bergman, general, garrisons Kars, iii. 37.

Berici Monte, storming of, by the Austrians, viii. 95.

Berlin, recent public buildings of, iv. 221—establishment of university of, 237—estates of, demand of the freedom of the press by, 250—railway from, to Kothou, *ib.*—meeting of general estates of Prussia at, 251—demands of the magistracy of, against the Puritans, 253—demands of the estates of, *ib.*—synod convoked in 1846 at, 254—decree, indemnity claimed by the Americans for, v. 289—reception of the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours at, 312—excitement in, on the French Revolution, viii. 150—tumult in, 151—conflict and submission of the king, *ib.*—riots in, on promulgation of the constitution, 165—Wrangel appointed to command, 166—disorders, and conduct of the burgher guard, 167—aspect of, after the revolution, 173—state of siege terminated, 186—congress summoned by Prussia at, 188.

Bermond, M. de, an adherent of the Duchess de Berri's, taken prisoner, iv. 323.

Bernuda, transportation of the Canadian insurgents to, vi. 98—difficulty on their arrival there, 99—return of the Canadian prisoners from, 101.

Bermudez-Zen, *see* Zen.

Bern, colonel, at Ostrolenka, iv. 205.

INDEX.

- Bernard, general, becomes minister-at-war, v. 285, 316 note—directs the evacuation of Ancona, 354.
- Bernard, Martin, a leader of the Société des Saisons, v. 361—trial of, 364—liberation of, viii. 6.
- Bernay, Louis Philippe at, 1832, iv. 361.
- Bernburg, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note.
- Berne, excitement in, on the French revolution, iv. 117—aristocratic constitution of, vii. 351—growth of radicalism in, 352—democratic revolution in, 354.
- Bernstorff, baron, at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 296—count, at the Congress of Troppau, ii. 86—represents Prussia at the Congress of Verona, 258—his picture of the state of Germany, iv. 231—circular of, regarding the provincial estates, 234—character of, as a statesman, 236.
- Berri, the duke de, made member of Chamber of Pairs, i. 94—views of, as to the ordinance of Sept. 5, 185—marriage of, 282—his character, &c., ii. 89—his previous history, 90—his marriage to Caroline of Naples, *ib.*—sketch of his assassin, 91—his assassination, *ib.*—his last moments, *ib.*—his death, 92—sensation it produced, 93—Chantcaubriand on it, *ib.*—funeral of, 98—funeral service for, 1831, and tumult caused by it, iv. 141.
- Berri, the duchesse de, birth of her son, the Duke de Bordeaux, ii. 113—her generosity, 114—during the Three Days, iii. 145—during the retreat to the coast, 156—at Valogues, 157—at Cherbourg, 158—during the cholera at Paris, iv. 319—violent views of, 321—resolves on insurrectionary attempt in France, and repairs to Massa, *ib.*—sets sail for France, 322—her landing there, *ib.*—abortive attempt at Marseilles, *ib.*—resolves to cross France to La Vendée, 323—escapes into La Vendée, *ib.*—her attempt opposed by the royalist committee, 324—she nevertheless resolves on a rising, 325—its suppression, *ib.*—her adventures, 326—takes refuge in Nantes, *ib.*—her betrayal by Deutz, 327—and arrest, 328—imprisoned in chateau of Blaye, *ib.*—results to Louis Philippe of the defeat of her attempt, 351.
- Berrier, M., the defence of Ney by, i. 127 *et seq.*—character of, iii. 114—arguments of, against the address, 119—offered office, but declines, 122—opposes the law against the Bourbons, iv. 160—arguments of, against the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 164—heads the moderate royalists, 321—opposes the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, 324, 325—trial and acquittal of, 327—arrest of, 328—opposes the new laws against the press, 1836, v. 303—defence of the Gazette de France by, 1841, vii. 141—character and influence of, 164—opposes the constitution of 1848, viii. 60.
- Berthozène, general, difficulties of, in Africa, v. 331—defeated there, *ib.*
- Bertin, M., letter from Chateaubriand to, iv. 339 note.
- Bertin de Vaux, M., iii. 140, 145 notes—on the measures for reduction of the debt, 84—
- at the meeting at Lafitte's, 147—efforts of, to arrest the revolution, 151.
- Berton, general, heads the insurrection at Thouars, ii. 225—his execution, 236.
- Bertrand, general, proscribed in 1816, i. 93—at St Helena, ii. 129—at the reinterment of Napoleon, v. 384.
- Bertrand du Lys, Manuel, a member of the Cortes of 1822, ii. 240.
- Berzaglieri, the Piedmontese, viii. 85.
- Bes, general, at Novara, viii. 118.
- Besançon, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146.
- Besborough, earl of, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1846, vii. 221 note.
- Besika, the French and English fleets in bay of, v. 272.
- Bessarabia, arrangements of Alexander for colonising, ii. 33—establishment of military colonies in, 34.
- Bessuris, general, revolt of, v. 95—his execution, 96.
- Bestoujif, Alexander, a Russian conspirator, ii. 61, 62 note—heroism of, 73 note.
- Bestoujif-Rumine, Michel, a leader of the revolt, ii. 68—condemned to death, 69—his execution, 70.
- Bethmont, M., a member of the provisional government, vii. 400 note—votes for, 1848, viii. 34 note—minister of public worship, 1848, 36 note—minister of justice under Cavaignac, 51 note.
- Bethnal Green, riots of silk-weavers in, 1830, iii. 369.
- Bettroni, signora, viii. 85.
- Bewdley, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Buxley, lord, iii. 225—chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, 314 note.
- Beylam, battle of, v. 248.
- Boyrout, bombardment of, v. 273.
- Blootwal, seizure of, by the Ghoorikas, vi. 174.
- Bhurti Singh, a Ghoorika chief, death of, vi. 176.
- Bhurtpore, commencement of the difference with the rajah of, vi. 195—increased disturbances, and interference of the British, 196—commencement of the war, and forces, *ib.*—difficulties of the siege, 197—the assault, 198—undue reduction of force after war with, 199—expense of it, 200.
- Binla, defeat of the Russians at, iv. 210.
- Bidassoa, scene at the passing of the, by the French, ii. 288—defeat of the Spanish refugees on the, iv. 109.
- Biddle, Mr., chairman of the United States Bank, vi. 53—on the effects of General Jackson's measures against the banks, 57.
- Bignon, M., on the capitulation of Paris as regarded Ney, i. 128—in the Chamber of 1816, 275—a member of Louis Philippe's first cabinet, iv. 99—resignation of, 124—arguments of, on foreign affairs, 1831, 157—motion by, on Poland, 159—arguments of, for the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 162—votes for, as president, 1834, v. 283.
- Bija, a robber chieftain, overthrow of, vii. 74.
- Bilbao, rising in favour of Don Carlos in, v. 142—siege of, by the Carlists, and wound of Zumalacarrgui before, 180—again besieged by the Carlists, 206.

- Bill of pains and penalties, the proceedings on the, ii. 177 *et seq*—its failure, 179.
- Billault, M., speech of, on the address, 1848, vii. 358.
- Bir, preparations of the Turks at, v. 265.
- Bird, lieutenant, at the storming of the Rickabash fort, vi. 258.
- Birkenhead steamer, loss of the, viii. 325.
- Birmingham, intended insurrection in, i. 165—Radical meeting at, ii. 151—proposed transference of the franchise from East Retford to, iii. 822—decision against this, 827—motion for giving representation to, 1830, 887—formation of the political union of, 888—members given to, iv. 21 note—preparations for insurrection of the political unions of, 1831, 84—great meeting of the political unions at, 41—the petition from, on the resignation of the Grey ministry, 52 note—the elections for 1833 in, v. 14—declaration of the political union against the Grey ministry, 33—elections of 1835 in, 409—the Chartist riot in, 1839, vi. 82—Wellington on it, *ib.*—anti-corn-law association formed at, 84—small proportion of children at school at, 314 note—the bankruptcies in, during 1847, vii. 285—high rate of infant mortality in, 313.
- Birnie, Mr., arrest of the Cato Street conspirators by, ii. 159.
- Births, legitimate and illegitimate, in Paris, iv. 140—bill for registration of, England, vi. 27.
- Biscay, royalist insurrection in, ii. 229, 242, 245.
- Bishops, efforts to intimidate the, on the reform bill, iv. 39—motion against their sitting in the Peers, vi. 13—oppose the bill for abolition of church-rates, 36.
- Bishop's Castle disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Bishops, proposed abolitions of, in Ireland, v. 23.
- Bistrom, general, defeated before Varna, iii. 26, 27.
- Bixio, M., viii. 332—minister of commerce, 1848, 67.
- Blacas, M. de, prime-minister to Louis XVIII. at Ghent, i. 86—dismissed, *ib.*—made member of Chamber of Peers, 68—concordat with Rome concluded by, 282—a leader of the Parti prêtre, iii. 75—heads the violent royalists at Holyrood, iv. 321.
- Black Joke, affair of the, at Canton, vii. 10.
- Black Sea, the Russian fleet in the, ii. 24—terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding the, iii. 62—closing of the, to all war-ships but Russian, v. 256—stipulations of commercial treaty with England regarding, 263—command of, given to Russia by treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, 397, 398.
- Blackburn, Mr., Irish attorney-general, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Blackburn, member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Blackmore, chief-justice, trial of Mengher before, vii. 302.
- Blackwood's Magazine, rise of, i. 236—opposes the reform bill, iv. 35—views of, on Ireland, 1833, v. 28 note.
- Blagowich, general, joins the Hungarians, viii. 222.
- Blaise-Foumas, don, interim commander at Cadix, ii. 343.
- Blake, captain, viii. 326 note.
- Blanc, Louis, his account of the interview between Odillon Barrot and Charles X., iii. 156—on the objects of the French liberals, 160 note—heads the liberal committees in Paris, and his character, v. 345—views and character of, vii. 163—declaration of, against the reform procession, 385—opposes insurrection, 390—appointed one of provisional government, 400—share of, in the Ateliers Nationaux, viii. 8—his real fault, 9—socialist demonstration organised by, 28—during the demonstration of March 17th, 29—conspiracy in favour of, 30—dissensions between, and Lamartine, 32—votes for, 1848, 34 note—motion by, against the executive commission, 36—discontent of, 37—appointed one of provisional government, 39—his trial negatived, 40—reported by the commission as accessory to the revolt, 63—withdraws to England, 64.
- Blandford, the marquess of, motion by, on reform, 1850, iii. 387.
- Blanqui, a leader of the Société des Saisons, v. 362—trial and sentence of, 365—views of, in the conspiracy, *ib.*—liberation of, viii. 6—reception of Smith O'Brien at his club, 22—heads the socialist demonstration, 28, 29—efforts of Lamartine to conciliate, 30—dissension between, and Ledru-Rollin, 81—a party to insurrection of May 15th, 87, 88—appointed by the mob to provisional government, 39—implicated in the revolt of June, 53.
- Blaquière, M., arrival of, in Greece, ii. 403.
- Blaye, chateau of, imprisonment and accouchement of the Duchess de Berri in, iv. 828.
- Blessington's Conversations with Lord Byron, on, iv. 288 note.
- Bletchingley, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Blois, reform banquet at, vii. 131.
- Blondot, M., ii. 67.
- Blood, captain, artillery under, vii. 60.
- Blucher, prince, vote of thanks by parliament to, i. 70.
- Blum, M., vice-president of the Vorparlament, viii. 155.
- Blum, Robert, a member of the Diet, viii. 155—takes part with the Viennese insurgents, 232—his execution, 177, 237—effect of the execution of, on the Diet at Frankfurt, 177.
- Blum, general, defeat of the Poles by, viii. 165.
- Blume, general, death of, iv. 178.
- Boards of Health, institution of, in England, v. 5.
- Bocca Romana, the duke de, i. 134.
- Bocca Tigris, forcing of the passage of the, 1834, vii. 8—capture of forts of, 12.
- Bodin, M., motion by, on Poland, iv. 159.
- Bodmin, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Boerne, the works of, iv. 363.
- Bozotia, successes of the Turks in, ii. 373—devastations of the war in, 409.
- Bohemia, the revolt of, in 1848, i. 10—its suppression, 11—originally a part of Poland, iv. 173—the glass manufactures of, 220—education and crime in, 222 note—the insurrection in, viii. 99—commence

- Bohemia, *continued*.
 ment of agitation in, and its objects, 203
 —liberal constitution for, 204—Slavonic
 assembly at Prague, and its proceedings,
ib.—revolt at Prague, 205—suppression of
 the insurrection, *ib.*—declares against the
 insurrection in Vienna, 231.
- Bolin, M., on the law against seditious cries,
 i. 120—amendment on the new electoral
 law moved by, ii. 108.
- Boinvilliers, M., interview of, as the head of
 the Republicans, with the Duke of Or-
 leans, iv. 94.
- Boirier, Victor, attempt on the life of Louis
 Philippe by, and his sentence, v. 327.
- Boisgelin, Alexander de, i. 114.
- Bois le Comte, M., French ambassador to
 Switzerland, vii. 356.
- Boissel, M., vii. 383.
- Bokhara, khan of, imprisonment of Dost
 Mahommed by, vi. 242.
- Bolan Pass, the, vi. 209—passage of the, by
 the Afghanistan expedition, 230—passage
 of the, by England, vii. 33.
- Boldero, captain, clerk of ordinance, 1841,
 vi. 280 note.
- Bolivia, reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231
 note.
- Bologna, revolutionary excitement in, 1830,
 iv. 118—democratic insurrection in, 1830,
 182—its suppression, 183—occupied by the
 Austrians, 1831, 815—decree for reorganis-
 ing the university of, vii. 339—occupied
 by the Austrians, vii. 107—reduction of,
 by the Austrians, 124.
- Bolton, intended insurrection in, i. 165—
 member given to, iv. 21 note—elections of
 1835 in, v. 409—rates of mortality in, 1841,
 vi. 283 note—small proportion of children
 at school at, 314 note.
- Bomarsund, capture of, as an instance of
 naval attack on land defences, v. 358.
- Bombay presidency, finances of, 1839-52; vi.
 160 note—road to Agra from, vii. 108 note
 —and from Calcutta to, *ib.*—railways
 from, *ib.*—bank of, vi. 171 note.
- Bona, outrage by the Algerines at, i. 74—
 continued hostilities in, 1834, v. 286.
- Bonald, M. de, character of, i. 115—argu-
 ment of, against the law of divorce, 148—
 arguments of, for a proprietary clergy,
 286.
- Bond, cornet, viii. 326 note.
- Bonded corn, letting out of, 1826, iii. 288.
- Bonham, J. R., store-keeper of ordinance,
 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Bonhomme, M., the case of, v. 126.
- Bonin, general, defeated at Fredericia, viii.
 192.
- Bonjean, M., minister of commerce, viii. 348.
- Bonn, establishment of university of, iv.
 237—university of, proceedings of arch-
 bishop of Cologne against, 246.
- Bonnemaine, general, operations of, against
 Riego, ii. 296—defeats him, *ib.*
- Bonnet, trial of, for the insurrection of 12th
 May, 1839, v. 364.
- Bonnet Phrygien, secret society called, iv.
 373 note.
- Bonnymuir, the battle of, ii. 161.
- Bonton, attempt by, on the Duchess de
 Berri, ii. 114.
- Books, decree prohibiting, in Spain, i. 389.
- Booth, lieutenant, viii. 326 note.
- Boots, proposed reduction of duties on, vi.
 363.
- Bordeaux, the duke de, birth of, 113—at
 the deathbed of Louis XVIII., 812—ap-
 pointment of a preceptor to, iii. 92—during
 the Three Days, 145—abdication of Charles
 X. in favour of, 154—at Valognes, 157—the
 Duke of Orleans proposed as lieutenant-
 general for him, iv. 85—defence of the
 rights of, by Chateaubriand, 96—marriage
 of, vii. 207.
- Bordeaux, legitimate and illegitimate chil-
 dren in, iii. 170 note—prosperity of wine-
 merchants of, iv. 81—the Revolution of
 1830 at, 101—depressed state of the work-
 men of, 1831, 303—railway from Paris to,
 v. 346—reform banquet at, 1840, vii. 131—
 resistance to the new valuation in, 146—
 proposed railway between Marseilles and,
 154—unemployed workmen in, 1848, viii.
 11—suspension of cash payments by bank
 of, 13—disturbed state of, 61.
- Bordesoult, general, ii. 302—corps under,
 for invasion of Spain, 287—operations
 under, in Spain, 291.
- Bordjoin, defeat of the Turks at, iii. 39.
- Borelli, general, created a peer, v. 372.
- Borghese, movement of, at Rome, vii. 342.
- Borier, procession to commemorate the ex-
 ecution of, iv. 107.
- Bories, the leader of the conspiracy at Ro-
 chelle, ii. 226—his trial and execution, 227.
- Borilla, leader of the insurrection in Modena,
 execution of, iv. 139.
- Borodino, colonel, at the siege of Kars, iii.
 32—at that of Akhalkalaki, 33—at Akhal-
 zikh, 35—at the assault, 36—slain, *ib.*
- Boroughs, interests of the, at variance with
 those of the counties in England, iii. 365—
 principle adopted with regard to the dis-
 franchisement of, iv. 16—list of, dis-
 franchised, &c., by the reform bill, 20 note
 —proposed elective franchise for, 21—class
 from which the majority of their voters
 now taken, 66—error in the uniform rep-
 resentation in the 69—new influences, &c.,
 made predominant in the 70—jealousy of
 the, on the part of the feudal noblesse,
 237—restriction of time of polling in,
 under the reform act, v. 12.
- Borough constituencies, the, character, &c.,
 of, iv. 65.
- Borough electors, increase of corruption
 among the, iv. 74.
- Borough members, increase of, under new
 reform bill, iv. 46—total number of, under
 the reform bill, 57—disproportion between,
 and county, 66.
- Boroughbridge, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Boroughmongers, outcry against the, iv. 3—
 • universal hostility against them, 63.
- Borout, count, ii. 287.
- Borstel, general, army under, 1830, v. 238.
- Borstow prison, statistics of, viii. 307 note.
- Borthézène, general, at Sidi-Feruch, iii.
 128.
- Boscawen, major, defeat of Afghan insur-
 gents by, vi. 245.
- Boslowsky, prince, condemned to Siberia, ii.
 60.

- Bosna Serai, population of, ii. 381 note.
- Bosnia, prosperous state of, ii. 326—proposed cession of, to Austria, vi. 334.
- Bosphorus, the, ii. 335—terms of treaty with Mehmet Ali regarding, v. 279—and of the whole European Powers, *ib.*
- Bosquet, general, character of, vii. 174.
- Bossiney, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Bossonia, arrest of Ney at, i. 126.
- Boston, the crash of 1837 in, vi. 59.
- Boudrouin, the Turkish fleet at, ii. 407.
- Bougon, M., surgeon to the Duke de Berri, i. 92.
- Bouillé, the countess de, iii. 157.
- Boulatoff, colonel, one of the conspirators against Nicholas, ii. 64, 65 note.
- Boulay, de la Meurthe, M., elected vice-president, viii. 332.
- Boulogne, expedition of Louis Napoleon to, and its failure, v. 380 *et seq.*
- Bourbon, the duke de, suspicious death of, iv. 106—reports circulated against Louis Philippe in connection with it, 106.
- Bourbon dynasty, attacks of the press on the, in 1820, ii. 103.
- Bourbons, conspiracy in the army for dethronement of the, ii. 111—the overthrow of the, the object of the French liberals, 193—fidelity of Chateaubriand to the, 217 note—cause of the fall of the, 230—danger to the, from the Spanish revolution, 253—the hostility of the liberals against the, iii. 160—vehement opposition to the, in France, 165—they identified with the national disasters, 166—proscription of the, in France, iv. 144—bloody law proposed against the, 160—debate on it, *ib. et seq.*—motions for repeal of laws against the, viii. 347, 349—final expulsion of the, 358.
- Bourbon, isle of, conquered by the British, vi. 174.
- Bourdonnaye, M. de la, refuses the oath of fidelity, i. 117—arguments of, against the new laws regarding personal freedom and the liberty of the press, 279—moves the expulsion of Manuel from the Deputies, ii. 281—votes for, for the presidency, 1829, iii. 107—minister of the interior, 109—character, &c. of, 110—retires from the ministry, 113.
- Bourgas, advance of the Russians to, iii. 59—advance of Russian squadron to, v. 253.
- Bourges, Michel de, v. 292.
- Bourges, reform banquet at, vii. 131—proposed railway from Paris to, 154—revolutionary banquet at, 1843, viii. 62.
- Bourgeois class, the, in Russia, ii. 14—prosperity of the, in Paris under the Restoration, iii. 171—prosperity of the, in France, iv. 81—their interests at variance with those of labour, 82—separation between, and the working classes in France, vii. 119—prosperity of, under Louis Philippe, 362.
- Bourgeoisie, strength given to the government by the, iv. 83—effects of the supremacy of, in France, 382—motives of, for supporting Louis Philippe, v. 304—support given to Guizot by, vii. 124—state of, under Louis Philippe, 166—rule of, destroyed in France by revolution of 1848, viii. 1—discontent it had excited, *ib.*
- Bourrier, condemned for attempt on the Duc d'Orleans, vii. 149.
- Bourmont, general count, evidence of, against Ney, i. 127—forces under, for invasion of Spain, ii. 287—operations under, in Spain, 290—entrance of, into Seville, 292—minister-at-war, iii. 109—character of, 111—commands the expedition to Algiers, 127—battle of Sidi-Feruch, 128—second victory, *ib.*—siege of the city, 129—its surrender, *ib.*—resigns on the dethronement of Charles X., iv. 129—accompanies the Duchess de Berri in her insurrectionary attempt, 322—accompanies her into La Vendée, 323—presents the rising in La Vendée, 325—M. de, heads the Miguellites at Oporto, v. 181—attempt on Lisbon by, 183.
- Bourmont, Amade de, death of, iii. 128.
- Bourmont, the mademoiselles, iv. 327.
- Bourne, Mr Sturges, becomes home secretary, iv. 314.
- Bourrienne, M. de, party with which connected, i. 114—his Memoirs of Napoleon, iii. 200.
- Bourse, the, at Paris, iii. 214.
- Boutenief, M., force offered to Turkey by, against Egypt, v. 253—negotiations of the Porte with, *ib.*
- Bouterwek, the criticisms of, iii. 186.
- Bouvier-Dumolard, M., *see* Dumolard.
- Bovines, a royalist assassin at Nîmes, i. 101.
- Bowring, Dr, anti-corn-law banquet to, vi. 84—on the condition of the labouring classes in Prussia, 290—motion by, for abolition of flogging in the army, vii. 232.
- Boyd, captain, advances to relieve Commissariat fort at Cabul, vi. 251—supplies procured by, at Cabul, 252.
- Boyer, general, v. 341.
- Boylan, ensign, viii. 326 note.
- Boys, act regulating employment of, in mines, vi. 312.
- Bozzaris, Mark, successes of, and capture of Arta, ii. 376—defeat of, at Pelta, 388—defence of Missolonghi by, 390—successes of, in Epirus, 398—forces under, and plan of attack, 399—his victory and death, *ib.*
- Bozzaris, Constantine, conducts the defence of Anatolico, ii. 400.
- Bozzaris, Corta, at the battle of Modon, ii. 411.
- Bozzaris, Nothi, commands the garrison of Missolonghi, ii. 415.
- Bozzili, M., viii. 77.
- Brackley, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Bradford, Sir Thomas, ii. 153.
- Bradford, member given to, iv. 21 note—rates of mortality in, 1841, vi. 283 note.
- Brailow, exports of grain from, ii. 827—the fortress of, 341—threatened by the Russians, iii. 17—description of it, 18—commencement of siege, 19—repulse of assault, *ib.*—its fall, 20—loss on the assault of, in 1828, ii. 340.
- Bramber, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Brandenburg, count de, premier, viii. 168—measures of, *ib. et seq.*, 171—his system of representation by classes, 198—demands of, at Warsaw conference, 189—his death, 190.
- Brandenburg, resistance to the revolution in, viii. 152.
- Brandenburg Gate, the, Berlin, iv. 221, 298.

- Brandenburg House, death of Queen Caroline at, ii. 189—the funeral procession from, 190.
- Brandreth, John, insurrection headed by, i. 165—his execution, *ib.*
- Braudy, increased consumpt of, during railway mania, vi. 340 note—proposed reduction of duties on, 363.
- Braquey, M., character, &c., of, i. 115.
- Bray, major, at Maharajpore, vii. 70.
- Brayer, proscribed in 1815, i. 93.
- Brazil, exports from Great Britain to, i. 213—Southey's History of, 224—effects on Portugal of the removal of the government to, 330—creation of the kingdom of, 339—British exports to, ii. 305 note—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—increased exports of manufactures to, v. 52, 53 note—increased production of, since emancipation, 53—increased importation of slaves into, 54, vii. 225—separation of, from Portugal, and Don Pedro proclaimed emperor, v. 86—recognition of independence of, 111—increased production and importation of sugar, since 1847, vii. 227 and note—imports from, 228 note—line of steamers from Nantes to, 136.
- Brazilian Mining Company, the, iii. 253 note.
- Brazilian slaver, picture of a, vii. 226 note.
- Brazilians, the, and the slave trade, vi. 110.
- Brea, general, during the insurrection of June, viii. 46—murdered, *ib.*
- Bread, high price of, in France in 1817, i. 281—reforms regarding, in Turkey, v. 267—Peel on effects of reduction in price of, vi. 290.
- Bredy, general, death of, viii. 227.
- Bremen, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—progress of, since the peace, 220—railway to, 251—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
- Bremer, Sir Gordon, operations under, at Canton, vii. 13.
- Brentford, insults to the king and queen at, iv. 52.
- Brereton, colonel, trial and suicide of, iv. 44.
- Brescia, insurrection in, viii. 74—revolt in, and its suppression, 121.
- Breslau, establishment of university of, iv. 237—religious excitement in, 1846, 254.
- Bresson, M., becomes foreign minister, v. 285—arranges the alliance for the Duke of Orleans, 326—notification through, regarding Belgium, 355—connection of, with the Spanish marriages, vii. 213—death of, 349—the Prince de Joinville on his death, 362.
- Bressore, M., aids in the escape of Lavalette, i. 133.
- Brest, disturbances at, 1820, ii. 116—preparations at, for the expedition to Algiers, iii. 127.
- Brewster, Sir David, i. 234.
- Bribery, universality of, in Russia, ii. 26—discussions on, 1827, iii. 322—increase of, under the reform bill, iv. 74, v. 12—the ballot and extension of the suffrage would still further increase it, iv. 74.
- Briqueville, M., law against the Bourbons proposed by, iv. 160.
- Bride of Lammernoor, the, remarks on, i. 219.
- Bridges, neglect of, in India, vi. 159.
- Bridport, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Brigandage, prevalence of, in Greece, v. 261.
- Bright, Mr., as a leader of the Anti-corn-law League, vi. 139—his views on the corn laws adopted by Peel, 274—arguments of, in favour of free trade, viii. 297.
- Brighton, member given to, iv. 20 note.
- Brighton railway, fall in, 1846-52, vii. 289 note.
- Brind, colonel, at Chilianwallah, vii. 102.
- Brisbane, Sir James, operations under, in Burmah, vi. 190.
- Briscoe, Mr., motion by, on the compensation to the slave-owners, v. 50.
- Brissac, count de, fidelity of, to Charles X., iii. 157—an adherent of the Duchess de Berri's, iv. 322.
- Bristol, petition from, against the resumption of cash payments, i. 189—Radical meeting at, 1819, ii. 151—petition against reform bill from the merchants and bankers of, iv. 35—the riots at, 42 *et seq.*—their suppression, 43—trial of the rioters, 44—the elections for 1833 in, v. 14—election of 1835 in, 409.
- British, effect of the banishment of the, from Portugal in 1820, i. 361.
- British America, exports from England per head to, ii. 173 note.
- British Auxiliary Legion, formation of, v. 184.
- British colonies, self-direction of the, i. 39.
- British Critic, the, i. 255.
- British empire, approaching disruption of the, i. 160—probable results of this, *ib.*—causes which induced it, 161—vast growth of the, in India and Australia, ii. 1.
- British Isles, emigration to America from the, iv. 216 note.
- British manufactures, attempt of O'Connell, &c., to exclude from Ireland, vi. 305.
- British Museum, library of George III. presented to the, ii. 225.
- British nobility, contrast between their conduct and that of the French, v. 3.
- British North America, rate of exports per head to, i. 319 note—shipping employed with, *ib.*—See Canada, &c.
- British officers, conduct of the, at Cabul, vi. 249.
- British shipping, proportion of, to foreign, 1820-51, i. 15 note—rights conferred by the navigation laws on, iii. 227—effects of the reciprocity system on, 232—statistics of, 1801-49, *ib.* note—effects of repeal of navigation laws on, viii. 292.—See Shipping
- Broadfoot, captain, measures of, to strengthen Jellalabad, vii. 25, 26—at Jugdulluck, 40—at Tezzen, 41—at Istaliff, 44—major, in the Punjab, 82—death of, at Ferozeshah, 89.
- Broadfoot, Lieut., death of, vi. 244.
- Broadfoot, Mr., murder of, at Cabul, vi. 250.
- Brogia, general, viii. 88.
- Brogie, the duke de, made a councillor of state, i. 309—supports the Decazes ministry, ii. 87—views of, in 1819, 68—new electoral law agreed to by, *ib.*—efforts of, against the Polignac ministry, iii. 112—a leading Doctrinaire, 113—at Lafitte's, iv. 90—minister of public instruction and premier under Louis Philippe, 90—party of,

Broglie, *continued*.

in the ministry of 1890, and his views, 121—dissensions in his ministry, *ib.*—his resignation, and dissolution of his ministry, 124—becomes foreign minister, 342, 355—arguments of, for a general disarmament, 368—resignation of, 372—becomes premier, v. 287—character of, 289—arguments of, for further measures of repression, 299 *et seq.*—difficulties of, 1896, 305—his views on reduction of the interest of the debt, *ib.*—resignation of, with his colleagues, 307—on Algeria, 335—applied to to form a ministry after Boul's fall, 376—arranges treaty regarding right of search for slaves, vii. 196—negotiations with Palmerston regarding Switzerland, 357—views of, as to the Socialists, viii. 344—supports revision of the constitution, 350.

Bron, Mariette, ii. 179.

Broniewski, a Gallician noble, murder of, vii. 201.

Brotherton, Mr, vii. 270.

Brougham, Mr, afterwards lord, arguments of, against the continuance of the income tax, i. 50—arguments of, on agricultural distress, 1816, 59—motion regarding the Holy Alliance by, 68—on the distress, &c., in 1817, 164—motion by, on trade and manufactures, 171—on Lord Sidmouth, 179 note—opposes the alien act, 182—his committee on charities, *ib.*—as an essayist, 237—speech of, 1820, on the queen's case, ii. 157—project by, for general education in England, 164—statistics of education in England by him, 165—speech of, on the agricultural distress question, 170 *et seq.*—negotiations between, and the ministry, regarding the queen, 174, 175—fresh negotiations of, on behalf of the queen, and their failure, 176—at the trial of the queen, 177—his speech in defence, 178—speech and motion by, on agricultural distress, 1822, 198—supports Mr Western's motion on the currency, 199—speech of, on the Spanish question, 270 *et seq.*—Canning's reply to, on the South American question, iii. 252—altercation between, and Canning, 276—defence of the Catholic Association by, 283—attack on the Duke of York by, 286—moves the disfranchisement of East Retford, &c., 322—supports the bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, 354—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—eulogy on William IV. by, 391 and note—encomiums on William IV. by, 392—motion on slavery by, 1830, *ib.*—returned for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 393—his plan of reform, 401—speech of, on the postponement of the king's visit to London, 403—difficulties of, regarding his position in the ministry, and appointed lord chancellor, iv. 3—character of, 5—his merits as a judge, 6—his character as a statesman, *ib.*—his style of oratory, 7—anecdote by, regarding the reform bill, 23 note—scene between, and the king regarding the dissolution of parliament, 31—speech of, in favour of the reform bill, 40—advocates the creation of peers, 49—receives permission to create peers, 54—one of the commission for giving the royal as-

sent to the bill; 56—advocacy of negro emancipation by, v. 44—declaration of, on Earl Grey's resignation, 70—supports the modified coercion bill, 71—his journey in Scotland, 1834, 70—recriminations between him and Lord Durham, 80—on the French intervention in Spain, 90—not in office under Lord Melbourne, 1835, 421—moves vote of censure on Lord Normanby, vi. 37—on the Irish church bill, 1838, 38—on the poor law, 71 note—hostility of, to the Melbourne horrors of the slave trade, 110—on Lord Normanby's liberation of prisoners, 134—motion by, for abolition of corn laws, 293—arguments of, against the income tax, 297—adheres to O'Connell's sentence, 309—supports the life preservation bill for Ireland, 373—arguments of, against the change in the sugar duties, vii. 223—picture of Ireland during the famine by, 242—arguments of, against Mr Fielden's factory bill, 270—opposes the limited service system, 272—supports the education scheme of 1847, 274.

Brougham, Mr W. H., called on to resign his seat, v. 32.

Broussa, population of, ii. 831 note—establishment of academy at, v. 268.

Brown, Dr Thomas, the philosophical works of, i. 228.

Brown, captain, at Hyderabad, vii. 57.

Brown, lieutenant, vii. 63.

Brown, staff surgeon, viii. 326 note.

Brown, a leader of the Canadian insurgents, vi. 91.

Bruat, F. F., counsel for Hubert, v. 352.

Bruce, Mr, aids in the escape of Lavalette, i. 135—his trial, &c., 134—his defence, *ib.* note.

Bruchsal, revolutionary outbreak at, viii. 164.

Bruck, chevalier, viii. 237.

Bruges, the vicomte, i. 114.

Bruges, Dutch party in, iv. 149.

Brune, Marshal, proceedings of, in the south of France, i. 99—murdered at Avignon, 100.

Brunel, the engineer, i. 233.

Brunow, baron, on the British interference at Herat, vi. 225—and the affair of Don Pacifico, viii. 319.

Brunswick, interment of Queen Caroline at, ii. 190—revolution in, 1830, and flight of the duke, iv. 117—affairs in, 1831, 136—representation of, in the Diet, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—accession of, to the Zollverein, 250, viii. 144—statistics of, 140 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, 181.

Brunt, one of the Cato Street conspirators, ii. 158—execution of, 159.

Brussels, strength of democratic spirit in, iv. 110—outbreak of the insurrection in, 111—its progress, *ib.*—negotiations with the insurgents, 112—reception of the Prince of Orange, *ib.*—the army directed on, 113—conflict in the city, *ib.*—defeat and retreat of the troops, 114—Dutch party in, 149—danger of, from the Dutch in 1831, 153—entrance of the French into, 154—Polish committee at, 362—bank of, its failure, in 1838, v. 356—attempted revolutionary movement at, 1848, viii. 146.

- Bry, Jean de, indemnity to, ii. 122 note.
- Brydon, Dr, the survivor of the Cabul retreat, his arrival at Jellalabad, vi. 266.
- Bubna, count, efforts of, for the escape of Ney, i. 126—operations under, against the Piedmontese, ii. 42.
- Buccleuch, duke of, becomes Lord Privy Seal, 1842, vi. 288—conduct of, with regard to corn-law repeal, 384 and note.
- Bucharest, treaty of, between Russia and Turkey, ii. 349—terms of treaty of, regarding the Principalities, 351 note—occupation of, by Ipsilanti, 369—abandoned by him, 372—treaty of, confirmed by convention of Ackerman, ii. 8—occupied by the Russians, 15—treaty of, confirmed by that of Adrianople, 62.
- Buchez, M, and the intended Polish banquet, vii. 140—votes for, 1848, viii. 34 note—president of the Assembly, 35—during the revolt of 15th May, 38.
- Buckingham, marquess of, created a duke, ii. 191—privy seal, 1841, vi. 280 note—resignation of, 288—supports the sliding scale, 293.
- Buckingham, Mr Silk, on the East India bill, v. 37—and the Indian press, vi. 206.
- Buckingham, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Buckinghamshire, the earl of, i. 72.
- Buckinghamshire, disturbances in, 1830, iii. 399.
- Buckland, Dr, i. 234.
- Buckwheat, produce of, in France, iii. 173 note—proposed abolition of duty on, vi. 363.
- Buda, citadel of, viii. 241—siege and storming of, 260.
- Buddhism, prevalence of, in China, vii. 6.
- Budget, debate on the, 1816, i. 56 *et seq.*—discussion on the, 1820, ii. 163—defeat of the Grey ministry on the, 1831, iv. 14—the Whig, 1841, vi. 141—their defeat on it, 142—the debate, *ib.*—Disraeli's, 1852, debate on, viii. 325.—*See Finances.*
- Buenos Ayres, recognition of, by Great Britain, ii. 305—British exports to, *ib.* note—and Spanish, *ib.*—formal recognition of, by England, iii. 252.
- Buerens, general, defeat of, v. 219.
- Buffa, M., announces the resignation of Charles Albert, viii. 120.
- Buffalo, the American sympathisers in, vi. 94.
- Buffet, M., viii. 332.
- Bugeaud, general, duel between M. Dulong and, iv. 368—during the insurrection of 1834, 378—landing of, in Algeria, victory of the Sickak, and relief of Tiemsen, &c., v. 334—jealousy between, and Damremont, 333—views and proceedings of, *ib.*—conference with Abd-el-Kader, *ib.*—treaty of La Tafna, 339—character of, vii. 173—appointed to the chief command in Algeria, 179—successes there during 1841, *ib.*—created a marshal, 182—negotiations with the Moors, 183—critical position of, 185—battle of Isly, *ib.* *et seq.*—treaty concluded with Morocco, 187—subjugation of the Kabyles, *ib.*—appointed to command in Paris, 1848, 392—successes against the insurgents, *ib.*—ordered to withdraw the troops, *ib.*—opposes the King's abdication, 394—measures against the mob, *ib.*—returned to National Assembly, viii. 41—formation of army of Alps under, 381—death and funeral of, 341.
- Bukkur, passage of the Indus by the Afghan-istan expedition at, vi. 230.
- Bukowski, murder of, iv. 210.
- Buldeo Singh, rajah of Bhurtpore, vi. 195—his death, *ib.*
- Bulgaria, increase of population in, ii. 323—prosperous state of, 328—terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding, iii. 62—proposed cession of, to Russia, vi. 334.
- Bulgarians, race of the, ii. 319.
- Buller, Mr C., on the position of the Melbourne ministry, vi. 14.
- Bullion, stock of, in Bank of England, 1838-40, vi. 66 note—imports of, to India, 1849-54, 171 note.—*See Precious Metals, Gold, Specie, &c.*
- Bullion committee, disappointment of the predictions of the, i. 49.
- Bullion question, Peel's views on the, vi. 277.
- Bullion Report, Horner the author of the, i. 172.
- Bullionists, arguments of the, for their system, v. 403—answer to it, *ib.*—views of the, as to the export of gold, vii. 307, 308.
- Bulwer, Sir H., alleged intrigue of, in the Spanish marriage question, vii. 213—Palmerston's letter to him, 214—note by, on the marriages, 216.
- Bulwer Lytton, Sir E., the novels, &c., of, i. 250—on the relations of intellect to virtue, 26 note.
- Bulwunt Singh, recognition of, by the British, as Rajah of Bhurtpore, vi. 196.
- Bundoola, commander of the Burmese, death of, vi. 188.
- Bunsen, the chevalier, sent as ambassador to the court of Rome, iv. 247.
- Buonaparte, Eliza, and Chateaubriand, ii. 218 note.
- Buonaparte, Louis Napoleon, *see Louis.*
- Buonaparte, Napoleon, *see Napoleon.*
- Buonaparte et les Bourbons, Chateaubriand's, ii. 218 note, iii. 182.
- Buonaparte, the, included in the law against the Bourbons, iv. 160.
- Burdett, Sir Francis, bill for Catholic emancipation introduced by, 1825, iii. 285—arguments of, against repeal of the corn laws, 302—his character, 304—speech of, on the Catholic bill, 1827, 317—on the currency as the cause of agricultural depression, 320—motion by, 1828, in favour of Catholic emancipation, 329—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—attack on Wellington by, 378 note—defends the dissolution of parliament, iv. 32—presides at the formation of the national political union, 45—called on to resign his seat, v. 32.
- Burdwan, railway from Calcutta to, vii. 108 note.
- Burgh, the poems of, iv. 279.
- Burgh reform bill for Scotland, the, vi. 3.
- Burghers, the French, discontent among, iii. 125—representation of the, in Germany, viii. 142—views of the, in Vienna, 1848, 210.
- Burgher class, elevation of the, in France, i. 4—competition among the, in France, iii. 176—alone represented in France, *ib.*

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

- Burgher Guard, formation, &c., of the, in Brussels, iv. 114—the Berlin, conduct of, viii. 165, 167—*ib.* dissolved, 170, 171—formation of a, in Vienna, 202.
- Burgher party, the, in the Broglie ministry, iv. 121—their views, *ib.*—ministry from the, 124.
- Burghersh, lord, at the congress of Verona, ii. 258.
- Burgos, advance of the French to, ii. 289—defeat of the Carlists near, v. 225.
- Burgoyne, Sir J., Wellington's letter to, on the defences of the country, vii. 234 note.
- Burgundy, the Dukes of, Barante's History of, iii. 193.
- Burke, Mr., on capital felonies, i. 201—as a speaker in the House of Commons, ii. 215, 216—on the right basis of representation, vi. 10 note.
- Burmah, origin of the war with, vi. 183—military resources, &c., 184—first operations, and capture of Rangoon, *ib.*—further successes, 185—reverses of the British, 186 *et seq.*—conflicts before Rangoon, 187—advance on Prome, 188—its capture, *ib.*—storming of Arracan, 189—advance of the British toward Ava, and submission of the court, 190—hostilities renewed, and final defeat of the Burmese, 191—conclusion of peace, 192—reflections on the war, *ib.*—army of India at conclusion of the war, 166—undue reduction of force after war with, 199—expense of it, 200—the second war with, and capture of Martaban, vii. 108—storming of Rangoon, 109—and of Bassein, *ib.*—capture of Prome and Pegu, 110—peace, *ib.*
- Burn, William, the architect, i. 258.
- Burnaga, a member of the Cortes of 1822, ii. 240.
- Burnes, Sir Alex., mission of, to Dost Mahomed, vi. 219—his difficulties from the parsimony of the government, *ib.*—opposes the restoration of Shah Soofah, 226, 227—supplies procured for the expedition by, 231—recommends abandonment of Cabul, 244—murder of, 250.
- Burnes, lieut., murder of, at Cabul, vi. 250.
- Burney, Miss, the novels of, i. 249.
- Burning of widows, abolition of, in India, vi. 203.
- Buron, check of Gomez at, v. 200.
- Burr, colonel, at the battle of Kirkee, vi. 179.
- Burrell, Sir C., v. 410.
- Burschenschaft, the, in Germany, iv. 230.
- Burton, judge, trial of O'Connell before, vi. 308.
- Burtsdorff, general, at the assault of Akhalzikh, iii. 36—relief of Akhalzikh by, 40—again relieves it, *ib.*—operations under, 1829, 41—attacks Milli-Duz, 42—subsequent movements, *ib.*—at battle of Kainly, 43, 44—advance of, to Hassan-Kale, 45—occupies Baibout, 47—defeated and wounded at Khart, *ib.*
- Bury, rates of mortality in, 1841, vi. 283 note.
- Bushe, Mr., becomes solicitor-general for Ireland, ii. 192.
- Bussewitz, M. de, royal commissioner to provincial estates of Prussia, iv. 249.
- Bussolengo, abandonment of, by the Austrians, viii. 87.
- Butcher meat, first fall of, on the new tariff, 1842, vi. 299—fall in prices of, 1852, &c., viii. 296.
- Butler, Mr., on the legality of a Catholic sitting in parliament, iii. 336.
- Butron, a Christiano leader, v. 154.
- Butter, foreign, proposed reduction of duty on, vi. 363—increased consumption of, 1843-6, vii. 260 note.
- Butterby, insurrectionary movement at, i. 165.
- Buxton, Mr. Powell, petition from silk-weavers presented by, iii. 243—advocacy of negro emancipation by, v. 44—arguments of, for immediate emancipation, 48—motion by, on the compensation to the slave-owners, 50—on the increase of the slave trade, 54, vii. 225, 228.
- Bygrave, captain, vii. 45.
- Byng, Sir John, commander of forces in Ireland, 1830, iv. 4 note.
- Byng, Mr., banquet to, in Drury Lane Theatre, vi. 31.
- Byron, lord, the works of, i. 219 *et seq.*—on Castlereagh's death, ii. 208 note—arrival of, in Greece, 403—his efforts to allay the dissensions, *ib.*
- Byzantine empire, disastrous effects of conquest of, iv. 172—cause of the decay of the, v. 242.
- Bzowski, M., massacre in chateau of, vii. 201.

C

- Ca Ira, secret society called, iv. 373 note.
- Caballero, M., v. 169.
- Cabanero, a Carlist leader, v. 224.
- Cabet, M., arrest of, iv. 338—a leader of the socialist demonstration, vii. 28—a party to insurrection of 15th May, 37—appointed by mob to provisional government, 39.
- Cabrera, general, forces under, in Aragon, and his movements, v. 192—successes of, 193—murder of his mother, 198—reprisals by him, *ib.*—expedition under, 205—operations in concert with Don Carlos, 216—threatens Madrid, 219—violent counsels of, 220—his character and system of war, 223—wounded at Lucena, 225—successes of, 226—his cruelties, 227—further successes of, 229—continues the contest after the retirement of Don Carlos, but at length withdraws, 232.
- Cabrera, the curate, a Carlist leader, v. 168.
- Cabul, route to India by, vi. 208—arrival of the British expedition at, 233—entrance of the British into, 236—force accumulated in, 237—force left in, 238—quarters of the troops at, 239—growing discontent in, 240—advance of Dost Mahomed on, 244—state of affairs at, 247—forces in and around it, 248—infatuation of defensive

Cabul, *continued*.

arrangements, *ib.*—conduct of the British, 249—commencement of the insurrection at, and murder of Burnes, 249—capture of Commissariat fort, 251—and of stores, *ib.*—storming of Mahommed Shereef's fort, 252—jealousy between leaders, 253—storming of the Rickabashsee fort, *ib.*—action on the heights, 254—arguments for removal into the Bala-Hissar, 256—defeat of the British at Beh-Meru, 257 *et seq.*—negotiations, 258—capitulation, 259—the retreat from, 263 *et seq.*—views of Ellenborough regarding advance to, vii. 35—and of Pollock, Nott, &c., 36—advance resolved on, 37—advance of Pollock toward, 39—march of Nott to, and his arrival, 43—destruction of the Bazaar, 44.

Cabul river, the, vii. 50.

Cachar, entry of the Burmese into, vi. 187.

Cadiz, the duke de, marriage of Isabella of Spain to, vii. 216.

Cadiz, former importance of the trade of, i. 320—composition, &c., of the Cortes of 1812 at, 327—declared a free port, 341—efforts of the liberals of, to win over the troops in the Isle of Leon, 343—the insurrection at, 344—at first arrested, *ib.*—measures of government against the revolt, 345—the yellow fever at, *ib.*—first attempt of the revolted troops on, 347—massacre at, 351—refuses to receive the governor appointed by the king, ii. 237, 238—the authorities of, defy the government, 239—republican conspiracy at, and its suppression, 249—retreat of the Cortes with the king to, 291—the revolutionary forces in, 292—strength, &c., of the revolutionists in, *ib.*—progress of siege, 294—assault of the Trocadero, 295—negotiations at, and assault of Santa Petri, 297—deliverance of the king and dissolution of the Cortes, *ib.*—revolutionary movements at, 1835, v. 190.

Cadorin, capture of, by the Austrians, viii. 97.

Cadoval, the duke de, becomes premier, v. 117—abandons Lisbon, 131.

Caen, resistance to the new valuation in, vii. 146.

Caffe, trial and death of, for the insurrection at Thouars, ii. 226.

Caffi, signor, execution of, and excitement caused by it, viii. 80.

Caffraria, British, ravaged by the Caffres, viii. 312.

Caffre war, its origin and first disasters, viii. 312—termination, 313—subsequent transactions, *ib.*

Cahors, resistance to the valuation in, vii. 146.

Caillo, M., embassy of, to Mehemet Ali, v. 369.

Calabria, the duke of, i. 365.

Calais, journey of Louis Philippe to, 1832, iv. 361.

Calamata, proclamation of the Greek insurgents from, ii. 365—organisation of the insurrection at, 369—operations of Ibrahim at, 427.

Calatrava, señor, a leader in the Cortes of 1820, i. 355—new society headed by, ii. 239—opposes the law against the press, 240—a member of the Spanish committee in

France, iv. 108—appointed premier, v. 209—overthrow of his ministry, 218.

Calcraft, Mr, motion by, on the salt tax, ii. 204. Calcutta, ravages of cholera in, vi. 181—depression at, after the Afghanistan disaster, vii. 23—various roads from, 103 note—railroad to Burdwan, *ib.*

Calderon, the conde de, appointed to command at Cadiz, i. 344—made prisoner by the insurgent troops, 346.

Calerjt, M., vii. 334.

Calhoun, Mr, views of, on the bank question, vi. 55.

Calico printers, strike of the, 1834, in Glasgow, &c., vi. 74.

Calicoes, printed, proposed reduction of duty on, iv. 15 note.

California, effects of the discovery of the gold-mines of, i. 16, 21, vii. 306, viii. 326—their effects on emigration, i. 36—and on the price of gold, ii. 137.

Callimachi, Prince Charles, appointed hospodar of Wallachia, ii. 362.

Callington, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Calnon, M., dismissal of, iii. 122—vice-president of the Chamber, v. 309.

Calomarde, M. de, v. 105, 106—dismissed from office, 107.

Calves, consumption of, in Paris, 1789-1840, iii. 172 note.

Calviens, M., i. 152.

Camarilla, the secret, in France, under Charles X., iii. 72.

Camarilla, the Spanish, i. 334—further arbitrary proceedings of the, 335—its intrigues, v. 102 *et seq.*

Cambridge, the duke of, vi. 288—viceroy of Hanover, measures of, there in 1831, iv. 156—present during debate on repeal of corn laws, 362—at Wellington's funeral, viii. 329, 330.

Cambridge, state of corporation of, vi. 5.

Cambridgeshire, election of 1830 for, iii. 393.

Cambronne, general, i. 140—proscribed in 1815, 93.

Camelford, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Camille-Jourdan, M., one of the presidents of colleges, i. 154—in the Chamber of 1816,

275—arguments of, for new law of elections, 276—on a proprietary clergy, 287—opposes the law regarding the press, 295—called to the council of state, 300—arguments of, against the re-establishment of the censorship, ii. 100—amendment on the new electoral law moved by, 107—dismissed from the council of state, 115.

Camp followers, large proportion of, in India, vi. 168.

Campana, general, i. 364.

Campbell, Sir John, afterwards lord, the biographical works of, i. 246—attorney-general, 1835, v. 421 note—decision of, on O'Connell's case, vi. 309—on the Maine boundary question, 319 note—chancellor of duchy of Lancaster, 1848, vii. 221 note.

Campbell, Sir Archibald, operations of, in Birminah, vi. 185—repulse at Kykloo, 186—victory of, before Rangoon, 188—advances on Prome, *ib.*—capture of it, *ib.*—further victories, 189—advance of, toward Ava, 190—victory at Milloon, 191.

Campbell, captain, at Maharaipore, vii. 70.

Campbell, general, at Chillianwallah, vii. 102.
 Campbell, Thomas, the genius of, i. 232.
 Campharssen, M., ministry of, in Prussia, viii. 158.
 Campocelle, railway from Bombay to, vii. 108 note.
 Campo-Franco, count, secret marriage of the Duchess de Berri to, iv. 828.
 Campo Verde, general, placed in command at Granada, i. 861.
 Canada, effects of the changes of 1830 on, i. 5—members proposed to be given to, iv. 37 note—the old protective system toward, 60—state of, since the reform bill, 72—commencement of the troubles in, 1835, vi. 16—demands of the discontented in both the provinces, 17—opening of the Assembly, and demands of the Opposition, *ib.*—increasing discontents of, and settlement of Upper, 30—violent proceedings in the Assembly of Lower, *ib.*—disturbed state of, 46—affairs of, 1839, 88—different temper of Lower and Upper, 89—effects of the crusade against the banks in the States, *ib.*—approach of the contest in Lower, 90—commencement of insurrection, *ib.*—defeats of insurgents, 91—effects of these successes, *ib.*—insurrection in Upper, 92—advance of the rebels, 93—their defeat, *ib.*—conduct of the militia, *ib.*—efforts of the American sympathisers to invade, 94—burning of the Caroline, *ib.*—these proceedings disclaimed by the American government, 95—measures of the home government, 96—report of the committee of the Assembly on the wants of the province, *ib.*—state on Lord Durham's arrival, 97—course followed by him, *ib.*—mistake in the ordinance for transportation of the prisoners, 98—difficulty when they arrived in Bermuda, 99—annulling of Lord Durham's ordinance, *ib.*—he resigns, and is succeeded by Lord Sydenham, 100—his report on it, *ib.*—the rebellion again breaks out, 101—defeats of the insurgents, *ib.*—and of the American invaders, 102—the latter again defeated, *ib.*—trials of leaders, 103—and of American sympathisers, *ib.*—great change in institutions of, after the rebellion, 104—effect of this on the local government, 105—growth of, since 1841, *ib.*—reflections on this, 106—recent growth of this prosperity, 107—contrast in 1839 and at present, 108—system of land grants in, 124—danger from the rebellion in, 136—exports per head to, 156—difficulties regarding, 1841, 281—proportion of children at school in, 814 note—threatened hostilities between, and the States, 1843, 317—Irish emigrants to, 1841–55, vii. 247 note—cry from, for repeal of the navigation laws, viii. 287—progress of, compared with Australia, 304—loyalty in, under the new colonial system, 310.
 Canadian timber, proposed reduction of duty on, vi. 296.
 Canals of China, the, vii. 9—grant for, in France, 1833, iv. 360 and note—companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note—importance of, to India, vi. 163—Indian, under Lord Dalhousie, vii. 108 and note.

Canaris, Constantine, attack on the Turkish fleet by, ii. 386—naval victory of, at Tenedos, 392—at the capture of Ipsara, 404—his escape, 406—defeats the Turkish fleet off Samos, *ib.*—daring attack on the Turks by, and wounded, 423.
 Candahar, route to India from the north by, vi. 208, 209—arrival of the British expedition at, 231—reception of Shah Soojah, 232—force left in, 238—renewed insurrection at, 246—defeat of the insurgents near, *ib.*—the troops at, ordered up to Cabul, 254—conduct of Nott at, 266—position of the British in, vii. 80—commencement of the revolt at, 31—measures for its security, 32—attack by the Afghans, *ib.*—its defence, 33—advance of England to, 38.
 Candlish, close of the Pindarree war in, vi. 182.
 Candia, the conquest of, by the Turks, ii. 332—massacre by the Turks in, 378—revictualled by the Turks, 384—operations in, 1823, 391, 400—successes of the Greeks in, 1829, iii. 64—excluded from kingdom of Greece, 65—still excluded from Greece, v. 260.
 Candidates, system of requiring pledges from, under the reform bill, v. 12.
 Candles, fall in price of, 1841 to 1845, vi. 355 note—proposed reduction of duties on, 363.
 Candole, M. de, an adherent of the Duchess de Berri's, taken prisoner, iv. 323.
 Canes, blockade of the Turks in *Canes* in, ii. 378, 391—ravages of the plague in, 400—the Turks besieged in, 1829, iii. 64.
 Canning, Mr., return of, from Lisbon and his appointment to the board of control, i. 172—on the state of the criminal law, 203 *et seq.*—at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—resignation of, 1821, ii. 180—speech of, on Catholic emancipation, 1821, 182—and in 1822, 196 note—speech of, against parliamentary reform, 1822, 197—sketch of the career of, 213 note—his character, &c., 213 *et seq.*—succeeds Castlereagh as foreign secretary, 257—his views on Spain, and French intervention there, *ib.*—instructions of, to Wellington at Verona regarding the slave trade, 260—and on the Spanish question, 262—his views on it, but resolves on non-interference, 273—feelings and views of, on the French invasion of Spain, 283—letters to Chateaubriand from, against intervention in Spain, *ib.* note—portrait of him by M. Marcellus, 284—his opinion on the probable duration of the war, 285—his admiration of Chateaubriand, 284 note—continues neutrality with regard to Spain, 291—opposes the intervention of Russia in Spain, 302—views of, in the recognition of the South American republics, 303 *et seq.*—his proceedings in pursuance of this, 304—speech of, at Plymouth on the prospect of war, 306—on the conduct of the French invasion of Spain, 314—negotiations of, in favour of Greece, 421—efforts of, to secure recognition of the South American republics, iii. 87—appointed minister for foreign affairs, 225—formal recognition of the South American states by, 282—altercation between Brougham and, 276—Mr North a

Canning, *continued*.

protégé of, 277—on the alien act, 279—arguments of, against the Catholic Association, 281—arguments of, for suppression of small notes, 288, 298—heads the pro-Catholic party in 1828, 306—speech of, on Portugal, 307 *et seq.*—its effect, 309—first brought into the cabinet by Lord Liverpool, 313—becomes premier after the retirement of the latter, *ib.*—jealousy of him among the aristocracy, 314—effect of his accession to the premiership, *ib.*—speech of, 1827, on the corn laws, 319 *et seq.*—on Wellington's opposition to the corn bill, 320—partial disfranchisement of Penryn proposed by, 322—proud position of, 323—his susceptible disposition and increasing illness, *ib.*—his last illness and death, *ib.*—expectations formed of him, 324—he would have disappointed these, *ib.*—review of his last acts, *ib.*—his character as a statesman and orator, 325—peerage and grant to his family, 329—death of his eldest son, *ib.* note—vote of his party on the address, 1830, 377—they oppose the proposed reductions of the army and navy, 380—their disinclination to reform, 387—Earl Grey's speech against, *iv.* 4—on the dangers of reform, 25, 26—resolutions of, in 1823, regarding slavery, *v.* 42—views of, as to the course to be followed in the West Indies, *vi.* 115—character of Sir Thomas Munro by, 182—Peel's arguments for emancipation borrowed from, 274—and the Oregon question, 321—connection of Lord George Bentinck with, *vii.* 257.

Canning, lord, foreign under-secretary, 1841, *vi.* 280 note.

Canning, Mr, afterwards Sir Stratford, terms of accommodation for Greece arranged by, *ii.* 422—vote of, on the address, 1880, *iii.* 877.

Canova, the works of, *iv.* 207.

Canrobert, general, character of, *vii.* 173.

Canterac, general, death of, *v.* 171.

Canterbury, the archbishop of, *iv.* 44—motion by, on Irish church bill, *v.* 25—at Wellington's funeral, *viii.* 380.

Cantillon, trial of, for the attempt to assassinate Wellington, *i.* 303—bequest by Napoleon to, *ii.* 131.

Canton, population of, *vii.* 3—powers of viceroy of, 4—opium smuggling at, 9—seizure of it there, and violent proceedings of Lin, 10—commencement of hostilities at, 11—storming of the forts of, 14—opening of, 20.

Cape of Good Hope, state of, since the reform bill, *iv.* 72—the Caffres at the, 1841, *vi.* 281—progress of, compared with Australia, *viii.* 305 note—discontent at, 1851, and its causes, 311—the Caffre war, *ib.* *et seq.*—subsequent transactions, 313.

Cape wines, proposed duty on, *iv.* 15 note.

Cape de Verdes, subjugation of, by the Miguelites, *v.* 122.

Capefigue, the works of, *iii.* 195—denunciation of Lafayette by, *iv.* 126.

Capefigue, M. Angles, murder of, at Mar-seilles, *i.* 99.

Capellan, admiral, at the battle of Algiers, *i.* 77, 80.

Capellari, cardinal, accession of, to the Pontificate, *iv.* 113.

Capella, M., private secretary to the Count d'Artois, and a member of the Micheli ministry, *ii.* 96.

Capelli, Tranta, encounter of Murat with, *i.* 137—arrests him, *ib.*

Capital, accumulation of, during the war in Great Britain, and its effects, *i.* 3—effects of the contraction of the currency on, 20—want of, for cultivation in Russia, *ii.* 17—destruction of, in France, by the revolution, *iii.* 175—necessity of combination by labour against, 246—growing antagonism between, and rural industry, 367—undue influence given to, by the railway system, 397—increased influence of, *iv.* 2—accumulation of, by the trading classes, 78—the struggle between, and labour, in France, 82—abundance of, in France, 1836, *v.* 304—rise of interest during crisis not due to want of, 402—effect of want of, on Irish agriculture, *vi.* 34—abundance of, during crisis of 1847, *vii.* 262—want of, alleged as the cause of the crisis of 1847, 281—alleged want of, in England, 308—influence of, in agriculture as compared with manufactures, 311—destruction of, in France during the Revolution, 134—the struggle of, against labour in France, 153.

Capitals, progress and splendour of the, in Germany, *iv.* 221.

Capital felonies, number, &c., of, *i.* 201—examples of them, 202.

Capital offences, number of, in Great Britain, 1822, *ii.* 198.

Capital punishment, Mackintosh on, *i.* 202—nominal abolition of, in Russia, *ii.* 19—abolition of, save for murder, in England, 182—frequency of, in the French army, *vii.* 233.

Capitalists, the English, support given to the Spanish revolutionists by, *ii.* 256—influence of, *iii.* 386—effect of the contraction of the currency on, *iv.* 63—their possession of the close boroughs, *ib.*—fall of their predominance with the reform bill, 65—their predominance, and how obtained, 78—is this the result of a general law? *ib.*—the reform movement caused by their policy, 80—schism between, and the working classes in France after 1830, 883—sympathy of, with the democratic party in Spain, *v.* 85—hostility of the Chartists directed against, *vi.* 81.—*See* also Moneyed interest.

Capitan Pacha, the, successes of, in 1823, *ii.* 398—defeat of his fleet near Andros, 413—at the siege of Missolonghi, 416—his defeat and flight, *ib.*—operations of, 1826, 423—defeated by Miaulis, *ib.*—at Navarino, 428—at Varna, *iii.* 23.

Capitation tax, the, in Russia, *ii.* 14—produce, &c., of it there, 25—in Turkey, 328.

Capo d'Istria, count, *iii.* 13—at Aix-la-Chapelle, *i.* 398—at the Congress of Troppau, *ii.* 36—a member of the Hetairia, 357, 358—becomes president of Greece, *iii.* 64—settlement of Greece under presidency of, *v.* 258—his overthrow and assassination, *ib.*

- Capo d'Istria, count Augustin, chosen president after his brother's death, and resistance to him, v. 258—abdication of, 260.
- Capua, capitulation of, to the Austrians, ii. 41.
- Carabli, defeat of Ballasteros at, ii. 292.
- Carabuso, extirpation of pirates of, iii. 64.
- Caracas, arsenal of, captured by Riego, i. 847.
- Caraman, count, at the Congress of Trochu, ii. 36.
- Carascosa, general, i. 364—defensive measures of, against the Austrians, ii. 40—escapes, 41.
- Carbonari, origin and history of the, in Italy, i. 363—revolutionary movements of the, 1820, 364—revolutionary proceedings of the, in Sicily, 366—character of the, in Piedmont, 369—disclosures regarding the, on the trial of the Rochelle conspirators, ii. 226—plan of, for the escape of the condemned, 227—efforts of the, in Italy, vii. 338—in Lombardy, viii. 73.
- Carbonarism, general introduction of, into France, ii. 224.
- Carboneau, arrest and execution of, i. 151.
- Cardinal, a Canadian insurgent, execution of, vi. 103.
- Cardenas, the marquis of, v. 96.
- Cardwell, Mr., arguments of, on the monetary crisis of 1847, vii. 264.
- Caretto, engineer to Ali Pacha, treachery of, ii. 382.
- Carignan, the prince of, i. 370—appointed regent of Piedmont, 371—at the siege of Cadiz, ii. 295.
- Carlisle, lord, becomes lord privy seal, iii. 826—a member of the Grey cabinet, iv. 3 note—again lord privy seal, v. 64—resignation of, 71.
- Carlisle, riots in, 1826, iii. 287—distress in, 1841, vi. 284.
- Carlisle war, the, in Spain, v. 141 *et seq.*
- Carlists, origin of the name, v. 93.
- Carlos, don, marriage of, to a Portuguese princess, i. 338—danger of, at Aranjuez, ii. 244—the head of the Absolutist party, iv. 119—ultra-royalist conspiracy in favour of, v. 93—false reports of the liberals regarding, 98—efforts of the liberals to set him aside, 101, 102 *et seq.*—preparations of his partisans, 104—proposals of the Queen's party to, 105—retires to Portugal, 108—proclaimed on the King's death, 109—terms of the quadruple alliance regarding, 134—parties in favour of, 138 *et seq.*—his character, and its effect on the contest, 139—outbreak and history of the war in his favour, 141 *et seq.*—his movements in Portugal, 156—enters the Basque provinces, and his reception, 157—proclamation and movements, 158 *et seq.*—retires to Elizondo, 159—operations under, 161—narrow escape of, 163—his romantic adventures, 164—attempt on his life, *ib.*—takes the command in Biscay, 166—amnesty to prisoners, 167—honours conferred on Zumalacarrgui, 168—death of his wife, 169—movements of, 170—last interview with Zumalacarrgui, 181—takes the chief command after his death, 184—the Durango decree, 186—invasion of Catalonia, 192—defeat of Espartero, *ib.*—further operations, 193—new plans of campaign, 200—new plan resolved on, 213—his march on Madrid, 214 *et seq.*—successes of, 215—passage of the Ebro, 216—defeated, *ib.*—again advances on Madrid, 217—arrives before it, 219—unanimity there against him, *ib.*—his retreat, and effects of the failure, 220—disunion among his followers, 221—new aspect of the war, 223 *et seq.*—new flying expedition into Spain, 224—fresh dissensions, 225—his marriage, 227—his prospects in 1838, 228—treason of Marotte, 229 *et seq.*—retires into France, 232—exclusion of, from the Spanish crown, vii. 209.
- Carlos Louis, the Infant, Parma, &c., assigned to, i. 340.
- Carlotta, the Infanta, v. 106.
- Carlów, anti-tithe meeting at, 1832, v. 11—small amount of tithes individually due in, 11—effects of the coercion act in, 22 note—proclaimed in 1848, vii. 300.
- Carlowitz, the archbishop of, vii. 221.
- Carlsbad, congress of, and resolutions against liberalism, adopted by, iv. 226.
- Carlsruhe, excitement at, on the French Revolution of 1848, viii. 148—revolutionary outbreak at, 184—occupied by the forces of the Confederacy, *ib.*
- Carlyle, Thomas, the works of, i. 254.
- Carmona, a Carlist leader, execution of, v. 230.
- Carnac, Sir James, governor of Bombay, vi. 207.
- Carné, M. de, on the French national character, vii. 127.
- Carnicer, a Carlist leader, v. 154.
- Carnot, M., returned for Paris, 1842, vii. 155—joins the coalition against the government, 372—member of the provisional government, 400 note—votes for, 1848, viii. 34 note—minister of public instruction, 1848, 36, 51 notes—proposed primary instruction measures, vii. 335—election of, for Paris, 348.
- Caroline, queen, omission of, her name in the liturgy, and discussion on it, ii. 157—commencement of troubles about, 173—sketch of her previous life, *ib.*—her conduct abroad, and proceedings in consequence of it, 174—omission of her name in the liturgy, and her return to England, *ib.*—her reception there, 175—failure of fresh negotiations, and commencement of the inquiry, 176—her trial, 177 *et seq.*—her defence, and failure of the bill, 179—withdrawal of the bill, *ib.*—first enthusiasm in her favour, *ib.*—and rapid reaction, 180—demand of, for her coronation, 188—refused admittance to it, and her death, 189—her funeral, 190—conduct of George IV. toward, iii. 390.
- Caroline, ex-queen of Naples, last letter of Murat to, i. 138—origin of the Carbonari under, 363.
- Caroline of Naples, marriage of the Duke de Berri to, i. 282, ii. 90—the assassination of her husband, 91—during his last moments, *ib.* *et seq.*—See Berri, duchesse de.
- Caroline, capture and burning of the, vi. 94.

- Caron, colonel, insurrection at Colmar under, ii. 228—his execution, *ib.*
- Carondelet, a Christino, defeat of, v. 165.
- Carpenitza, defeat of the Turks by Bozaris at, ii. 399.
- Carrol, Armand, character, &c., of, as a republican leader, iv. 310—mission of, to Rouen on behalf of the Duke of Orleans, 86—efforts of, to win Clansel to the insurgents, 385—and the revolt at Lyons, 374—demanded as counsel by the prisoners for treason, v. 292—arrested as an accomplice of Fieschi's, 299—arguments of, against the proposed repressive laws, 301 *et seq.*
- Carrel, one of the conspirators at Belfort, ii. 225.
- Carrelot, general, appointed to command round Paris, viii. 348.
- Carriages, proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 362.
- Carriekfergus, increase of, since the Union, v. 62 note.
- Carthage, arbitrary arrest, &c., of royalists at, ii. 232—the Communeros in, 235—surrender of, to the French, 292—violence of the royalists in, 293.
- Carthaginian war, true cause of the determination of the, ii. 135.
- Cartwright, colonel, during the mutiny at Barrackpore, vi. 194.
- Carvajal, general, illegal appointment of, by the king, i. 357.
- Carvalho, minister under Don Pedro, v. 132.
- Carystos, the Turks shut up in, ii. 398—relieved, *ib.*, 401, 404.
- Casa del Cuervo, defeat and surrender of the Guard at, ii. 248.
- Casadevall, a Carlist leader, v. 168.
- Casa-Irugo, marquis, becomes premier, ii. 300 note.
- Casavia, treachery of, at Dragaaschan, ii. 370.
- Cash payments, effects of the suspension of, i. 18—prolongation of the suspension, 64—discussion in parliament regarding it, 46 *et seq.*—reflections on it, 66—debates on the resumption, 1818, 175 *et seq.*, 188—petition from Bristol against it, 189—and from London, 190—the great debate on it, 191 *et seq.*—decision of parliament, 198—reflections on the subject, 199—causes which brought it about, ii. 130—dangers with which attended, 141—its disastrous effects, 143—debate on it, 1821, 184—and 1822, 199 *et seq.*—political changes in progress from it, 210—small notes resumed during suspension, iii. 289—fall of prices caused by resumption, and influence of this in compelling the remission of taxes, 386—the resumption as leading to reform, iv. 62—suspension of, in the United States during the war with England, vi. 47—their resumption, *ib.*—suspension of, by Bank of France, 1848, viii. 13—effects of this, *ib.*—extended to country banks, *ib.*—and by the French savings banks, 24—suspended in Belgium, 1848, 147.
- Cashel, arrears of tithes in diocese of, v. 8—tithes murders, &c., at, 10.
- Cashmere, included in the old Dourance empire, vi. 210—Sikh population of, vii. 76.
- Casos, subjugation of island of, by the Turks, ii. 404.
- Caspe, atrocities of the mob in, v. 187—besieged by Cabrera, 226.
- Caspian Sea, Russia established on the, ii. 348, vi. 218.
- Cassagnac, general, viii. 354.
- Cassandra, insurrection in, ii. 368—ravages of the Turks in, 373—forcing of the lines of, and massacre at, 377.
- Cassaro, prince de, vii. 349.
- Cassay, M., ii. 249.
- Cassel, society for liberty of the press at, iv. 363.—See Hesse-Cassel.
- Cassius, mount, v. 245.
- Castafios, general, invasion of France in 1815 by, i. 336—suppression of revolt in Barcelona by, 340—removed by the Liberals from his government, 350—atrocious proclamation of, v. 160.
- Castelbajac, M. de, i. 152—on the endowment of the clergy, 146—arguments of, against the new law of election, 277—and against the new laws regarding personal freedom and the liberty of the press, 279—speech of, on the law regarding the press, ii. 223.
- Castelfolli, capture of, by Mina, ii. 252.
- Castellamare, capture of, by the Sicilian revolutionists, i. 366—recaptured, *ib.*
- Castellane, M. de, arguments of, for change in the electoral law, i. 311.
- Castellane, madame de, married to Fouché, i. 103, 104.
- Castes, prevalence of, in Russia, ii. 13.
- Castile, guerilla and robber bands in, i. 335—New, disturbances in, 1819, 342—Old, secret royalist committee in, 353—reception of the decree against the priests in, 357—Carlist revolt in, v. 168.
- Castle Pollard, outrage at, 1831, iv. 48.
- Castle Rising, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Castlereagh, lord, arguments of, for continuance of the income tax, i. 51—his error, 53—on the budget for 1816, 57—on agricultural distress, 1816, 62—on the detention of Napoleon at St Helena, 68—views of, in the negotiations, 108—measures of, against the Radical movements in 1817, 164—committee on income moved by, 199—on the state of the criminal law, 203 *et seq.*—arguments of, for the foreign enlistment bill, 207 *et seq.*—at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—efforts of, on behalf of Poland in 1815, ii. 2—declaration of, regarding the Congress of Laybach, 37, 39—impression made on the Radical leaders by, 154—the six acts introduced in the Commons by, *ib.*—negotiation with the queen, 177—at her trial, *ib.*—firmness of, after her acquittal, 180—on the effect of her trial, 188—at the coronation of George IV., 189—bills for pacification of Ireland, 1823, 196—measures for relief of the agricultural distress, 199—opposes Mr. Westcott's motion on the currency, *ib.*—on the salt tax, 204—reductions of taxation, 1822, *ib.*—on the small notes bill, 206—death of, 208—his character, 209 *et seq.*—his duel with Caning, 215 note—intended as representative at the Congress of Verona, 258—last instructions of, on the Spanish question, 261—his views on the coin laws adopted by

Castlereagh, *continued*.

Peel, vi. 274—on the Oregon question, 321.

Castlereagh, lady, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298.

Castletown, collision between the peasantry and the police at, iii. 338.

Castor, a Carlist leader, v. 180.

Castrojana, defeat of the Christians at, v. 207.

Castril, defeat of Carlists at, v. 224.

Castro, Perez de, minister of the exterior in 1820, i. 351.

Catalani, madame, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298.

Catalonia, brigandage in, i. 335—royalist insurrection in, ii. 242, 245—successes of the royalists in, 251—continued civil war in, 294—invasion by refugees in 1830, and their defeat, iv. 109—disturbed state of, 1825, &c., v. 97—suppression of insurrection, 93—Carlist revolt in, 168, 192, 194.

Catania, capture of, by the Neapolitans, vii. 125.

Cathcart, general, operations of, against the Caffres, viii. 313.

Cathelineau, statue of, mutilated, iv. 322—death of his son, 326.

Catherine, the empress, on the French revolution, i. 2—schools established by, and her views on them, ii. 11—gains of Russia under, 29 note—views of, on Constantinople, 351—intrigues of, in Greece, 352—share of Poland secured by, iv. 172.

Catholics, the, strength of, in the reformed parliament, v. 14—of Belgium, jealousy between, and the Dutch Protestants, iv. 110—dissensions between, and the Protestants in Prussia, 1848, viii. 152.—See Roman Catholics, &c.

Catholic Association, formation, &c., of the, in Ireland, iii. 249—rise of it, 278—its real objects, *ib.*—bill for repression of, and debate on it, 281—it is carried, and evaded, 284—new, and its objects, &c., *ib.*—increased vigour of the, 334—entire command of the forty shilling freeholders obtained by it, 335—increased power and pretensions of the, 336—orders the suspension of the great meetings, 337—interferes to suppress insurrection, 338—the king on the bill against it, 339—declaration of, regarding the forty-shilling freeholders, 342—declaration in king's speech against it, 344—bill for its suppression passed, *ib.*—Peel on the difficulties with regard to it, 347—inefficiency of the bill for its suppression, *ib.*—Sir R. Inglis on it, 349—acquiesce in the bill for disfranchising the forty shilling freeholders, 353—revival of, in Ireland, vi. 25.

Catholic emancipation, effects of, as regards reform, i. 4—debate on, 1821, ii. 182—ardour with which advocated, 193—urged by the liberals as the remedy for the state of Ireland, iii. 273—its effects, 274—debate on, 1824, 276—the real object of the Catholic Association, 278—bill carried in the Commons for, 1825, 285—rejected in the Lords, *ib.*—remote cause of, 293—rejection of the bill, 1827, 317—Peel's speech against it, *ib.* *et seq.*—majority on, 1828, 329—majority against it in the Peers, *ib.*—king's speech

on, 344—arguments for bill in Commons, 345 *et seq.*—and against it, 348 *et seq.*—division on it, 351—speech of Wellington in the Lords, 352—carried there, *ib.*—a victory of the educated classes over the people, 357—it was aided by the contraction of the currency and the power of the Catholic clergy, *ib.*—difference between its results and what was predicted, 358—it was a wise and great measure, *ib.*—spirit in which received by the Catholics, 359—how it failed, 360—its beneficial effects on the English government, *ib.*—would equally have failed if earlier or more complete, *ib.*—retribution brought on both parties by it, 361—it induced the reform bill, *ib.*—division among the Tories caused by, 367—its influence in increasing the desire for reform, *ib.*—failure of, to pacify Ireland, 394—influence of, in inducing the fall of the Wellington ministry, iv. 2—increase of crime in Ireland with, v. 15 and note.

Catholic question, the, debate on, 1822, ii. 196—during the elections of 1826, iii. 306—increasing importance of, 334—decided views of the king on, 339—first yielding in the cabinet on, 340—Peel on the disunion caused by, 345—and on the vacillations in the Commons on it, 346—effect of its unsettled state on Ireland, *ib.*—Peel's change of view on, vi. 272.

Catholic Rent, collection of, by the Catholic Association, iii. 278.

Catholicism, alleged political tendencies of, iii. 317.

Cato Street conspiracy, history of the, ii. 157 *et seq.*—arrest and execution of the conspirators, 159.

Catolipa, prince, murder of, at Palermo, i. 367.

Cattle, exports of, from Germany, iv. 220—imported, proposed reduction of duty on, vi. 296 note.

Caucasus, the, the Russian army of, ii. 25—the range of, 344—as a military barrier, *ib.*—the passes through it, 345—the tribes inhabiting, their character, habits, &c., 346—Russian intervention in, 348—their establishment in it, *ib.*—wars between Russia and the native tribes, 349—progress of Russia to the south of, iii. 2.

Cauchy, M., announces his sentence to Ney, i. 129.

Caula, count, escape of, from the mob, v. 117—dismissed from office, *ib.*

Caulaincourt, M., heads the Napoleonists in 1819, ii. 88.

Causidière, M., account of the scene at the Hotel de Ville by, viii. 3—conspiracy in favour of, 30—votes for, 1848, 34 note—at the meeting of the Assembly, 34—resignation of, 39—returned to Assembly, 41—imprisoned in the revolt of June, 54—withdraws to England, *ib.*

Caux, M. de, becomes minister-at-war, iii. 101—on the state of the army, 108.

Cavaignac, general, created a peer, v. 372—character of, vii. 172—defeats Abd-el-Kader at Cherchell, 177—surrender of Abd-el-Kader to, 188—votes for, 1848, viii. 34 note—appointed minister-at-war, 39—forces under, against the revolt of June, 44—his pre-

- Cavaignac, *continued*.
 preparations and plans, 44—appointed dictator, *ib.*—his measures against the insurgents, 45 *et seq.*—continuation of dictatorship to, 50—his ministry, 51 note—first measures of his government, 51—advocates continuance of state of siege, 56—contest between him and Louis Napoleon for presidency, 62—his position and views, 63—his address to the electors, *ib.*—measures at Rome, 66—results of election, *ib.*—on the reversion of the constitution, 351—votes for the motion of the questors, 353—arrested, 355.
- Cavaignac, M., iv. 376 note—and the Duke of Orleans, 94—trial of, 1831, and disturbances caused by it, 146—refuses to plead, v. 292.
- Cavalry, the Turkish, ii. 337—in 1828, iii. 21.
- Cavalry horses, importation of, into France, iii. 174.
- Cavan, proclaimed in 1848, vii. 301.
- Cavendish, lord, on the budget for 1816, i. 56.
- Cayenne, transportation of the insurgents of June to, viii. 49.
- Cayla, the countess du, influence of, over the king, ii. 96, 125, 311, 312.
- Cayley, Mr. motion by, on the currency, 1835, vi. 11—on the losses by the crisis of 1847, vi. 286 and note—on the diminished supply of cotton, *ib.*
- Cazet, M., French missionary in Tahiti, vi. 324.
- Ceraldo, Colonna, reception of Murat by, i. 135.
- Cedars of Lebanon, the, v. 215.
- Celts, persistent character of the, i. 33—the invasion of Austria by, viii. 138.
- Celtic races, characteristics of the, iii. 208.
- Censorship, the, re-instituted on the second restoration in France, i. 92—new scheme of, proposed, 279—law abolishing, u. 80—discussion on its proposed re-establishment, 100 *et seq.*—it is carried, 102—new law regarding the, 122—discussion on it, 123—abolition of it, 1824, *ff.* 73—re-established, 93 *et seq.*, 98—new powers given to it, 1835, v. 303—relaxation of it in Piedmont, vii. 346—partial removal of it in Prussia, iv. 252.
- Census, the, of 1831, adopted as the basis of the new reform bill, iv. 46—1851, viii. 301.
- Central America, British exports to, ii. 305 note.
- Centralisation, influence of the railway system on, iii. 397—general corruption produced by, in France, iv. 140—increasing, in France, 302—completeness of, in China, vii. 4.
- Centralising system, influence of the, in France, iv. 167.
- Centuries, representation by, in ancient Rome, vi. 9.
- Cephissus, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 398.
- Cereals, comparative productiveness of, and of the potato, vi. 357—diminished produce of, in Ireland, 1849-53, vii. 316 note.—See Wheat, &c.
- Ceruti, Don Ramon, a leader of the republican conspiracy at Cadix, ii. 249.
- Cervera, desperate assault and capture of, ii. 243.
- Cesena, defeat of the Romagnese insurgents at, iv. 315.
- Cevallos, Don Pedro, appointment of, to the ministry in Spain, i. 337.
- Ceylon, increased production of coffee in, v. 54.
- Chabellon, cholera unknown in, iv. 317 note.
- Chabrol, M. de, iii. 101—minister of finance, 109—character of, 112—resignation of, 131.
- Chacon, the betrayer of Forlier, murder of, i. 349.
- Chalmers, Dr. the works of, i. 256—proceedings of, on the veto act, vi. 86—maintenance of old Scotch poor-law by, 350 note.
- Chalons, riot at, on the funeral of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, iii. 95—Louis Philippe at, iv. 146—insurrection at, 1834, 376.
- Chamber of Commerce, the, at Paris, declaration of, against the wages tariff, iv. 306.
- Chambers, colonel, defeat of insurgent Ghilzyes by, vi. 247.
- Chambers, difficulties regarding the convocation of, in 1815, i. 89—how secured on behalf of government of Louis Philippe, iv. 352.—See Deputies, Peers.
- Chambray, defeat of French revolutionists at, viii. 84.
- Chambre des Deputes, grant for, iv. 360 note.
- Chambrier, M., account of the secret societies in Switzerland by, v. 314.
- Chameo, mother of Ali Pacha, ii. 352 note.
- Champ de Mars, catastrophe in the, on the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, v. 327.
- Champagne, progress of Louis Philippe through, iv. 146.
- Champs Elysees, expenditure on obelisk in the, v. 311.
- Chancery, court of, accumulation of business in the, iii. 280—Brougham as a judge in, iv. 6.
- Chancery reform, measures of, 1825, iii. 280.
- Chandos, marquess of, motion by, for admission of tenants-at-will, iv. 38—his clause retained in new reform bill, 45—motion for repeal of malt tax by, v. 412—motion by, on agricultural distress, 1835, vi. 11—and for agricultural relief, 28—supports ministers on the Irish coercion bill, 377.
- Changarnier, general, during the retreat from Constantine, v. 337—character of, vii. 171—appointed to command at Milanah, 178—during the revolt of March 1858, viii. 31, 32—returned to National Assembly, 41—appointed to command National Guard, 51 note—votes for, as president, 66—and the Garle Mobile, 337—suppresses the insurrection of June 1849, 339—at Bugrand's funeral, 341—supports the enlarged settlement on the president, 345—joins coalition against Louis Napoleon, 346—the review at Satory, *ib.*—rupture with the president, *ib.*—his dismissal resolved on, 347—superseded, 348—votes for the motion of the questors, 353—on the evening of the coup d'état, 354—arrested, 355.
- Channel Islands, newspapers published in, 1782, 1790, and 1821, ii. 197 note—members proposed to be given to the, iv. 87 note—garrison needed by the, vii. 235 note.

Channing, Dr, on the state, &c., of the United States, vi. 81 note.

Chautelaue, M., becomes keeper of the seals, iii. 131—proposes the coup d'état, 133—report on the ordonnances by, *ib. et seq.*—arrest of, iv. 107—demeanour of, before trial, 122—and at it, 123—defended by M. Sauzet, 125—sentence of, 126—liberation of, v. 817.

Chantrey, the works of, i. 262.

Chapalangarra, defeat and death of, 1830, iv. 109. •

Chapman, Sir Stephen, difficulty of, regarding the Canadian prisoners, vi. 99.

Chapoo, capture of, by the British, vii. 17.

Charbonnel, M., death of, viii. 48.

Chardel, M., iii. 140, 145 notes.

Charekar, destruction of the Goorkha regiment at, vi. 256—destruction of, vii. 44.

Charette, M. de, iii. 158—letter from the Duchess de Berri to, iv. 325.

Charitable funds, abuse of, in the old corporations, vi. 5.

Charitable trusts, &c., committee of the House of Commons on, i. 182.

Charities, Irish, grants to, since the Union, v. 61 note.

Charleroi, terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, i. 301.

Charles I., parallel between case of, and of Charles X. in 1830, iii. 160.

Charles II., the navigation act confirmed under, iii. 227.

Charles IV. of Spain, death of, i. 342—alleged alteration of the order of succession by, iv. 119.

Charles X., advantages of, on his accession, iii. 70—his character, *ib.*—his defects, 71—secret camarilla by which governed, 72—his entry into Paris, *ib.*—proposes the abolition of the censorship, 73—dangers of his abolishing the censorship, *ib.*—increasing influence of the Jesuits, 74—addresses, &c., on his accession, 75—ordonnance regarding the army, 76—opening of the Chambers, and his speech, *ib.*—settlement on, 77—coronation of, 85—recognition of the independence of St Domingo, 87—review of the National Guard, and his reception, 96—disbands it, *ib.*—his conduct in doing so, 97—ordonnance re-establishing the censorship, 98—new creation of peers, and dissolution of the Chambers, *ib.*—dissolution of the Villele ministry, 101—his want of confidence in the Martignac ministry, 102—his answer to the address, 103—ordonnances against the Jesuits, 104—preparations for change of ministry, 105—meeting of the Chambers, and his speech, 106—his secret joy at the defeat of ministers, 107—conversation with M. de Caux, 108—appoints Prince Polignac premier, 109—early intimacy of Prince Polignac with, *ib.*—his confidence in La Bourdonnaye, 111—and in Bourmont, *ib.*—attacks of the press on him, 112—memoir on the state of the country laid before him, 115 *et seq.*—opening of the Chambers, 1830, 118—the address, *ib.*—his answer to it, 122—prorogues the Chambers, 123—his plans, *ib.*—dissolves the Chambers, 131—coup d'état resolved on, 132—report on the ordonnances, 133 *et*

seq.—the ordonnances, 135—signs the ordonnances, *ib.*—his security on the first disturbances, 139—his firmness, 145—decisive resolution of the liberal chiefs against, 147—mission from the liberals to him, and his obstinacy, *ib.*—interview of Marmont with, 150—deliberations of the council, *ib.*—concessions resolved on, *ib. et seq.*—dismisses the ministry, 151—attempts to form a new and liberal ministry, *ib.*—further concessions and formal deposition of, 152—last attempt at negotiation, *ib.*—offers the Duke d'Orleans the Lieutenant-generalcy, 153—withdraws to Trianon, *ib.*—formally abdicates at Rambouillet, 154—interview with Maison, and falsehoods of the latter, 155—journey to Maintenon, and parting with the Guard, 156—the journey to Cherbourg, 157—parting with the Guard at Valognes, *ib.*—last interview with Polignac, *ib.*—embarkation for England, 158—residence at Holyrood, *ib.*—error of, regarding the choice of his ministers, 159—error as to the ground he took for resistance, 160—want of preparation, 161—legality of the ordonnances, 177—review of his conduct, 178—influence of his fall in England, 392—fall of, the royal speech on the, 399—the Revolution directed against, as the organ of the Jesuits, iv. 80—reception of his ordonnance dismissing Polignac, 88—final rejection of his terms, 89—trial of the ex-ministers, 121 *et seq.*—comparison of finances under him and Louis Philippe, 138 note—proscription of, and his family in France, 144—degradations of the peerage under, 168—civil list of, contrasted with that of Louis Philippe, 311—and expenditure under the two, 312—the court of, at Holyrood, and his own views, 321—consents to the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, *ib.*—vindication of the ordonnances under Louis Philippe, 350—results to France of his overthrow, 381—sympathy of, with the Absolutists in Spain, v. 100—last years and death of, 318.—*See*, previous to his accession, Artois, count d'.

Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, views and policy of, 1847, vii. 341—views of, on the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, 343—reforms by, and his popularity, 346—forces and movements of, viii. 75—his biography and character, *ib.*—his son elected king of Sicily, but declines, 79—forces at disposal of, 81—first operations and successes of, 84—difficulties of his position, 85—invasion of the Tyrol, *ib.*—his plan of operations, 86—passage of the Mincio, *ib.*—capture of Pastrengo, and retreat of the Austrians, 87—blockade Peschiera and Mantua, *ib.*—repulsed at Rivoli, 88—battle of Sta Lucia, *ib.*—his views after it, 89—position of his forces, and refuses the crown of Lombardy, 91—siege of Peschiera, 92—repulse at Curtatone, 93—victory at Goito, *ib.*—fall of Peschiera, 94—advantageous position of, *ib.*—threatens Verona, and captures Rivoli, 96—importance of the loss of Vicenza, 97—further preparations and reinforcements, 98—movement against Mantua, 99—blockades it, 100—checks the Austrians at Rivoli, 101—battle of Custoza, *ib.*—subsequent

Charles Albert, *continued*.

- movements, 102—success at the Somma Campagna, *ib.*—subsequent movements, 103—battle of Valeggio, *ib.*—his retreat, 104—retires across the Oglio, *ib.*—and to Milan, 105—insults to, in Milan, and its capitulation, *ib.*—armistice, 106—proclamation of, on fall of Milan, 108 and note—forced to renew the war, 111—his forces, 112—proclamation, 113—first movements, 114—defeats of, 115—battle of Novara, 117 *et seq.*—his abdication and escape, 119—death of, 132—military conduct of, 133.
- Charles, the arch-duke, the Military History of, iv. 286—renunciation of the throne by, viii. 238.
- Charles, prince, of Prussia, ii. 72—at the coronation of Nicholas, 74.
- Charlotte, queen, death and character of, i. 187.
- Charlotte, the princess, marriage of, i. 69—death of, 173—grief occasioned by it, *ib.*
- Charlotte, the princess, of Prussia, marriage of the Grand-duke Nicholas to, ii. 51.
- Charras, M., minister-at-war, 1848, viii. 36 note.
- Charras, colonel, arrested, viii. 355.
- Charter, the, modification of, by royal ordinance in 1815, i. 90—were the ordinances an infraction of, iii. 177—previous similar invasions of it, *ib.*—as modified by the constitution of 1830, iv. 99.
- Charter, the six points of the, vi. 80.
- Chartism, circumstances which gave rise to, vi. 46, 50, 80.
- Chartist movement, progress of the, vi. 316—suppression of the, 1848, i. 10.
- Chartist petition, the, 1843, vi. 316—the great, of 1848, vii. 296—its demands, *ib.*—presentation of it, 297—detection of the frauds in it, 299—wholesale fabrication of signatures at Glasgow, *ib.* note.
- Chartists, views of the, after the reform bill, v. 63—their real object, vi. 81—rise and progress of their movement, *ib.*—the riots at Birmingham, 82—the rising of, at Newport, 83—their defeat, *ib.*—riots organised by, 1842, 284—opening of letters of, by Sir James Graham, 352—commencement of the insurrection of the, 1848, vii. 296—their preparations, *ib.*—those of the government against them, *ib.*—their defeat, 297—abortive attempt at Glasgow, 298—impression produced on the Continent by the suppression of the insurrection, 299—renewed agitation, its suppression, and trial of the leaders, 300.
- Chartrand, general, execution of, i. 139.
- Chartraud, murder of, and acquittal of the murderers, vi. 97.
- Chartres, the bishop of, iii. 105—at the death-bed of the Duke de Berri, ii. 92.
- Chartres, the duke de, made a chevalier of the Cordon Bleu, iii. 85—his arrest and release, iv. 86—narrow escape of, vii. 401.
- Chartronin, M. de, opposes the law against the Bourbons, iv. 160.
- Chassé, general, holds the citadel of Antwerp, iv. 115—denounces the armistice at Antwerp, 152—force under, in the citadel of Antwerp, 345—the siege, *ib.* *et seq.*—surrenders, 346.

Chasseurs d'Afrique, organisation of the, iv. 308.

- Chateaubriand, viscount de, services of, at Ghent, i. 86—opposes the admission of Fouché to the ministry, *ib.*—declines office, 87—made member of chamber of peers, 94—section headed by, 114—character of, 116—speech of, on the law against seditious cries, 122—opposes the proposed amnesty, 141—views of, on the ordinance of 5th September, 155—support given to the royalists by his writings, 275—arguments of, against the new law of recruiting, 293—on the character of the Spaniards, 325—on the extinction of freedom in Spain, 334 note—on the Greek revolt, ii. 85 note—and the royalist journals, ix. 82—on the assassination of the Duke de Berri, 93—on Decazes, 95—votes against re-establishing the censorship, 102—account of the views of the royalists by, 116 note—sent as ambassador to Berlin, 120—resigns the Berlin embassy, 124—on the death, &c., of Napoleon, 132—on the reputation of Pitt, 209—on the change in the character of statesmen, 211—sketch of his career, 217 note—his character, 217 *et seq.*—represents France at the Congress of Verona, 258—note of, at the congress, regarding South American independence, 260—views of, on the results of the congress, 263—succeeds Montmorency in the ministry of foreign affairs, 266—directs the withdrawal of the ambassador from Spain, 267—speech of, on the Spanish question, 274 *et seq.*—Mannet's answer to, 279 *et seq.*—letters from Canning to, against the intervention, 283 note—letter from M. Marcellus to, 264—Canning's admiration of him, *ib.* note—declines the assistance of Russia in Spain, 302—designs of, with regard to the South American States, 306—supports the law of septennialty, 307—conduct of, on that for reducing the interest of the debt, 309—position of, in 1824, 310—his dismissal, *ib.*—the Emperor Alexander to, on the Greek insurrection, 364—opposed to the ultramontane party, iii. 75—opposes the law against sacrilege, 83—opposes the re-establishment of the censorship, 91—society for defending the liberty of the press headed by, 98—dislike of Charles X. to, 101—declines office under Martignac, 102—vote of, on the address, 103—resigns the embassy to Rome, 122—on the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine, 131—opinion of, as to the fall of Charles X., 159—objects of, in the Spanish war, 167—his political reasons for the project of advancing France to the Rhine, 168—the works of, 182 *et seq.*—a writer for the daily press, 24—views of, as to the succession to Charles X., iv. 85—declaration of, in favour of Charles X., 88—noble speech of, in the peers, 94—he refuses the ministry of foreign affairs under Louis Philippe, 97—his conversation with the latter, *ib.* note—resignation of, 99—the autobiography of, 287—on the refusal of the Duchess de Berri's gift during the cholera, 319 note—heads the moderate royalists, 321—opposes the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, 324—arrest

Chateaubriand, continued.

- of, 338—letter from, to Louis Napoleon, v. 332—course of, regarding the slave trade, vii. 137.
- Chateaubriand, madame de, ii. 216 note.
- Chateau Rouge, the reform banquet at, vii. 373.
- Chateau-Thierry, grain riots at, 1817, i. 281—Louis Philippe at, iv. 146.
- Chatellerault, resistance to the valuation in, vii. 146.
- Chatenay, cholera unknown in, iv. 317 note.
- Chatham, garrison, needed by, vii. 235 note—prison, statistics of, viii. 307 note.
- Chatillon, great reform banquet at, vii. 131.
- Chatillon-sur-Seine, grain riots at, 1817, i. 281.
- Chatres, count de la, made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 93.
- Chatterton, colonel, suppression of the Chartist riot at Birmingham by, vi. 82.
- Chauvelin, M. de, returned to the Deputies in 1817, i. 289—vote of, on the new electoral law, ii. 108.
- Chaves, the marquis de, a leading Miguelite, v. 114.
- Cheapening system, rise of the, and its effects, iv. 61—predominance given to the, by the reform bill, 69.
- Cheduba, capture of, by the British, vi. 185—cession of, to them, 192.
- Cheese, foreign, proposed reduction of duty on, vi. 363—increased consumption of, 1843-6, vii. 260 note.
- Chelsea pensioners, summoning out of the, 1819, ii. 152.
- Cheltenham, member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Chenab river, the, vii. 77.
- Chenchine, general, assassination of, ii. 62.
- Chenier, Dr. a leader of the Canadian insurgents, death of, vi. 91.
- Cherbourg, preparations at, for the expedition to Algiers, iii. 127—journey of the royal family to, 157—their embarkation there for England, 158—Louis Napoleon at, 1850, viii. 346.
- Cherchell, capture of, by the French, vii. 176—defeat of Abd-el Kader before, 177.
- Chernicheff, general, ii. 67—at Aix la-Chapelle, i. 298.
- Cheshire, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Choster, bishop of, votes for the reform bill, iv. 51.
- Chester, intended rising at, 1817, i. 166—diocese, statistics of church accommodation in, i. 181 note.
- Chevallon, M., a Spanish revolutionist, iv. 109.
- Chevalier, M., advocates the views of the St Simonians, iv. 305—trial of, 354.
- Children, number of, receiving education in England, ii. 165—in factories, bill regulating labour of, v. 55—Lord Ashley's factory bill regarding, vi. 313—necessity for protection to, in manufacturing districts, 314—Mr Fielden's bill for limiting the factory labour of, vii. 267—large mortality among, in factory districts, *ib.*—employment of, in factories, 270—mortality among, in town and rural districts, 271.
- Chili, British consul appointed to, ii. 305—and exports to, *ib.* note.

- Chilianwallah, battle of, vii. 102 *et seq.*—recovery of the guns taken at, 106.
- Chios, extension of the insurrection to, iii. 384—massacre of, 385—renewed massacre, 387—expedition under Fabvier against, iii. 64—excluded from kingdom of Greece, 65.
- China, non-progressive state of, 137—petitions against the restrictions on the trade to, ii. 168—opening of the trade to, v. 36—increase of trade with, since, 38 and note—danger from the war in, vi. 136—value of opium exported from India to, vi. 166—the war with, 1841, 281—alleged effects of interruption of commerce with, 289—proposed reduction of duties on sugar from, 328—restrictions on importation of labourers into the West Indies from, vii. 224—England first brought into collision with, 1—constancy of national character, *ib.*—extent and population, 2—revenues, *ib.*—land and sea forces, *ib.*—great towns, 3—geographical description, *ib.*—canals, *ib.*—climate and productions, 4—system of government, *ib.*—agriculture, *ib.*—land tenures, 5—form of government, *ib.*—practical checks on despotism, 6—religion, *ib.*—education, 7—cautious management of the trade by the East India Company, *ib.*—change on its being thrown open, 8—passage of the Bocca Tigris, *ib.*—affairs in, 1835-6, 9—increase in the opium smuggling trade, *ib.*—measures of the Viceroy Lin, 10—violent proceedings of Chinese, *ib.*—commencement of hostilities, 11—capture of forts of Canton, 12—treaty disavowed, *ib.*—storming of forts, 13—further hostilities, fresh armistice, and renewed war, *ib.*—attack on forts of Canton, 14—new terms of accommodation, *ib.*—storming of Amoy, 15—second capture of Chusan, *ib.*—of Chinghae, 16—and of Ningpo, *ib.*—defeats of Chinese, 17—capture of Chapoo, *ib.*—forcing of the Yang-tze-Kiang, &c., 18—failure of negotiations, and further advance, *ib.*—storming of Chin-Kiang-foo, 19—arrival at Nankin, *ib.*—treaty concluded, 20.
- China proper, extent and population of, vii. 2.
- Chuncheu, defeat of the Christians at, v. 167.
- Chinese Tartary, extent, &c., of, vii. 2.
- Chinghae, storming of, by the British, vii. 16—defeat of the Chinese at, 17.
- Chin-Kiang-foo, importance of, vii. 18—storming of it, *ib.*
- Chippenhams, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Chippewa, attack by the American sympathisers on, vi. 94.
- Chisholm, lieutenant, death of, vi. 180.
- Chlapowski, general, invades Lithuania, iv. 204—throws himself into Lithuania, 206.
- Chlopicki, general, a member of the provisional government of Poland, iv. 179, 180—saves Krasinski from the mob, 180—seizes the dictatorship, 181—his biography and character, *ib.*—his views as to the revolution, *ib.*—his military preparations, 182—civilities between, and Constantine, *ib.*—unsuccessful negotiation with Nicholas, 183—resigns the dictatorship on the meeting of the Diet, and is reappointed,

Chlopicki, *continued*.

- 185—his first acts, *ib.*—vain efforts at accommodation, 188—resigns, *ib.*—wounded at Praga, 194.
- Cheronea, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 398.
- Choiseul, the duke of, a member of the Council of Agriculture, ii. 79—share of the indemnity received by, iii. 83—during the Three Days, 144.
- Cholera, ravages of, in Hungary, iv. 134—ravages of, among the Poles, 201—death of Diebitch and Constantine of, 205—conduct of Nicholas during, 213—first appearance of, in Paris, 316—its unlooked for symptoms, 317—uncertainty in its mode of treatment, *ib.*—commissions in Paris on it, 318—its ravages, *ib.*—details of it in Paris, 319 note—fortitude and benevolence during it, 319—appearance of, in England, and its influence in checking the reform mania, v. 5—ravages of, in the army in India, 1817, vi. 181—ravages of, among the Russians in Hungary, viii. 266.
- Chosrow, Capitan Pacha, operations of, in the Archipelago, ii. 404—attack on Spezzia and Ipsara, *ib.*—capture of the latter, 405.
- Chourehid Pacha, operations of, against the Greeks in the Morea, ii. 372—against Ali Pacha, 354—capture and execution of Ali Pacha by, 376, 382—plan of the campaign, 383—defeated by the Subotes, 384—grand invasion of the Morea by, 389—his danger and losses, *ib.*—his disastrous retreat, 390—repeated defeats of, *ib.*—his death, *ib.*
- Christian VII., death of, viii. 156.
- Christian VIII., destruction of, the, viii. 191.
- Christian monarchy, importance of establishing a, in place of Turkey, ii. 433.
- Christian slavery, abolition of, in Algiers, i. 81.
- Christians, the, in the Turkish empire, ii. 319—position of, as the industrious class in Turkey, 321—their increase as compared with the Turks, *ib.*—numbers of, in European Turkey, 324 note—cannot become proprietors of land there, 326—massacres of, in Smyrna, 376—threatened massacre of, in Constantinople, 380—massacres of, in Jassy, 394—and Mohammedans, all recent European wars between, iii. 1—regulation regarding dress of, in Turkey, 7.
- Christianity, destiny of the Japhetic race with regard to, i. 40—its increasing influence in Europe, 41—waning of Mohammedanism before, 81—destined triumph of, in Turkey, iii. 69—Chateaubriand's influence in reviving, 184—ascendant over Mohammedanism now obtained by, v. 312—removal of civil forfeitures on conversion to, in India, vi. 204—spread of, in the South Sea Islands, 323.
- Christie, captain, before Ghuznee, vii. 43—at Chillianwallah, 103.
- Christina, queen, marriage of Ferdinand VII. to, iv. 118—birth of her daughter, 119—marriage of, and her character, v. 101—intrigues regarding, 102—birth of her daughter, 104—measures of her partisans, *ib.*—a second daughter born, *ib.*—her indecision, 105—measures to secure the succession, 106 *et seq.*—measures of her partisans on the king's death, 108—accession of her daughter, and herself as regent, 109 *et seq.*—overthrow of, v. 232, vii. 209—proposals to Louis Philippe for double marriage, which he declines, 210—further conferences, 211—offers her daughter's hand to Prince Leopold, 213—subsequent negotiations, &c., regarding the marriages, *ib. et seq.*
- Christino war, history of the, v. 141 *et seq.*
- Christopher, Mr., motion by, 1842, on the corn laws, vi. 293.
- Chrzanowski, general, at Iganie, iv. 200—expedition of, into Volhynia, and its defeat, 203—appointed to command the Sardinians, viii. 112—defeats of, and falls back to Novara, 116—battle of Novara, 117 *et seq.*
- Church, general, attack on, in Palermo, i. 366—operations of, at Athens, and his defeat, ii. 421.
- Church, the, discussion regarding its endowment, i. 146 *et seq.*—law regarding bequests to it, in France, 285—discussion on it, 286—character and tendencies of, in Spain, 325—the Russian, statistics of, ii. 12—additional endowments for, in France, 121—alliance of the royalists with, in France, and its results, 230—position, &c., of, in France under Louis Philippe, vii. 128.
- Church of England, alleged influence of the test and corporation laws on, iii. 333—influence of their repeal on it, 334—bill for better discipline of, &c., 1835, v. 414.
- Church of Scotland, the Five Kirk secession from the, vi. 86 *et seq.*
- Churches, new, grant in 1818 for building of, i. 181—and 1823, iii. 224.
- Church cess, proposed abolition of, in Ireland, v. 23.
- Church establishment, further reduction of, in Spain, ii. 242.
- Churchmen, jealousy between, and Dissenters on the education question, vii. 273.
- Church party, views of, on the Irish church commission, v. 67.
- Church property, effects of the confiscation of, in France, i. 146—alienation of, in France, 287—decree regarding, in Spain in 1820, 352—confiscation of, by the Cortes in 1820, 355, ii. 234—effects on education of the confiscation of the, 165—amount of the confiscation of, in Spain, 245—effects of its confiscation on the working classes in France, iii. 172—its resumption by the Papists, one object of the Catholic Association, 278—proposed confiscation of, by the Irish church bill, v. 24.
- Church-rates, bill for abolition of, 1837, vi. 36.
- Chusan, opium smuggling at, vii. 9—capture and occupation of, by the British, 12—second capture of, by the British, 15—terms of the treaty regarding, 20.
- Chuttoo, a Pindarree chief, death of, vi. 182.
- Chuttur Singh, revolt of, in the Punjab, vii. 100—operations of, *ib.*—capture of Attock by, 101—junction of, with Shere Singh, 104—battle of Gogernat, 105 *et seq.*
- Cinechi, cardinal, ministry of, vii. 80.
- Cider, reduction of duties on, 1823, iii. 257 note—repeal of duty on, 1-30, 383.
- Circassia, the affair of the Vixen, vi. 39 *et seq.*

- Circulating medium, danger of an unstable, v. 399.
- Cities, progress and splendour of the, in Germany, iv. 221—the great, of Germany, feeling, &c., in, 256—Soul's views as to the military defence of, v. 395—greater mortality of, than of country districts, vii. 313—the French, rapid growth of, under Louis Philippe, 118—the great, of China, 2.
- Ciudad Real, capitulation of royalists at, ii. 249.
- Civil cases, introduction of jury trial in, into Scotland, i. 168—its failure, 169.
- Civil forfeitures, removal of, on conversion in India, vi. 204.
- Civil list, the French, iii. 77—defeat of the Wellington ministry on the, 403—voted to William IV., &c., iv. 30—debate on the, in France, 1831, 160—voted to Louis Philippe, 311—its extravagance, *ib.*—vote of the Legislative Assembly on, viii. 345.
- Civil offices, number of, in France, iv. 83—injudicious employment of military officers in India in, vi. 268.
- Civil servants, Ellenborough's depreciation of, vii. 30.
- Civil service, new regulations regarding salaries in the, in India, vi. 202.
- Civil situations, large employment of officers in, in India, vi. 203.
- Civil war, Sir R. Inglis on the dangers of, iii. 349—Wellington on, 352—danger of, during the reform mania, iv. 55.
- Civilisation, effects of the discovery of the American mines on, i. 18—relations of, to morality, 25—migratory passions of men in the youth of, 38—and in its maturity, 39—obstacles to, from serfdom in Russia, ii. 17—obstacles to, in Russia, 20—it confined to the higher ranks, 21—influence of the slave trade on, in Africa, v. 40—effects of the European revolutions on, viii. 360.
- Civita Vecchia, insurrection of the galley-slaves in, i. 369.
- Clam, count, at Santa Lucia, viii. 88—at Curtatone, 93, 262.
- Clanricarde, lord, postmaster-general, 1846, vii. 220 note—motion by, on free trade, viii. 299.
- Claparede, general, made a peer, i. 314.
- Clare, the famine of 1823 in, ii. 195 note—operation of the insurrection act in, 1824, iii. 276 note—election of O'Connell for, 336—results of this, *ib.*—re-election of O'Connell for, 354—conflict between Catholics and Orangemen in, 375—disturbances in, 1831, iv. 36—extraordinary murder in, v. 18 note—monster repeal meeting in, vi. 306—agrarian outrages in, 1846, 374, 375 note—increase of crime in, 1847, vii. 274.
- Claremont House, residence of the Princess Charlotte, &c. at, i. 60—Louis Philippe retires to, vii. 402.
- Clarence, the duke of, becomes lord high admiral, iii. 314—resignation of, 328.—See William IV.
- Clarendon earl of, president of board of trade, 1816, vii. 224 note—applies for continued suspension of habeas corpus act in Ireland, viii. 314.
- Clark, lieutenant, at storming of Arracan, vi. 189.
- Clark, see Feltre, duke de.
- Clarke, Dr. on corporal punishment in Russia, ii. 19—description of Greece by, 354.
- Class government, results of, to freedom, iv. 382.
- Class legislation, invariable results of, i. 162—danger of, under the reform bill, iv. 77—the invariable result of uniform representation, 79.
- Class representation, necessity and importance of, iv. 79.
- Classes, the subdivision of, in Russia, ii. 12—return to representation by, in France, 125—representation of, under the old constitution of England, iv. 69—representation should be based on, vi. 9—voting by, established in Prussia, viii. 186—its results, 187, 198.
- Classical school, extinction of the, in French literature, iii. 180—the early, in German literature, iv. 266.
- Clusel, general, afterwards marshal, i. 140—proscribed in 1815, 83—indemnity to, ii. 122 note—succeeds Bournon in Algeria, and his successes there, iv. 129—arguments of, on foreign affairs, 1831, 157 *et seq.*—at Lamarque's funeral, 330, 331—efforts of the insurgents to win, 335—difficulties of, in Algeria, 366, v. 331—sent back to Algeria, and victory obtained by, 333—returns to France to procure supplies, 334—difficulties of, with the Deputies, &c., 335—commencement of expedition to Constantine, forces for it, &c., *ib.*—the march and its hardships, *ib.*—his repulse before Constantine, 336—and disastrous retreat, *ib.*—recalled, 338.
- Clausen, defeat of the Austrians at, viii. 244.
- Clauswitz, general, the Memoirs of, iii. 200, iv. 286.
- Clay, Mr. views of, on the bank question, vi. 55, 56.
- Cleopatra, capture of the, by the Nymph, i. 74 note.
- Cles, defeat of the Italians at, viii. 85.
- Clergy, views of the ultra-royalists regarding the, i. 146—discussion regarding their endowment, *ib.* *et seq.*—the Russian, numbers, character, &c. of, ii. 12—unrepresented under Louis Philippe in France, vii. 121—alienation of, from Louis Philippe, 362—favour the revolution of 1848, viii. 10—representation of the, in Germany, 142.
- Clerk, Sir George, supports Peel against the reform bill, iv. 26—secretary of Treasury, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Clerk, Mr. counsels of, after Afghanistan retreat, vii. 23—efforts of, to reinforce Nott, 33—and to provide carriage for the troops in Afghanistan, 38.
- Clerkenwell, suppression of Chartist meeting at, vi. 82—Chartist gathering in, vii. 300.
- Clermont, resistance to the new valuation in, v. 116, 147.
- Clermont-Tonnerre, the marquis, becomes minister of marine, ii. 125—supports Montmorency on the Spanish question, 268—appointed minister-at-war, 310—efforts of, to proselytise the army, iii. 74—fortification of Paris proposed by, 1826, iv. 358—his memoir on it, *ib.* note.

- Clibborne, major, at Meanee, vii. 57.
- Climate, influence of, in urging Russia to foreign conquest, ii. 18—great varieties of, in Algeria, vii. 168—variety of, in China, 4.
- Clitheroe, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Clithrow, general, dispersion of the Canadian insurgents by, vi. 101.
- Clogher, bill abolishing bishopric of, v. 23 note.
- Cloncurry, lord, and the prosecution of O'Connell, iv. 14 note.
- Clonfert, bill abolishing bishopric of, v. 23 note.
- Clonmel, intimidation of juries in, v. 17—increase of, since the Union, 62 note—liberation of prisoners by Lord Normanby at, vi. 134.
- Clontarf, suppression of monster meeting at, vi. 308.
- Clorumenoros, Don Diego, ii. 241.
- Close boroughs, the, increasing jealousy of, iii. 366—holders of, opposed to reform, 401—strength given to capital by them, iv. 2—causes of the outcry against them, 3—ministerial plan regarding them, 20—their alleged value as admitting talent, 25—universal hostility against them, 63—this increased by the talent admitted by them, 64.
- Club of Clubs, the, viii. 30—revolt organised by, *ib.*—and the revolt of June, 53.
- Clubs, revolutionary, establishment of, in Spain, i. 352—decree for closing them, 355—their violence, 356—their increased activity, 358—their violence in Madrid, ii. 233, 234—law regarding them, 234—their denunciations of Murillo, 235—enmity of Chlopicki to them in Poland, iv. 181—formation of secret, by the French republicans, 356—declaration against the Irish, 1848, vii. 301—democratic, formation of, in the Swiss cities, 352—re-opening of them in Paris, 1848, viii. 6—great demonstration of the, 17th March, 28 *et seq.*—closing of them by Cavaignac, 51—law suppressing them, 55—renewed agitation of them against the constitution, 61—their influence on the Frankfort Assembly, 179—motion for closing them in France, 337—their efforts against Louis Napoleon, *ib.*—decree for closing them, 338—finally suppressed, 340—their continued activity, 344.
- Clyde, lord, viii. 134.
- Coaches and carriages, public companies for, in France, iv. 346 note.
- Coal, want of, in Spain, and its effects, i. 322—proposed reduction of duties on sea-borne, iv. 15 and note—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note.
- Coal districts, pressure in the, 1847, vii. 277.
- Coal-mines, joint stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.
- Coals, remission of duty on, 1824, iii. 222—exported, proposed duty on, iv. 15 note—exported, proposed duties on, vi. 296—abolition of export duty on, 343.
- Coalition ministry, Pitt's overthrow of the, compared with the overthrow of Wellington's, iv. 1.
- Cobbett, Mr. on the resumption of cash payments, ii. 146—on the case of the queen, 176 note—answer of, to Sir Robert Gifford on the queen's case, 179—views of, on the French intervention in Spain, 306—resolutions carried by, for reduced expenditure, &c., iii. 221—on the resumption of cash payments as leading to reform, iv. 62—motion by, on the address, 1833, v. 14—on the bank question in the United States, vi. 55—on the potato in Ireland, 357 note.
- Cobden, Mr. character of, as the leader of the anti-corn-law movement, vi. 85, 139—his views on the corn laws adopted by Peel, vii. 274—motion by, for their entire abolition, 293—strong language of Peel toward, 316—motion by, on agricultural distress, 354, 355—opposes the Irish coercion bill, 377—Sir R. Peel on, 379.
- Coblentz, excitement in, 1848, viii. 150.
- Cochineal, prices of, 1824-5, iii. 251 note—fall in, 1825-6, 262 note.
- Cochrane, lord, on the battle of Algiers, i. 81—engaged in the Greek service, ii. 421—operations of, to raise the siege of Athens, 424.
- Cockburn, II., solicitor-general for Scotland, 1830, iv. 4 note.
- Cockermouth, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Cocoa, new taxes on, 1819, i. 200—produce of, West Indies, 1828-41, v. 52 note—increased consumption of, during railway mania, vi. 340 note—imports of, from West Indies, 1847-9, vii. 227 note.
- Coddington, captain, wounded at Maharajpore, vii. 70.
- Code Napoleon, law of, against associations, iv. 369.
- Codrington, Sir Edward, naval force under, ii. 426—forces under, at Navarino, 428—the battle, *ib.* *et seq.*
- Codrington, captain, at Messina, viii. 78.
- Coercion bill, the Irish, 1838, v. 16—it is carried, 21—reflections on *ib.*, *ib.*—new, for Ireland, 1847, vii. 274.
- Coercion bills, the various Irish, vi. 373—effects of these in reducing crime, 375.
- Coffee, new taxes on, 1819, i. 200—prices of, 1824-5, iii. 251 note—reduction of duties on, 1825, 257 note—fall in, 1825-6, 262 note—imports of, 1827-9, 373 note—produce of, Jamaica, before and after emancipation, v. 52 note—and the West Indies, 1828-41, *ib.*—increased production of, in Ceylon, 54—consumption of, in England, 1722 and 1833, 413—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—exports of, from West Indies, before and after emancipation, 113 note—proposed reduction of duty on, 296—imports of, 1839-44, 311 note—reduction of duties on, 327—increased consumption of, during railway mania, 340 note—fall in price of, 1841 to 1845, 355 note—imports of, from West Indies, 1847-9, vii. 227 and note—increased consumption of, 1843-6, 260 note—prices of, 1845-51, 286 note.
- Coimbra, Miguélite feeling in, v. 117, 118.
- Coin, reformation of, under Elizabeth, i. 195—preference of bank notes to, iii. 290.
- Coinage, new silver, in Great Britain, i. 71—total amount of, in Great Britain, 1817 to 1822, ii. 144 note—decimal system of, iii. 280.

- Colborne, Sir John, defeats of the Canadian insurgents by, vi. 91—interim governor of Lower Canada, 96—energetic measures of, on the second outbreak of the insurrection, 101.
- Colchester, lord, on the state of the navy, 1840, vi. 137—and the recall of Lord Ellenborough, vii. 72.
- Cold, severity of the, in Great Britain, 1838, vi. 63.
- Coldbathfields meeting, the, 1833, v. 32.
- Coldbathfields prison, education among criminals in, vii. 274 note.
- Coleridge, S. T., poetic character of, i. 225.
- Collège de France, grant for, iv. 360 note.
- Colleges, secular, bill for establishing, in Ireland, vi. 347.
- Colleges of arrondissements, proposed new constitution, &c., of, i. 142.
- Colleges of departments, proposed new constitution, &c., of, i. 143.
- Colleges of electors, provisions of the new electoral law regarding, ii. 104.
- Colletta, general, suppression of the Sicilian revolt by, i. 368.
- Colletti, M., heads the opposition to Capo d'Istria, v. 259—Greek minister, vii. 235—his death, *ib.*
- Colliers, strike among the, vi. 77—institution of the darg among, 79—low wages of, in England, 1841, 281—riots of the, in England, 1842, 284—and iron-miners, great strike of the, in Lanarkshire, 1842, 285—its result, 286—rise in wages of, during railway mania, 339.
- Collin, general, evacuation of Cracow by vii. 202—returns to it, 203.
- Colloredo, count, negotiations by, for league against England, vii. 359.
- Colloredo, general, at Kapolna, viii. 243.
- Colmar, insurrection at, ii. 228—Louis Philippe at, iv. 146.
- Colocotroni, commencement of the Greek insurrection under, ii. 365—victory of, at Valtessa, 372—besieges Tripolizza, 374—its capture, 375—operations of, in the Morea, 389—capture of Napoli di Romania by, 391—at the battle of Mount Helicon, 398—retires to Napoli di Romania, 399—measures of, against the legislative, 401—gives in his adhesion to the senate, 403—renewed dissensions caused by, 409—rebellion and imprisonment of, *ib.*—defeated by Ibrahim, and evacuates Tripolizza, 414—again defeated, 415—forces under, 1826, 423—a partisan of Capo d'Istria's, v. 259—new revolt headed by, 260.
- Colocotroni, Kanos, resistance of to the legislative, ii. 403.
- Cologne, archbishop of, proceedings of, regarding mixed marriages, disputes with the Prussian government in consequence, and his forcible removal, iv. 246—adjustment of dispute with, 249.
- Cologne, Diet of, demand of the freedom of the press by, iv. 250—demands of the estates of, 254—disturbances in, 1830, 116—the cathedral of, 221, 290—commencement of works by Prussian government on it, 247—its inauguration, and speech of the King of Prussia at it, 251.
- Colomb, general, viii. 165.
- Colombes, condemned for attempt on the Duc d'Orleans, vii. 149.
- Colonial administration, complaints of, by the Canadian Assembly, vi. 96.
- Colonial government, true principles of, i. 313.
- Colonial empire of England, effects of the changes of 1830 on the, i. 5—influence of the reform bill on it, iv. 58—danger to it from the uniform representation system, 79.
- Colonial interest, growth of the, under the protective system, iv. 2.
- Colonial lands, new system regarding, vi. 125.
- Colonial produce, exports and depreciation of, iii. 371.
- Colonial settlements, necessity of republican institutions to, i. 39.
- Colonial shipping, change in the laws regarding, 1825, in. 260.
- Colonial sugar, motion regarding, 1844, vi. 327.
- Colonial system, the new, of England, vi. 125—anticipated results of repeal of the corn laws on, 369.
- Colonial timber, proposed duty on, iv. 15 note.
- Colonial trade, value of, as compared with the foreign, ii. 172—British, great increase of the, iii. 235.
- Colonies, true principles of government of, iii. 261—benefit to the parent state from, i. 318—support they afford to the mother country, *ib.*—true principles of government of, *ib.*—loss to the mother country from separation of, 319.
- Colonies, the British, their present state, i. 15—total exports to, 320 note—average exports per head to, ii. 173 note—shipping employed in trade with, iii. 235—present value of exports to, 239—motion for giving members to, iv. 37—indirect representation of, under the old constitution, 59—practical disfranchisement of, by the reform bill, 69, 70—subjected by it to adverse interests, 71—prospective abandonment of the, 72—thus defended by the Free-traders, *ib.*—adaptation of democratic government to, vi. 107—advantages of convict labour to, 122—increase of exports to, 1837-40, 289—value of exports, vii. 224—proof of their disfranchisement by the reform bill, 230—troops required for, 1816, 234—self-government conceded to, viii. 308—difficulties of their direct representation, 309—discontent produced by the results of the reform bill, *ib.*—new system toward them, 310.
- Colonies, effect of want of, in France, iii. 168—effects of the loss of them, 175.
- Colonies, difficulties arising in Germany from the want of, iv. 358.
- Colonies of Spain, her decline not due to them, i. 317—her tyrannical rule over them, 320.
- Colonisation, important resolution of parliament regarding, 1839, vi. 123—the debate on it, 124.
- Columbia, British consul appointed to, ii. 305—formal recognition of, by England, iii. 252.

- Columbia river, the, involved in the Oregon question, vi. 321—terms of Oregon treaty regarding it, 323.
- Columbian Mining Company, the, iii. 253 note.
- Combermere, lord, siege and capture of Blurtport by, vi. 197 *et seq.*—resignation of, 202—at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330.
- Combes, colonel, seizure of Ancona by, iv. 316—at assault of Constantine, v. 341—his death, *ib.*—parsimony of the Deputies to his widow, 342—pension to widow of, 379.
- Combination, repeal of laws against, iii. 244—effects of this, 245—arguments in favour of the repeal, 246—and against it, *ib.*—evils induced by, *ib.*—system to be followed regarding, 248—increasing frequency of, in Paris, vii. 133.
- Combination crimes, frequency of, and difficulty of convicting for them, vi. 73.
- Combination laws, effect of the repeal of the, vi. 73—parliamentary committee on the, 76.
- Comot, the, the first British steamboat, i. 215 note.
- Commerce newspaper, the, supports the Duke of Orleans, iv. 86.
- Commerce, contempt for, among the Affghans, vi. 209.
- Commerce, improvement of, in Algeria, v. 285—its amount, vii. 170, 189.
- Commerce, British, 1792 and 1815, i. 43—prosperous state of, 1818, 174—state of, 1818, 180—contrasted state of, 1815 and 1817, 194—effects of the resumption of cash payments on, ii. 144—acts relating to, passed in 1822, 207—statistics of, 1820-5, iii. 220 note—1815-23, 221—extension of, by the reciprocity system, 231—alleged effect of the protective system on, 238—annual value of, 239—statistics of, 1838-53, 241 note—numbers dependent on, iv. 77—stagnation of, during 1833, v. 29—amount of, with West Indies, 46—improved condition of, 1834, 56—1845-9, 401 note—prosperous state of, 1834-6, 405 and note—state of, 1837-42, vi. 62—comparison of navy with, 1792 and 1838, 138 note—1839-43, 282 note—effects of the distress on it, 282—improvement in, 1839-44, 311 and note—1815 and 1845, 333 note—effects of the railway system on, 310—flourishing state of, 1845, 342—1842 to 1847, 343 note—falling off in, 1847, vii. 290—1853-6, 325 note—1846 to 1852, viii. 286 and note.
- Commerce of Canada, increase of, since 1841, vi. 106.
- Commerce, foreign, small amount of, in China, vii. 3—indifference of the Chinese to, 4.
- Commerce, French, revival of, with the peace, ii. 77—statistics of, 78—its progress, iii. 125—effects of want of, 153—stagnation in, after revolution of 1830, iv. 129—depression of, 1831, 187, 139—improvement in, 1836, v. 304—prosperous state of, 1838, &c., 347 and note—French, English, and American, compared, vii. 325 note.
- Commerce, want of, in Germany, iv. 258—growth of, during the peace, viii. 140 note—effects of the Zollverein on, 145.
- Commerce, Indian, increase of, since abolition of the monopoly, v. 37—statistics of it, vi. 155 and note—decline of, under British rule, 164.
- Commerce, Ireland, statistics of, 1793-1823, iii. 267—before and since the Union, v. 62 note.
- Commerce, slight esteem for, in Russia, ii. 8—comparative want of it, 11.
- Commerce, Spanish, decline of, i. 319—that with her colonies, 320—advantages of Spain for, 321.
- Commerce, Turkish, in the hands of the Greeks, ii. 321—position of Constantinople as regards, 334.
- Commerce, United States, 1824-36, vi. 43 note.
- Commerce, West Indies, before and after emancipation, vi. 113 note.
- Commercial aristocracy, effects of the currency bill of 1819 on the, i. 3—danger from ascendancy of a, 161—transference of political power from the, iv. 1.
- Commercial bank, the, in India, vi. 171 note.
- Commercial capital, destruction of, in France by the Revolution, iii. 175.
- Commercial cities, comparative want of, in Germany, iv. 258.
- Commercial classes, growth of the, in England, as indicated by the free-trade movement, iii. 239—increased influence of the, and necessity for reform from this, iv. 68.
- Commercial code, probable effect of relaxation of, in India, vi. 200.
- Commercial crisis, disastrous effects of, ii. 138—causes which led to that of 1847, vii. 260—progress of the panic, 261—difference between this and former ones, 262—debates in parliament on it, *ib. et seq.*—that of 1856, 306 and note—of 1857, 309 note—in France after the revolution of 1848, viii. 12.
- Commercial discounts, diminution of, by the resumption of cash payments, ii. 145—amounts of, 1818-32, as compared with exports, &c., iii. 294 note.
- Commercial distress, effect of, in inducing the desire for reform, iii. 368—1847, queden's speech on, vii. 280.
- Commercial houses, general bankruptcy of, in America, 1839, vi. 60.
- Commercial interest, growth of the, under the protective system, iv. 2—representation of it, under the old constitution of England, 59—its comparative prosperity, 1842, vi. 286—preponderance of it over the agricultural, 380—influence of this with regard to the corn laws, 381—effects of its growth, vii. 220.
- Commercial losses, amount of, during crisis of 1847, vii. 285.
- Commercial morality, influence of the railway mania on, vi. 338.
- Commercial policy, results of the change of, in Great Britain, i. 5—the new system of, begun by Huskisson, iii. 226—change in, induced by the reform bill, iv. 70—necessity for liberal system of, in India, vi. 169.
- Commercial reciprocity, advantages of, to India, vi. 162.
- Commercial spirit, predominance of the, in Great Britain, i. 14.

- Commercial towns, want of representation of the, in Great Britain, iii. 305—of Germany, feeling, &c., in the, iv. 256.
- Commercial wealth, increase of, its effect in stimulating the desire for reform, iii. 365—destruction of, in France during the Revolution, vii. 134.
- Commissariat, difficulties of the French regarding, in Spain, ii. 286—undertaken by Ouvrard, 287.
- Commissariat fort at Cabul, position of the, vi. 248—its capture by the insurgents, 251.
- Commission d'Enquête, the, viii. 39, 40—its report on the revolts, 53.
- Commissions, purchase of, advantages of system, iii. 163.
- Committals, great increase of, in England, viii. 305, 306.
- Common Council of London, address of the, in 1816, i. 71.
- Commons, the influence of Canning in, ii. 215—Peel on the vacillation on the Catholic question in, iii. 346—influence of realised capital in, iv. 2—the old, all classes represented in, 59—this proved from its acts, 60—admission of talent through the close boroughs to, 64—the command of, gained by the shopkeepers, 66—the debates in, as contrasted with the Lords, 160—opposition to the Irish coercion bill in, v. 21—danger from collision with the Lords, vi. 23—majority for the sliding scale in, 293—report of committee of, on bank charter act, vii. 277.—See Parliament.
- Commons, regulations for division of, in Prussia, iv. 237.
- Communeros of Spain, the, ii. 235—their increased violence, 239.
- Communication, want of means of, in Russia, ii. 17, 21—effect of the want of means of, in Turkey, 328—defective means of, in India, vi. 162.
- Communism, advocacy of, by the French republicans, v. 365—Louis Blanc's principles of, vii. 163.
- Commutation of tithes, recommended by committee on Ireland, v. 7—its advantages, 8—scheme for compulsory, 9—bill for, 1835, 414.—See Tithes.
- Comoro, see Komoro.
- Compagnies d'Elite, decree dissolving the, viii. 27—demonstration against this, *ib.*
- Compass, early knowledge of the, in China, vii. 7.
- Competition, excessive, in France after the Revolution, and its effects, iii. 176—alleged influence of, on the national distress of 1830, 376.
- Comptoirs Nationaux, establishment of, in France, viii. 14.
- Concession, alleged effects of, in Ireland, iii. 349.
- Conciliation, failure of, in Ireland, ii. 192.
- Concilli, a leader of the Neapolitan revolution, i. 364.
- Concordat, failure of the law for establishing the, i. 295.
- Condé, the prince of, ii. 96—objects to taking the oath of fidelity, i. 117.
- Condeixa, defeat of the Pedrites at, v. 121.
- Condurriottis, appointed commander in the Morea, ii. 411—an opponent of Capo d'Istria's, v. 259—chosen president, 260.
- Confiscation, abolition of, in Turkey, iii. 7—effects of the early, in Ireland, 268—reform with regard to, in Turkey, v. 267.
- Confucius, followers of, in China, vii. 6.
- Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the, and proceedings at it, i. 297 *et seq.*
- Congress of Troppan, the, ii. 36—of Laybach, 37—discussion in parliament on them, 181.
- Congress of Verona, the, agreed to, ii. 258.—See Verona.
- Congress, the American, renewal of the bank charter by, vi. 53—decision in, on the withdrawal of the public deposits from it, 54.
- Coni, occupation of, by the Austrians, ii. 44.
- Connaught, state of the peasantry in, ii. 192—famine in, 1823, 193—Catholics and Protestants in, iii. 277 note.
- Conneau, Dr, aids Louis Napoleon to escape, vii. 206.
- Connecticut, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Conolly, Edward, vi. 241—death of, 243.
- Conolly, captain, description of Herat by, vi. 221—urges removal into the Bala-Hissar, 258.
- Conquest, general character of, vi. 152—passion for, in Russia, ii. 8—foreign, forced on Russia by her climate, 18—the destiny of Russia, 29—necessity of, to France, iii. 167—and to the British in India, vi. 159.
- Conscription, objections to the, in France, i. 291—partial abandonment of it, *ib.*—effects of its cessation, vii. 134—effects of, on the continental armies, 203.
- Consell, the expedition of, organised in Switzerland, vii. 351.
- Conservateur, the, the royalist journal in 1818, i. 805.
- Conservatism, decline of, among the higher classes in Britain, i. 267—reaction in favour of, v. 421.
- Conservative press, the, in England, 1835, v. 408.
- Conservatives and reformers, clear division of, in England, iv. 26—early error of the, regarding the reform bill, 67—what their course should have been, *ib.*—their error in throwing out the Wellington ministry, 68—faults of, regarding the reform bill, 76—their triumph in 1815 left the seeds of revolution in all European states, 261—effect of their firmness during the reform mania, v. 3—course taken by them on the Russo-Belgian loan, 7—general refusal of pledges by, 13—their losses in the elections of 1833, *ib.*—support government on the address, 1833, 14—opposition of, to the bill for reducing the Irish church establishment, 23—patriotic conduct of, 1833, 35—arguments of, against corporate reform bill, vi. 7—complaints against William IV. by, 43—gains of, by the elections of 1841, 147—different views of Peel taken by, at different times, 272—the new school of liberal, vii. 219—at elections of 1852, viii. 321.—See also Tories.
- Conservatives, the Swiss, policy, &c., of, vii. 352—supported by France and Austria, 354.

- Considérant, appointed by mob to provisional government, viii. 39.
- Constant, Benjamin, defeated in the elections for 1817, i. 289—returned as member to the Deputies, 305—the works of, prohibited in Spain, 339—elected a member of the Deputies, ii. 80—heads the extreme liberals in 1819, 88—arguments of, against the proposed law of arrest, 99—inflammatory address of, 108—attack on, at Saumur, 116—named a member of Berton's provisional government, 225—proposed to head the Spanish revolutionists, 282—on the disbanding of the National Guard, iii. 98—returned for Paris in 1827, 100, 106—efforts of, against the Polignac ministry, 118—objects of the party of, 160—at Lafitte's, iv. 90—accompanies the Duke of Orleans to the Hotel de Ville, 93.
- Constantine, the grand-duke, iii. 15—visit of, to Paris, i. 304—placed at the head of the grand-duchy of Warsaw in 1815, ii. 2—his previous history, 3—his character, 4—first measures of, as King of Poland, and training of the army, *ib.*—state to which he brought the latter, 5—his claim to the crown, and circumstances connected with it, 56—he refuses the throne, *ib.*—circumstances which led to this, 57—his previous renunciation of his right, *ib.*—plans of the conspirators with regard to, 60—the revolt nominally in his favour, 62—at the coronation of Nicholas, 75—tyranny of, as viceroy of Poland, iv. 175—proposed assassination of, 177—his supineness, *ib.*—his narrow escape from the insurgents, 178—retreats from Warsaw, *ib.*—negotiations of the provisional government with, 179—he sends back the Polish troops and retreats into Russia, 180—strange conduct of, during his retreat, 182—movements of, on Warsaw, 192—death of, 205.
- Constantine, the grand-duke, viii. 160—at battle of Watzow, 269.
- Constantine, Bey of, defeated by the French, v. 286—joins the league against the French, 333.
- Constantine, forces, &c., for the expedition to, v. 335—the march and its hardships, *ib.*—description of it, 336—repulse of the French, *ib.*—preparations for second expedition to, 340—siege of, *ib.*—the assault, 341—joy in France on the capture of, 343—province of, vii. 189.
- Constantinople, tendency of Russia toward, ii. 18—importance of their possession of, to the Turks, 320—encouragement of importation into, 326—population of, 331 notes—influence of, on the fortunes of mankind, 333—its situation, &c., 334 *et seq.*—natural barriers to conquest of, 341—the country between the Balkan and, 342—unchanging views of Russia on, 350—excitement in, on the Greek insurrection, and murder of the Patriarch, 368—fresh murders, *ib.*—threatened massacre of the Christians in, 380—rejoicings in, on the death of Ali Pasha, 383—revolution at, in favour of the Janizaries, 395—great fire at, *ib.*—revolt and destruction of the Janizaries at, iii. 4 *et seq.*—great fire in, 7—warlike preparations at, 23—excitement in, on the passage of the Balkan, 62—surrender of, to Russia agreed to by the Polignac ministry, 131—cholera in, iv. 317—effects of possession of, on Turkey, v. 242—danger of, after the battle of Konieh, 251—Russian fleet at, 254—academy established at, 268—military arrangements of the allies regarding, 269—danger of, from treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 397—secret proposals of Russia regarding, vi. 334.
- Constituencies, large, their jealousy of talent, iv. 73.
- Constituency, the, in France, under the Restoration, iii. 166.
- Constituent Assembly, the Austrian, meeting of, viii. 214—its composition, *ib.*
- Constituent Assembly, the French, discussion on constitution, viii. 56—argument on single Chamber, *ib. et seq.*—discussion on election of president, 58 *et seq.*—adoption of constitution, 60—efforts of the republicans against Louis Napoleon, 337—motion for its dissolution carried, 338.
- Constituent Assembly, the Spanish, of 1812, its composition, proceedings, &c., i. 327.
- Constitution, the new Austrian, 1849, viii. 239.
- Constitution, Danish, 1848, viii. 156.
- Constitution, the new, of France after the fall of Charles X., iv. 98—discussion on it, 1848, viii. 56 *et seq.*—adoption and proclamation of it, 60—summary of it, *ib.*—revision of it, 350—vote against it, 351.
- Constitution, the old, of Great Britain, principle of, iv. 69—its working as shown by the acts of the House of Commons, 60—what first broke it up, 61.
- Constitution, the German, 1848, viii. 162, 180—new, agreed to by Prussia, &c., 185 *et seq.*
- Constitution, Greece, proclamation of a, iii. 381—new, vii. 333.
- Constitution, establishment of, in Hanover, iv. 136.
- Constitution, new, Holland, 1848, viii. 148.
- Constitution, publication of a, in Naples, vii. 349—proclamation of a, 1848, viii. 77.
- Constitution, Piedmont, vii. 349.
- Constitution, the Polish, violations of, by Russia, iv. 175.
- Constitution, revival of question of, in Prussia, on accession of Frederick William IV., iv. 248—answer of the king to demand for it, 249—granting of a, 254—that of 1848, viii. 153 *et seq.*, 165—new, 172.
- Constitution, proclaimed in Rome, viii. 79.
- Constitution, the Spanish, of 1812, i. 327—its democratic character and tendency, *ib.*—its unsuitableness to the people, 328—unpopularity of, 329, 332—annulled by the decree of Valencia, 332—rejoicings at this, 333—of 1820, acceptance of, by the king, 349—adopted by the Portuguese revolutionists, 361—acceptance of, by the King of Naples, 365—adopted in Piedmont, 371.
- Constitution, proclaimed in Tuscany, vii. 349, viii. 80.
- Constitutional assemblies, provision for, by the constitution of the Germanic Confederacy, iv. 217.
- Constitutional governments, final act of the Germanic Diet regarding, iv. 232—its effect, 233.

- Constitutional monarchy, selection of ministry under, iii. 159.
- Constitutional party, increasing demands of the, in France, ii. 79.
- Constitutionalism, resolution of the German Diet against, iv. 226.
- Constitutionnel newspaper, the, ii. 82—prosecution of it, iii. 85—its circulation, 118 note—its tone, 1839, v. 364—in 1840, supports Thiers, 378.
- Constructive treason, the English law of, i. 170.
- Consumers, policy of government toward, in Turkey, ii. 327—influence of free trade on interests of, iii. 240 *et seq.*—and producers, collision of interests between, 886, iv. 61—increased *away* of, in Great Britain, 1—*and* influence given by the reform bill to them, 76, vii. 230—interests of, urge to repeal of the corn laws, vi. 382.
- Constantiniani, murder of Rossi by, viii. 108.
- Continent, reaction on the, against France, i. 1—change of policy in Britain toward, 15—strain on the money market, &c., 1819, 141—the first railway on, iv. 245—impression produced by the suppression of the Chartist insurrection in England, vii. 299—effects of the monetary crisis in England on, 313.
- Continental armies, composition of, compared with the British, vii. 233.
- Continental policy, change in, since the reform bill, iv. 57.
- Continental powers, Brougham on the conduct of the, toward Spain, ii. 270—how conciliated on behalf of government of Louis Philippe, iv. 352.
- Contributions, amount of, levied by the allies on France, i. 109.
- Convents, law regarding, in France, iii. 84—measures of the revolutionists regarding, in Switzerland, vii. 353.
- Conversion, removal of civil forfeitures on, in India, vi. 204.
- Convicts, efforts for amelioration of, in France, ii. 79—the ticket-of-leave system for, and its results, viii. 307.
- Convict labour, advantages of, to infant colonies, vi. 122.
- Convict settlement, proposed French, in the Marquesas, vi. 324.
- Convictions, difficulty of, in Ireland, vi. 374.
- Conyngham, the marquess of, visit of George IV. to, ii. 190—becomes postmaster-general, v. 64.
- Cooper, lieutenant, defeat of Akhtar Khan by, vi. 246.
- Coord Cabul desfile, the retreat through the, vi. 264—*ascent* of the plateau, *ib.*
- Coorg, rajah of, deposition of, vi. 205.
- Coote, lieutenant, at Hyderabad, viii. 62.
- Copenhagen, Nelson's attack on, as an illustration of naval attack on land defences, v. 358.
- Copley, Sir John, becomes Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Chancellor, *ut* 314.—See Lyndhurst.
- Copons, general, appointed captain-general of Madrid, ii. 249—compelled to resign, 250.
- Copper, reduction in price of, on the peace, i. 47—reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 280.
- Coppons, M. de, ii. 296.
- Copyright, debate on the law of, in France, 1841, vii. 143.
- Copyright act, passing of the, vi. 302—reflections on it, 303.
- Corbière, M. de, character of, i. 115, ii. 221—in the Chamber of Deputies of 1816, i. 275—proposed as president, *ib.*—conferences of, with Richelieu for a union with the royalists, ii. 115—placed at the head of the commission for public instruction, 118—appointed minister of public instruction, 120—resignation of, 124—minister of the interior in the Villèle ministry, 125—supports Villèle on the Spanish question, 206—resignation of, iii. 101.
- Corbin, colonel, at assault of Constantine, v. 341.
- Corcelles, M. de, violent language of, in the Deputies, ii. 169—leader of the conspiracy in the army, iii. 112—one of the conspirators at Belfort, 225.
- Cordon, baron, vii. 237.
- Cordova, general, defeats of, on the Ega, v. 170—reinforcements under, 174—relieves Bilbao, 184—and Puente de la Reyna, 185—defeated at Guevara, 198—plan of campaign, 194, 195—defeated at Arlaban, 196—subsequent movements, 197—renewed advance and retreat, 199—jealousies between him and Espartero, *ib.*—measures against Gomez, 200—*atrocities* of, 205—flight of, into France, 218.
- Cordova, reception of the French in, ii. 290—*atrocities* of the mob in, v. 187—*entry* of Gomez into, 202.
- Corfe Castle, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Corinth, capture of the citadel of, by the Greeks, ii. 376—seat of government transferred to, 881—surrender of the citadel of, to the Turks, 389—opposition government at, 1831, v. 259.
- Cork, memorial of magistrates of, on the state of the county in 1822, ii. 194 note—trials and sentences in, 194—the famine of 1823 in, 195 note—*crimes* in, 1823, iii. 275—operation of insurrection act in, 1824, 276 note—anti-tithe meeting at, 1832, v. 11—bill abolishing bishopric of, 23 note—proposed reform of corporation of, vi. 20—foundation of secular college of, 347—garrison required for, vii. 235 note—defensive measures of government at, 1848, 801.
- Cormack's house, defeat of Smith O'Brien at, vii. 301.
- Cormenin, M. de, advocates a republic, iv. 311—heads the committee of the secret societies, 373—letter by, on the treason trials, v. 293—pamphlet by, against the dotation of the Duke de Nemours, 376.
- Corn, dependence of Great Britain on foreign countries for, i. 5—supply of, companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note—bonded, letting out of, 1826, 288—proposed alteration in duties on, vi. 141.
- Corn law, modified, in 1822, ii. 199—bill of 1823, the, iii. 330.
- Corn laws, the, effects of the abolition of, on Russia, ii. 28—statistics illustrating the effects of the abolition of, iii. 242 note—remote cause of the repeal, 293—due to national suffering, *ib.*—motion for repeal

Corn laws, *continued*.

of, 1826, 801 *et seq.*—temporary relaxation of, 1826, 307—outcry for abolition, 1839, vi. 138—Mr Villiers's motion on them, 139—increased agitation on the subject, *ib.*—motion by Lord John Russell on, 1841, 141—declaration of Peel against repeal, 1841, 143—Peel's change of view on, 272—arguments used by the League against, 287—excitement against, 1842, 238—Sir R. Peel's plan, and his speech in favour of it, *ib. et seq.*—the sliding scale, 291—arguments against it, *ib.*—it is passed, 293—reception of it, 294—Peel on the effect of total repeal, 290—increased agitation against, 316—new efforts and arguments of the League against, 1845, 354—declarations in parliament on them, 355—further divisions on them, *ib.*—their abolition had become inevitable, 356—increased efforts of the League against, on the appearance of the potato disease, 358—Lord John Russell's letter, 359 *et seq.*—announcement in *Times* of their repeal being resolved on, 361—declaration in queen's speech on, 362—Sir R. Peel's argument for the repeal, *ib. et seq.*—reception of the measure in the country, 366—answer of Disraeli, *ib.*—arguments against bill, 367—result of debate, 370—Wellington's speech in the Lords, *ib.*—was a return to them after the scarcity practicable? 380—the danger of scarcity past before the bill for their abolition was brought in, *ib.*—durable reasons for their repeal, 381—their repeal not free trade, but removal of protection from agriculture, 382—conduct of the Irish members on the question, 383—conduct of the Duke of Wellington regarding, 384—and of Sir R. Peel, 385—their repeal inevitable, 386—breaking up of the old Tory party by the repeal, vii. 219—the demand for it caused by the currency laws, 220.

Corn trade, fall of houses engaged in the, 1847, vii. 276.

Cornegiano, the duke of, made a peer, i. 314—*See* Moncey.

Corneille, the dramas of, iv. 266.

Cornwall, additional members for, iv. 21 note—election of 1831 for, 34.

Cornwallis, lord, the Zemindar system as established by, vi. 160—his second administration of India, 172—his death, 173.

Coron, castle of, relieved by the Turks, ii. 398—evacuation of, by the French, v. 261.

Coronation oath, modification of the, in France, iii. 85.

Corporate punishment, universality of, in Russia, ii. 19—abolition of, in the Indian army, vi. 202—sentences of, in the army, 1839-43, vii. 231—necessity for it in the field, 233.

Corporate funds, administration of, under municipal reform bill, vi. 4, 5.

Corporations, the, in Russia, ii. 14—exclusion of dissenters from, by the test act, iii. 331—the English, government report on, vi. 4—bill for reform of, *ib.*—enactments of municipal reform bill regarding, *ib.*—the Irish, state of, 18—government plan of reform, and debate on it, 19 *et seq.*—bill carried in Commons, 22—altered in Lords, and finally rejected, *ib.*

Corporation reform, proposed by the Melbourne ministry, vi. 3—demand for, in Ireland, 376.

Correl, M., signs the protest against the ordinances, iii. 138.

Corruption, universality of, in Russia, ii. 26—Irish, debate on, 1824, iii. 276—alleged prevalence of, in parliament, iv. 25—increase of, under the reform bill, 74—which would still more increase under the ballot and extended suffrage, *ib.*—prevalence of, in France under Louis Philippe, 83—universal, in France, 140—foundation of the government of Louis Philippe on, 352—government, increase of, under Louis Philippe, 382—increase of, under the reform act, v. 12—alleged accomplishment of the Irish union by, 59—government patronage used as the means of, in France, 349—great increase of it, *ib.*—employment of, under the government of Louis Philippe, vii. 124—its universality, and causes of this, 125—great extent of, among the ministerial majority in France, 164—general, in France, 1847, 362—in the French government departments, 366—events which brought it to light, 367.

Corry, Hon. H. L., a lord of the admiralty, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Corsaire, suppression of the, iv. 334.

Corsica, landing and movements of Murat in, i. 135.

Corsini, prince, a member of the provisional government at Rome, viii. 110.

Corte, M., signs the protest against the ordinances, iii. 138.

Cortes, the Spanish, of 1812, composition, &c., of, i. 327—as settled by that constitution, *ib.*—their unpopularity, 328, 332—their influence on South America, 329—reception of Ferdinand VII. by, 331—their proceedings annulled by the decree of Valencia, 332—the summoning of them promised by that decree, 333—their dispersion, &c., 334—meeting and composition of, in 1820, 353—opening of, 354—report on the state of the army, *ib.*—the majority, and leaders in, 355—suppression of the Jesuits, and measures regarding entails, *ib.*—financial measures, *ib.*—closing of the session, and rupture with the king, 356—proposals for assembling, in Portugal, 361—mode of doing so, 362—meeting of, in Spain, and the king's speech, ii. 231—their conduct on the dismissal of the ministry, and appointment of new one, *ib.*—revolutionary laws passed by, 232—conduct of, on the murder of Vinuesa, 233—their further proceedings, 234—closing of the, 235—extraordinary convocation of, 238—contradictory resolutions, 239—composition of the new, 240—new laws against the press, &c., *ib.*—disunion between, and the government, 241—their proceedings, 242—severe laws passed by, 244—extraordinary powers given the ministry by, 245—reply of, to the French manifesto, 268—retire from Madrid on the advance of the French, 269—proceedings of, and deposition of the king, 291—negotiations of, with the French, 297—their dissolution, *ib.*—the Portuguese, insurrection against, 301—overthrown, *ib.*

- Cortlandt**, colonel, operations of, against the Sikhs, vii. 99.
- Corunna**, former importance of the trade of, i. 320—revolt of General Porlier at, 336—declared a free port, 341—insurrection at, 348—transportation of royalists from, ii. 232—the Comuneros in, 236—revolt of Meria at, 238—holds out for the revolutionists, 292—surrender of, 294.
- Corvée**, the, in Russia, ii. 16.
- Corvées**, disputes regarding the, in Galicia, vii. 198—abolition of, by Hungarian Diet, viii. 218.
- Corvetto**, M., i. 288—report by, on the finances for 1818, 296—retirement of, from the ministry, 308.
- Cossacks**, organisation, &c., of the, ii. 23—abolition of torture among the, iii. 10—number of, in Russia, 1831, iv. 189 note.
- Cote**, Dr., a leader of the Canadian insurgents, vi. 101.
- Cottenham**, lord, decision of, on O'Connell's case, vi. 309—lord chancellor, 1846, vii. 220.
- Cotton**, Sir Stapleton, *see* Combermere.
- Cotton**, general, afterwards Sir W., suppression of the slave insurrection by, v. 45—victory of, before Rangoon, vi. 188—further operations under, *ib.*, 190—at battle of Milloon, 191—during the Afghanistan expedition, 231—created a knight, 237—left in chief command after Sir J. Keane retires, 238—retires from command at Cabul, 247—occupation of Khypore by, vii. 52.
- Cotton**, fall in, 1818 to 1822, ii. 145 note, 201—prices, as compared with currency in England, iii. 219 note—prices, in England, 1822-5, 220 note—increased export from England, 1822, 222—prices, 1824-5, 251 note—consumption, 1822-5, *ib.*—fall in, 1825-6, 262 note—prices, 1818-32, as compared with currency, &c., 294 note—prices, 1827-9, 373 note—imports, 1827-9, *ib.*—raw, proposed duty on, iv. 15 note—prices, 1824-32, 63 note—reduction of duty on, 1833, v. 51 and note—fall in, in America, 1837, vi. 58, 60—prices, 1835 to 1839, 60 note—fall in, 1782-1837, 70 note—neglect of India as a field for production of, 162—imports, 1839-44, 311 note—abolition of duty on, 344—slave-grown, Lord John Russell on the admission of, vii. 222—failure of the crop, its alleged influence on the monetary crisis of 1847, 267—great rise in, from the crash of 1839 in America, 286—prices, 1845 to 1851, *ib.* note.
- Cotton goods**, increase in exports of, from Great Britain, i. 216—their diminished value, *ib.*—increased duties on importation of, into Prussia, iv. 255—export of, to India, v. 374—decline of exported, from India, vi. 166.
- Cotton manufacture**, progress of, in Great Britain, i. 215—progress of, in Germany, iv. 255—of India, effects of our commercial code on, vi. 200—proposed reduction of duties on, 362—growth of, vii. 270—exports of, 1840-56, *ib.* note.
- Cotton-spinners**, depressed state of the, in France, 1831, iv. 303—great strike of the, in Glasgow, 1837, and its break-up, vi. 74—indictment of the committee, *ib.*—their trial and sentence, 76.
- Cotton-spinners' trial** at Edinburgh, the, iii. 247 note.
- Cotton wool**, imports of, 1841 to 1847, vii. 267 note.
- Cotton yarn**, fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note.
- Council of Public Credit**, the, in Russia, ii. 32.
- Council of State**, the French, admission of liberals into, i. 309—debate on reform in, vii. 149—measures regarding, viii. 335—vote in, for dissolution of Assembly, 336.
- Counsel to prisoners**, bill regarding, vi. 27.
- Counties**, interests of the, at variance with those of the boroughs, iii. 366—proposed elective franchise for, iv. 21—majority for the, 1831, in favour of the reform bill, 34—the, strength of the reform feeling in, 64—comparative absence of bribery in, 74—restriction of time of polling in, under the reform act, v. 12—the elections of 1841 for, vi. 147.
- Country**, universality of love of, vi. 152—crowding of population into towns from, in France, iii. 175—fall in the value of industry in the, 379—mortality in, compared with that in towns, vii. 371 note.
- Country bankers**, over-issues of the, 1825, iii. 258—pressure on the, 1825, and failures among them, 262—their stability, 264—alleged over-issues of the, 1825, 268—alleged cause of the insecurity of, 290—anticipated effect of the suppression of small notes on the, 291—defence of the, from the charge of over-speculation, *ib.*—pressure on the, and its causes, 1823, *ib.*—alarm of the, on the bank act, vi. 328.
- Country banks**, circulation of, 1818-32, as compared with exports, &c., iv. 294 note.
- Country districts**, difference between the, and the towns in Spain, i. 324—comparative mortality of, vii. 313, viii. 302.
- County members**, majority of the, against the reform bill, iv. 20—number of, under the new reform bill, 46, 57—the reform bill carried by the, 65.
- County and borough members**, disproportion between, iv. 66.
- Coup d'état**, arguments for a, in 1816, i. 152—preparations for the, and its execution, viii. 354.
- Coups d'état**, repeated in France, i. 315—these all on the popular side, 316—frequency and necessity of, in France, iii. 177—origin of this, 178.
- Courand**, captain, desertion of Murat by, i. 136.
- Courcelles**, M., on reform, 1841, vii. 143.
- Courier**, Paul, opposed to the ultramontane party, iii. 75—efforts of, against the Polignac ministry, 118—the works of, 207.
- Courland**, enfranchisement of the serfs of, ii. 34—the acquisition of, by Russia, 348.
- Courrier newspaper**, the organ of the Doctrinaires, ii. 82.
- Courrier Français**, the, on Charles X., iii. 73—prosecution of, 85—circulation of, 118 note—supports the Duke of Orleans, iv. 86—denunciations of Casimir Perier by, 144—suppression of it, 334—its tone, 1839, iii. 363—supports Thiers, 1840, 378.

- Courrier de Gand, the, i. 86.
 Courrier de la Sarthe, prosecution of the, vii. 148.
 Courtais, general, and the Compagnies d'Elite, vii. 28—conduct of, on the revolt of March, 31, 32—irresolution of, on the revolt of 15th May, 37—dismissed from command, 39.
 Courtarvel, M., motion by, regarding the censorship of the press, ii. 123.
 Courts-martial, law passed in France establishing, i. 120—proceedings of the, and their dissolution, iv. 339.
 Courvoisier, M. de, in the Chamber of 1816, i. 275—arguments of, in favour of the new laws regarding personal freedom and the liberty of the press, 280—on a proprietary clergy, 287—for the new law of recruiting, 292—amendment on the new electoral law moved by, ii. 108—minister of justice, iii. 109—character of, 112—resignation of, 131.
 Cousin, M., the writings of, iii. 202—a leader of the liberals in the Peers, v. 344—minister of public instruction under Thiers, 376 note—opposition of, to the bill regarding Jesuit schools, vii. 193—and to the Jesuits, 195—at the last council of Louis Philippe, 394.
 Coussergues, Clausel de, charge brought against Decazes by, ii. 94.
 Covent Garden Theatre, the anti-corn-law bazaar in, vi. 358.
 Coventry, riots at, 1839, iii. 374—reform riots at, iv. 45.
 Cowley, lord, and the Spanish marriage question, vii. 215.
 Cox, inspector, dispersion of Smith O'Brien's followers by, vii. 301.
 Crabbe, Rev. George, the poems of, i. 226.
 Cracow, establishment of the republic of, ii. 3—its population and revenue, 1831, iv. 190—insurrection in, and its occupation by Russia, 255—the occupation of, by the allies, and negotiations of France regarding it, v. 311—disturbances at, and its abandonment by the Austrians, vii. 201—its recapture, 203—and annexation, *ib. et seq.*—formal incorporation of, with Austria, 331—Lamartine on the annexation of, 378—insurrection organised in, viii. 206.
 Cradock, Sir John, regulations of, regarding the sepoy, vi. 173—recalled, 174.
 Craigie, captain, defence of Khelat-i-Ghilzye by, vii. 35.
 Craudi, the Greek senate retires to, ii. 402.
 Credit, contraction of, by the suppression of small notes, and effect of it, in. 368—depressed state of, in France, 1831, iv. 139—effects of the revolution of 1830 on, 383—stoppage of, in Great Britain, 1840, vi. 66—prostration of, in France, 1848, viii. 6.
 Creeds, variety of, in India, vi. 204.
 Crémieux, M., opposes a regency, vii. 599—nominated one of the provisional government, 400 note—votes for, 1848, viii. 34 note—minister of justice, 1848, 36 note—motion by, on divorce, 55—after the coup d'état, 350.
 Cremona, revolt in, viii. 74.
 Crete, insurrection in, ii. 365—operations in, during 1821, 377—and 1823, 391, 400—Mahomet Ali confirmed in government of, v. 255.—*See also* Candia.
 Creton, general, a member of the permanent commission, viii. 345—moves repeal of the laws against the Bourbons, 347, 349.
 Criers, law against, in Paris, iv. 369.
 Crime, proportion of, to education in various countries, i. 26—why education fails to arrest, 27—on the causes of the increase of, 201—its increase with the relaxation of the criminal code, 204—true principles with regard to its treatment, 206—increase of, caused by reduction of the duties on spirits, iii. 258—commitments for, and spirits consumed, 1821-48, *ib. note*—statistics of, in Ireland, as compared with Scotland and England, 1822-34, 278 note—prevalence of, in Ireland, 1823, 275—increase of, in Ireland, 1831, iv. 48—statistics of, in relation to education, 221—in Prussia, *ib.*—in Austria, 222—increase of, in Ireland, 1832, v. 10, 15—statistics of it, 16 note, 17—its diminution under the coercion act, 22—Mr Attwood on the increase in, 29—increase of, in England, 1842, vi. 69—1833 to 1842, *ib. note*—ratio of, to population in Glasgow, 1822-38, 77 note—increase of, in Ireland, 1837-9, 132—commitments for, 1825-40, *ib. note*—decrease of, in Ireland, during the temperance movement, 805—again increases, 306—from 1839 to 1849, *ib. notes*—diminution of, during the railway mania, 340—increase of, in Ireland, 1845, 346—and 1844-5, 372 and note—and 1847, vii. 274 and note—its increase, 1847-8, 292—effects of the gold discoveries on, viii. 328 and note.
 Crimes and punishments, the act of, vi. 122.
 Crimea, last journey of the Emperor Alexander in the, ii. 53—the acquisition of, by Russia, 348—frequency of flogging in the, vii. 233.
 Crimean war, causes of the, viii. 358.
 Criminal code, relaxations of the, in Great Britain, i. 183—increase of crime with its relaxation, 204.
 Criminal commitments, England, 1833-42, vi. 69 note.
 Criminal courts, Irish, scenes at, iii. 272.
 Criminal law, Mackintosh's arguments for reform in, i. 183 *et seq.*—reflections and results of experience on the subject, 204—efforts of Sir J. Mackintosh to improve the, in 182—motion by Sir James Mackintosh on it, 1822, 198—continuation of Peel's reforms of it, 321—further reforms of, vi. 122—Peel's ameliorations of, 275.
 Criminal law commissioners, the report of the, vi. 122.
 Criminal procedure, commission on, in the Papal States, vii. 339.
 Criminal punishment, amelioration in, in Great Britain, i. 172.
 Criminal trials, demands of Estates of Prussia for reform in, iv. 254—law for disjunction of, in France, v. 324—its rejection, 325—publicity of, decreed in Piedmont, vii. 348.
 Criminals, release of, in Ireland under Lord Normanby, vi. 36—indiscriminate libera-

Criminals, continued.

- tion of, by him, 184—large proportion of partially educated, 314—proposed new regulations regarding support of, 363—statistics of education among, vii. 274 note—introduction of ticket-of-leave system for, viii. 307.
- Crispin, lieut., death of, vi. 244.
- Croatia, proposed union of, to Hungary, viii. 207.
- Croats, the, hostility of, to the Magyars, viii. 207, 212, 223—fidelity of, to the Austrian government, 209—prepare to oppose, the revolutionists, 212.
- Croi, the duke de, resignation of, iv. 99.
- Croix-Rousse, meeting of the Lyons workmen at, iv. 306—insurrection at the, 307—destruction of the, viii. 22.
- Croker, Mr, rejected from Dublin University, 1830, iii. 394—and the details of the reform bill, iv. 37.
- Croker, colonel, at the assault of Gluznee, vi. 235.
- Croly, Dr, the works of, i. 255.
- Crompton, Mr, solicitor-general for Ireland, 1830, iv. 3 note.
- Cromwell, support given to the press by, i. 29—the navigation laws originated by, iii. 227.
- Cronstadt, population of, ii. 11 note—the inundation of Nov. 1834 at, 49—the Russian fleet at, 24.
- Crops, decline of, in West Indies, from exhaustion of the soil, v. 50—deficiency of the, in France, 1845 and 1846, vii. 364.
- Crosses, decree ordering removal of, from churches of Paris, iv. 142.
- Crown, the, power of, as defined by the Spanish constitution of 1812, i. 327—power given to, by the Tchin in Russia, ii. 13—alleged danger to, from reform, iv. 25—increased power of, in France, by the suppression of the peerage, 302—augmentation of power of, under Louis Philippe, 351—power of, in Holland by constitution of 1848, viii. 148.
- Crown colonies, members proposed to be given to the, iv. 37 note.
- Crown debtors, amnesty to, in Prussia, iv. 248.
- Crown domains, the, in Russia, ii. 25.
- Crown lands, new system regarding, vi. 125.
- Crown peasants, the, in Russia, ii. 14.
- Crown serfs, enfranchisement of the, by Alexander, ii. 31.
- Croydon, reform disturbances at, iv. 44.
- Croz, prince of, fidelity of, to Charles X., iii. 157.
- Crux, don José de la, minister-at-war, ii. 300 note.
- Csaryi, count, execution of, viii. 281.
- Csoritch, general, defeat of, viii. 259.
- Cuba, acceptance of the constitution in, i. 354—number of slaves in, v. 39—free negro labour in, 48—increased exports of manufactures to, 53 and note—increased production of, since emancipation, 53—increased importation of slaves into, 54, 110—increased production, &c., of sugar in, since 1847, vii. 227 and note—exports to, 1846 to 1855, 228 note—imports from, *ib.*
- Cubides, general, envoy to Rome, on the seizure of Ancona, iv. 315—his defence of that step, 316—minister-at-war, 1839, v. 360 note, 376 note—the trial, &c., of, vii. 368.
- Cuffey, the Chartist, trial and sentence of, vii. 300.
- Cultivation, rapid extension of, in the United States, vi. 48.
- Cultivators, contrast between the, in England and Russia, ii. 18.
- Cumberland, the duke of, attack on, by the London mob, iv. 41—and the Orange lodges, vi. 12—accession of, to the throne of Hanover, 42.
- Cumberland, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Cunin-Gridaine, M., minister of commerce under Soult, 1839, v. 363 note, 391 note.
- Cunninghame, Mr J., solicitor-general for Ireland, 1835, v. 421 note.
- Cureton, brigadier, at Aliwal, viii. 91—at Solvaon, 93—death of, at Rannuggur, 101.
- Currants, reduction of duties on, vi. 327—increased consumption of, during railway mania, 340 note—fall in price of, 1841-5, 355 note—increased consumption of, 1845-6, vii. 260 note.
- Currency, the, contraction of, dangers to Great Britain from, i. 13—effects of an abundant, 17—influences of contraction and expansion of, 18—its expansion during the war, *ib.*—effects of the contraction, since the peace, 19—amount of the contraction, *ib.*—contraction of, 1817, and its effects, 162—Horner's errors on, 172—increased, 1818, and its effects, 172, 180—insufficiency of, to population, 196—deficient during the fall of the Roman empire, ii. 135—great effects of variations in, 137—value of an inconvertible one, 138—fluctuations to which subject when based on the precious metals, *ib.*—danger of it when thus circumstanced, 140—true system of it, *ib.*—effects of extension of, in England in 1818, 142—contraction of, in England in 1819, and its effects, 143—effects of the contraction in Ireland, 193—motion of Mr Western on, 1822, 199—Attwood on the contraction of, 202—contraction of, by bill of 1819, iii. 217—causes which augmented it, in England, 1823, 218—the rise of prices from its augmentation not immediate, *ib.*—extension of, in England, 1824, and prosperity caused by it, 251—increased paper, authorised in 1825, 263—true principles on which to be based, 264—advantage which would have accrued to Ireland from extension of, 273—the distress of 1825 due to system of, 283—contraction of, the alleged cause of the distress of 1825, 291—the fluctuations in, as the cause of the crash of 1825, *ib.*—invariable effect of contraction of, on prices, 295—measures which should have been followed with it, 296—amounts of, 1818-32, as compared with exports, &c., 294 note—amount of, compared with prices of wheat, 1818-26, 320 note—contraction of, its effects with regard to Catholic emancipation, 357—and in stimulating the desire for reform, 366—state of, and petitions for reform in relation to

Currency, *continued*.

this, 1820-30, 366 note—division among the Tories caused by the effects of its contraction, 367—diminution of, by the suppression of small notes, and effect of it, 368—state of, alleged as the cause of the national distress, 1830, 376—comparative amount of, during the war and in 1830, 377 note—examination of Wellington's statement regarding, 376—motion by Mr Attwood on, 381—contraction of, the cause of the abandonment of the sinking fund, 385—and of the cry for reform, 386—contraction of, urged on by the advocates of the cheapening system, iv. 61—contraction of, the fall of prices caused by it as inducing the passion for reform, 62—contraction of, its effects on the moneyed and producing classes, 78—Mr Attwood on the effects of the changes in, v. 29—reply of ministers on it, 30—influence of change in, on price of sugar, 51—effect of recent changes in, 1834, on industry, 56—contraction of, its effect with regard to the poor-rates, 73—contraction of, its effect on the foreign relations of the country, 281—danger of one depending on retention of the precious metals, 400—double danger of its being dependent on that of gold, *ib.*—necessity for a double, 402—motion on, 1835, vi. 11—motion for investigation into, 1836, 28—effects of the distress in Great Britain on, 1839, 65—contraction of, 1840, 66—contraction of, its results, 1840, 138—deficiency of, in India, 170—Peel's views on, 277—contraction, the fall of prices caused by it made the new tariff necessary, 300—results which would have ensued from its expansion, *ib.*—improved state of, from fine harvest of 1843, 310—amount of, 1844, 335—inequidity of, in France, and its effects, vii. 126—contraction of, 1840, and its effect on wages, &c., 135—the French, 1840-7, 366 note.

Currency bill of 1819, effect of the, i. 8—causes which brought it about, ii. 139.

Currency laws, the, effects of the increased stringency of, in Great Britain, i. 5—great effect during the peace of the changes in, v. 399—their leading evils, *ib.*—errors from which these spring, 400—effects of, in inducing the prosperity of 1837, 404—their operation leads to corn-law repeal, vii. 220.

Currency question, discussion of the, in re-

lation to the recent history of Great Britain, ii. 184 *et seq.*

Currency system, the, distress of 1842, &c., due to the, vi. 287—fall of prices from the, 366—the new, its action with regard to the corn laws, 381—Mr Baring, &c., on the, as the cause of the crisis of 1847, vii. 262 *et seq.*—dangers of, combined with free trade, 304, 305, 309.

Curtatone, storming of, by the Austrians, viii. 93.

Curtis, Dr, letter to Wellington from, and his reply, ii. 341.

Curwen, Mr, speech of, on agricultural distress, ii. 184.

Custine, the marquis, on the position of the Russian serf, ii. 15 note—on the climate, &c., of Russia, 18—on Russia, 29—anecdote of Nicholas by, 76 note.

Custom-house duties, the, in Russia, ii. 25.

Customs, addition to the, 1839, vi. 136—revenue from, in India, 166—large produce of, 1844, 327—comparative contributions per head to, in Scotland and Ireland, vii. 254.

Customs League, the, *see* Zollverein.

Custoza, battle of, viii. 101.

Cuvier, M., supports the establishment of courts-martial, i. 120—made a councillor of state, 300—supports re-establishing the censorship, iii. 94—the works of, 205—death of, iv. 320.

Cydonia, bloody conflict in, ii. 372.

Cypriani, one of Napoleon's attendants at St Helena, ii. 129.

Cyprus, the conquest of, by the Turks, ii. 332—massacres in, 348—fortresses of, re-victualled by the Turks, 384—operations in, during 1823, 391—excluded from kingdom of Greece, in. 65—proposed cession of, to England, vi. 334.

Cyrille, the patriarch, execution of, ii. 366.

Czartoryski, Prince Adam, a member of the provisional government of Poland, iv. 179, 180—negotiations with Constantine, 179—appointed member of national council, 185—speech of, in the Diet, 188, viii. 164.

Czartoryski, Prince Constantine, iv. 196.

Czercky, religious movement headed by, iv. 253.

Czernitz, commencement of the revolt in Wallachia at, ii. 362.

Czerny George, the revolt of, against Turkey, ii. 333, 350.

Czysto, struggle at bridge of, iv. 212.

D

D'Abisbal, *see* Abisbal.

Dacca, cotton manufacture in, vi. 201—bank, the, 171 note.

Dadur, route of the Afghanistan expedition by, vi. 229.

Dahlmann, M., vice-president of the Vorparliament, viii. 155—rejected for the general Diet, *ib.*

Daily press, different class of writers for the, in France and England, iii. 211—influence of the destruction of property on it in

France, *ib.*—and of the facility of revolution, 212.

Dame, general, Belgian forces under, iv. 153.

Dalhousie, lord, declaration of, against the veto act in the General Assembly, vi. 86—grants for public works under, 160—appointed governor general of India, and his character, vii. 97—disturbances in the Punjab, 98—second Sikh war, 99 *et seq.*—peace improvements and public works

- Dalhousie, *continued*.
 under, 107—second Burmese war, 108—
 peace, 110—annexation of Oude, 111.
- Dalkeith palace, visit of George IV. to, ii.
 208.
- Damas, M. de, becomes minister of foreign
 affairs, ii. 810.
- Damas-Caux, the duke de, resignation of, iv.
 99.
- Damascus, population of, ii. 331 note—ces-
 sion of, to Mehemet Ali, v. 255.
- Dambray, the vicomte, resigns under Louis
 Philippe, iv. 99.
- Danesne, general, during the insurrection of
 June, viii. 44, 46—wounded, 46, 49.
- Damietta, naval successes of the Greeks at,
 ii. 393.
- Damjanics, general, at Tapio Biske, viii. 252
 —at Isaszeg, 253—subsequent movements,
 254—opposed to declaration of independ-
 ence, 256—views of, 260—wounded, 263—
 execution of, 231.
- Damremont, general, appointed to command
 in Algeria, v. 338—jealousies between him
 and Bugeaud, *ib.*—views of, as conveyed
 to the latter, *ib.*—forces, &c., of, for siege
 of Constantine, 339—its siege, 340—his
 death, 341—parsimony of the Deputies,
 342.
- Danby, the paintings of, i. 262.
- Danes, the, in England, i. 317.
- Danesi, M., the affair of, ii. 378—his sentence
 commuted to exile, 380.
- Danewirke, defeat of the Danes at, viii. 150
 —defeat of the Holstein insurgents at, 195.
- Danish states, railway from Prussia to the,
 iv. 251.
- Danneker, the works of, iv. 297.
- Dantzic, the duke of, made a peer, i. 314.
- Dantzic, diminished export of wheat from,
 iii. 301—average price of wheat at, vi. 292
 —prices of grain at, viii. 294.
- Danube, the, line of, as a frontier defence to
 Turkey, ii. 341—passage of, by the Rus-
 sians, iii. 17—the Russians withdrawn
 across, 29—passage of, by them, 1829, 52—
 islands at mouth of, ceded to Russia, 62—
 fortresses on, terms of the treaty of
 Adrianople regarding them, 63—society for
 promoting the navigation of, iv. 245—
 stipulations of treaty with Austria regard-
 ing, v. 263—in Hungary, viii. 240.
- Daradis, deflex of, iii. 12.
- Darband de Jouque, M., at Nîmes, i. 101.
- Dardanella, the, the Greek fleet in, ii. 372—
 terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding,
 iii. 62—and of Unkiar-Skelessi, v. 256—
 stipulations of commercial treaty with
 England regarding, 262—terms of treaty
 with Mehemet Ali regarding, 279—and of
 the whole European powers, *ib.*—treaty of
 the allies regarding closing of, 396—reflec-
 tions on this, 397 *et seq.*—entered by the
 British fleet, viii. 318.
- Darfour, assigned by treaty to Mehemet Ali,
 v. 279—treaty between Turkey and Me-
 hemet Ali regarding, 396.
- Darg, institution of the, among colliers, &c.,
 vi. 79.
- Dariel, pass of, ii. 345.
- Darnes, the attempt of, to assassinate Louis
 Philippe, his trial and sentence, v. 383.
- Dartmouth prison, statistics of, viii. 307 note.
- Daru, views of, before the coup d'état, viii.
 353.
- Daulis, defeat of Albanians near, ii. 424.
- Daumenil, general, repulse of the mob at
 Vincennes by, iv. 122—reception of the
 ex-ministers by, 126.
- Daunou, M., elected to the Deputies, ii. 80.
- David, M., heroism of, at Smyrna, ii. 368.
- Davidoff, colonel, condemned to Siberia, ii. 69.
- Davidson, one of the Cato Street conspira-
 tors, ii. 158—execution of, 160.
- Davila, the writings of, iv. 232.
- Davis, Mr., chief commissioner at Canton,
 vii. 9.
- Davix, general Moreno, appointed governor
 of Seville, ii. 238.
- Davoust, marshal, strength of the army of
 the Loire under, i. 95—his submission, and
 proclamation to his troops, *ib.*—on the
 capitulation of Paris as regarded Ney, 128.
- Davy, Sir Humphry, i. 233.
- Dawes, capt., at Chillianwallah, vii. 102.
- Dawson, Mr., mission of, resolved on by the
 ministry, iii. 340—his speech at London-
 derry, *ib.*—disavowed, and dismissed from
 office, 341.
- Dead weight, what, and equalisation of it in
 1822, ii. 206—conversion of it, iii. 223.
- Death, inexpedience of punishing political
 offences with, i. 158—punishment of, mo-
 tion for abolition of, vi. 122—it abolished
 for political offences in France, viii. 19. 60.
- Debates, publicity of, demands of the estates
 of Prussia for, iv. 254—it decreed in Pied-
 mont, vii. 346.
- Debats, the, circulation of, iii. 118 note—on
 the appointment of Casimir Perier, iv. 143.
- Debrecezin, removal of the Hungarian gov-
 ernment to, viii. 243—capture of, by the
 Russians, 266—battle of, 271 *et seq.*
- Debts, increased weight of, from the cur-
 rency bill of 1819, i. 3, 13.
- Decan, general, i. 140.
- Decan, settlement of Pindarrees in the, vi.
 182.
- Decay, causes which led to, in France, i. 160
 —and in England, 161.
- Decazes, M., at the entry of Louis XVIII
 into Paris, i. 88—solicitations of Fouché
 to, 104—influence of, with Louis XVIII.,
 105—minister of police under Richelieu,
ib.—biography and character of, 106—in-
 troduces law suspending individual lib-
 erty, 119—efforts of, for the escape of the
 proscribed Napoleonists, 123—views of, as
 to the electoral law, 151—arguments of,
 for a coup d'état, 152—raised to the peer-
 age, 273—arguments of, against the new
 law of elections, 277—carries it in the
 Peers, 278—arguments of, in favour of the
 new laws regarding personal freedom, and
 the liberty of the press, 280—menior of
 the royalists against, 301—the Emperor
 Alexander's estimate of him, 304—his
 views in 1818, 307—tenders his resignation,
ib.—his removal demanded by Richelieu,
ib.—minister of interior, 308—first mea-
 sures of, *ib.*—arguments of, against change
 in the electoral law, 301—difficulties of his
 ministry, ii. 82—feelings of, on the elec-
 tions of 1819, 85—ordered to prepare a

Decazes, *continued*.

new electoral law, 86—becomes president of the council, *ib.*—attacks of the press on, 87—general indignation against, after the death of the Duke de Berri, 94—the king resolves on supporting him, *ib.*—his dismissal resolved on, 95—he resigns, *ib.*—appointed ambassador to London, 96—character of, 97—merits of his measures as a statesman, 98—effects of his fall on the distribution of parties, *ib.*—at the death of Louis XVIII., 312—a leading Doctrinaire, *iii.* 113.

Decazes, madame, *i.* 307.

Decimal system of coinage, advantages of, *iii.* 280.

Degerando, M., made a councillor of state, *i.* 309.

Delamain, captain, *vii.* 42.

Delatot, M., *iii.* 103—vote for, for the presidency, 118.

Delavan, M., a leader of the Parti-prêtre, *iii.* 75.

Delaware, statistics of banks in, *vi.* 49 note.

Del Carretto, the Neapolitan minister, *viii.* 77.

Delessert, M., *iii.* 140 note—returned to the Deputies in 1817, *i.* 289—majority for, as vice-president of Deputies, *iv.* 357—arguments of, against reduction of interest on debt, *v.* 306.

Delhi, state of the country round, *vi.* 159—bank, the, 171 note.

Deville, the abbé, the works of, *iii.* 206.

Delonny, general, during the Three Days, *iii.* 144.

Demarcy, general, named a member of Berton's provisional government, *ii.* 225.

Dembewielkie, defeat of the Russians at, *iv.* 198.

Dembinski, general, inaction of, at Wilna, *iv.* 207—successful retreat of, *ib.*—appointed commander-in-chief, 209—position and forces of, 210—assault of Warsaw, 211—at battle of Kopolna, *viii.* 247 *et seq.*—displaced from the chief command, 249—forces under, 264—defeated at Tzombor, 269—at Szegedin, 274—jealousy of Georgey, and his retreat, 277—takes refuge in Turkey, 280—becomes Mohammedan, 318.

Dembrowski, general, services of Chlopicki under, *iv.* 181.

Dembrowski, Leon, a member of the national council, *iv.* 185.

Demerara, slave insurrection in, and death of Smith the missionary, *v.* 44—decline of population in, and increase of punishments, 47.

Demir-Kapi, pass of, *ii.* 345.

Democracy, tendency to, in the Spanish towns, *i.* 324—and in the army, *ib.*—Castlereagh's opposition to, 215—Canning on the dangers of, *iv.* 26—England now the leader of, 57—strength given to the British government by, 77—connection between Poland and the cause of, 174—influence of, on Poland and Russia, 214—measures of Austria and the Diet against, 226, 227—strength of, in the country in the United States, *vi.* 51—Guzot on the characteristics of, 303—purposes answered by, *viii.* 305.

Democrats, indignation among the, in France, *iv.* 139—extravagances adopted by the, *ib.*—arrest of leaders of, 338—disappointment of the, with the revolution of 1830, *vii.* 362.

Democratic ascendancy, results of, in Great Britain, *i.* 32—in the United States, *ib.*—results of, in France, 160.

Democratic Committee, efforts of the, to rouse Paris in 1820, *ii.* 108.

Democratic feeling, rise, &c., of the, in Germany, *iv.* 255—progress of, in Switzerland, *vii.* 351.

Democratic government, effects of establishment of, in Canada, *vi.* 167—its adaptation to new colonies, *ib.*

Democratic institutions, expansive character of, *vi.* 323.

Democratic party, measures of the, against the banks in the United States, *vi.* 52 *et seq.*—their enmity to their extension in the back settlements, 53.

Democratic passion, persistence of, in France, *i.* 1—development of, during the peace, 2—violence of, in towns, 34.

Democratic press, treatment of the, under Louis Philippe, *iv.* 352.

Democratic spirit, strength of the, in Flanders, *iv.* 110.

Denison, Mr., motion by, on the Speakership, 1835, *iv.* 410.

Denman, Mr., afterwards lord, negotiation conducted by, on behalf of the queen, *ii.* 176—at the trial of the queen, 177—his defence of the queen, 179—attorney-general, 1830, *iv.* 4 note—on the Stockdale case and privilege of Parliament, *vi.* 130—decision of, on O'Connell's case, 309.

Denmark, contributions from France to, *i.* 109 note—reciprocity treaty with, in 231 note—shipping employed in trade with, 233—exports to, 1840-9, 234 note—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, *iv.* 217 note—king of, refusal of constitution to Holstein by, 233—the income-tax in, *vi.* 301 note—treaty with, regarding the slave trade, *vii.* 138—first encroachments of Germany on Schleswig-Holstein, *viii.* 156—history of the question, *ib.*—claims of the Duchies, 157—their invasion by Prussia, 158—victory of the Danes, *ib.*—renewed invasion, and victories of the Prussians, 159—intervention of Sweden, &c., 160—armistice, 161—resolution of the Diet at Frankfort regarding, 173—renewal of hostilities in the Duchies, 191 *et seq.*—treaty with Prussia, 192—renewal of war, 198—final settlement, 195.

Dennie, colonel, at the assault of Ghuznee, *vi.* 235—pursuit, &c., of Dost Mohammed by, 243—death of, before Jellalabad, *vii.* 65.

Dennis, general, at Maharajpore, *vii.* 69.

Dent, Mr., case of, at Canton, *vii.* 10.

Dentici, prince, *viii.* 77.

Deothul, defeat of the Ghoorkas at, *vi.* 176.

Departments, colleges of, 1815, *i.* 90—colleges of electors for, *ii.* 104.

Departmental municipalities, law for the, *iii.* 107.

Deptford, preparations against the Chartists at, *vii.* 297.

Deputies, Chamber of, change in the mode of election for the, i. 90—new constitution and mode of election of, *ib.*—ultra-royalist character of, 1815, 103—their violent temper and disposition, 113—their composition, and parties in, *ib.*—1815, the provincial members, 114—the opposition and its leaders, 115—opening of, and the king's speech, 116—their reception of it, 117—difficulties about the oath of fidelity, and election of president, *ib.*—their answer to the royal speech, 118—law against seditious cries, *ib.*—law suspending individual liberty, 119—reception of the proposed amnesty by, 141—new law of elections proposed in, 142—discussion on the two projected laws of election, 144—that of the royalist's carried, *ib.*—the budget, *ib. et seq.*—proposition regarding the clergy, 146—discussion on the endowment of the church, 147 *et seq.*—discussion on the law of divorce, 148—changes regarding, by the ordinance of September 5th, 154—state of parties after the elections of 1816, 273—opening of, 1816, and the king's speech, 274—state of parties, 275—discussion on the new law of elections, *ib. et seq.*—discussion on laws regarding individual freedom, and the liberty of the press, 279 *et seq.*—vote by, to relieve the scarcity of 1817, 281—debate on the law regarding bequests to the church, 286 *et seq.*—the elections of 1817, 289—discussion on the new law of recruiting, 291 *et seq.*—discussion on law regarding the liberty of the press, 1818, 291—the elections of 1818, 305—ascendancy of the liberals in, 1818, 314—number of electors for, ii 78—increasing strength of the liberals, 80—new law regarding the press, *ib.*—debate on the return of the proscribed persons, 81—the elections of 1819, 83—king's speech on opening the session, 87—strength of parties in, *ib.*—new electoral law decided on by government for, 89—new distribution of parties after the fall of Decazes, 98—the government law of arrest, and discussion on it, 99 *et seq.*—discussion on the censorship of the press, 100—debate on the royalist committee and the secret government, 104—discussion on the new electoral law, *ib. et seq.*—amendment on it moved, 107—and further one carried by ministers, 108—violent debates during the riots in Paris, 109—change in, by the elections of 1820, 119—king's speech on opening the session, and answer, 120—law fixing the boundaries of the electoral districts, 121—for providing additional ecclesiastical endowments, *ib.*—modification of the corn laws, 121—law for indemnity to imperial donatories, 122—new law regarding censorship of the press, *ib.*—discussion on it, 123—discussion on the new law regarding the press, 223—meeting of, and the king's speech, 268—discussion on the Spanish question, 274 *et seq.*—Talleyrand on it, 278—vote for carrying on the war, 279—speech of Mannel, *ib.*—excitement caused by it, 280—his expulsion, *ib.*—scene on his expulsion, 281—dissolution, 1823, and elections for 1824, 306—opening of, and king's speech, 307—law of septenniality, 308—law for reducing

Deputies, Chamber of, *continued.*

the interest of the national debt, 309—strength of the Jesuit party in, iii. 74—opening of, 1824, and strength of parties, 76—settlement on the crown, and restoration of the Orleans estates, 77—law of indemnity to the emigrants, 78 *et seq.*—law against sacrilege, 83—and regarding religious societies of women, 84—measure for reducing the debt, *ib.*—measures relative to St Domingo, 87—discussion on proposed change in law of succession, 88 *et seq.*—it is thrown out, 91—discussion on the new law regarding the censorship, 94—difficulty of government with, 97—a dissolution resolved on, 98—dissolution, *ib.*—meeting of, 1828, and address to the crown, 102—the king's answer, 103—exclusion of government employes from the suffrage, *ib.*—opening of, 1829, 106—king's speech, *ib.*—state of parties in, 107—law for departmental municipalities, *ib.*—meeting of, 1830, 118—vote on the presidency, and address to the crown, *ib.*—debate on the latter, 119—vote on it, 122—prorogation of, *ib.*—dissolution of, 131—the elections, 132—ordinance dissolving, 135—point at issue between them and Charles X., 159—the working classes unrepresented in, 176—meeting of, in favour of the Duke of Orleans, iv. 87—preparation of the constitution, and offer the crown to Louis Philippe, 98—scene at his acceptance of it, *ib.*—duration, &c., of, as fixed by it, 99—age of members, as fixed by the constitution of 1830, *ib.*—election of president, and first measures, 107—discussion on electoral law, *ib.*—financial measures, *ib.*—proceedings against popular societies, *ib.*—deserve the trial of the ex ministers of Charles X., 121—statement by Latitte of the principles of his ministry, 124—their dismissal demanded by Lafayette, 127—discredit into which fallen, 144—proscription of the Bourbons, *ib.*—Casimir Perier's statement of his principles of government, 145—issue of the elections, 147—opening, and king's speech, *ib.*—defeat of government on election of president, &c., 148—debate on foreign affairs, 1831, 156 *et seq.*—violence of the debate on Poland, 159—debate on proposed law against the Bourbons, 160 *et seq.*—and on the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 162 *et seq.*—address on the Lyons insurrection, 310—motion for a republic, *ib.*—opposition to the civil list, 311—deputation to the king after the suppression of the revolt of St Meri, 337—now secured on behalf of government of Louis Philippe, 352—opening of, 1832, and king's speech, 357—election of president, and trials of strength, *ib.*—project for fortifying Paris, 358—opposition to it, and its postponement, 359—large grants for public works, *ib.*—finances, 1833, 360—opening of, 1834, and violence of parties, 368—law against public criers, and imposing stamp duty on pamphlets, 369—law against associations, *ib.*—debates on it, 370 *et seq.*—passing of these laws, 372—law against possession of arms, and supplementary vote for the army, 378—dissolution of, and result of the elec-

Deputies, Chamber of, *continued*.

- tions, 381—meeting of, 1834, and king's speech, v. 283—declarations of ministers in favour of economy, 284—convocation of, 285—first debate on the address, 286—answer of M. Guizot, *ib.*—majority for ministers, 287—debate on the treason trials, 294—arguments of ministers for further measures of repression, 299 *et seq.*—arguments against these, 301 *et seq.*—laws proposed for this purpose, 303—these passed, *ib.*—fall of de Broglie, 305—proposed reduction of the interest of debt, *ib.*—vote of, on reduction of the interest, and fall of the Broglie ministry in consequence, 307—first trial of strength of the Thiers ministry, 308—declaration of Thiers, 309—of Guizot, *ib.*—and of Odillon Barrot, 310—nullity of legislative measures from balance of parties, *ib.*—financial statements, 311—debate on law for disjunction of trials, 324 *et seq.*—allowance to the Duke of Orleans, and dowry to the Queen of the Belgians by, 326—dissolution, 328—composition of the new, 329 and note—faults of, toward Africa after the Revolution, 330—unwillingness to grant supplies for Algeria, 334—debate on it, 335—king's speech on Algeria, 1837, 337—supplies voted for it, 338—parsimony of, with regard to Algeria, 341—ministerial majority in, 1837, 343—king's speech on opening, 1837, 345—military force voted, 1838–39, 350—coalition against ministers in, their dissolution, and new Chamber, 350—votes of, on the presidency, &c., 1839, 360—new division of parties, 363—vote on secret-service money, 1839, 366—discussions on railways, *ib.*—debate on affairs of the East, *ib.*—Lamartine's speech on the subject, 367 *et seq.*—arguments of Villennin on other side, 368 *et seq.*—meeting of, 1840, and king's speech, 373—debate on address, and Thiers' speech on Eastern question, *ib.*—king's answer to the address, 375—their temper, *ib.*—refuse dotation to Duke de Nemours, 376—statement of Thiers, and his majority, 377—bill regarding infant labour, &c., 378—opening of, 1840, and king's speech, 392—vote on the fortifications of Paris, 395—speech of Guizot on the Tahiti affair, vi. 326—support of Louis Philippe by, vii. 117—growing discontent with them, 1841, 120—trifling subjects in debate, *ib.*—debate on parliamentary reform, 129 *et seq.*—discussion on the labour question, 132 *et seq.*—railway scheme as authorised by them, 135—debate in, on slave-trade treaty, 139—debate on parliamentary reform, 143—and on literary property, *ib.*—movement in favour of reform, 150—debate on it, *ib. et seq.*—debate on railway system, &c., 154—close of session, and new elections, *ib.*—debate on the regency question, 158—corrupt state of the ministerial majority, 164—debate on the Jesuits, 193 *et seq.*—on the Polish question, 204—dissolution and new elections for, 207—want of confidence in members, 362—excitement on the Tahiti affair, *ib.*—Guizot on it, 363—vote on it, *ib.*—authorise enlarged issues of notes, 365—meeting of, and king's speech, 376—discussion on the address, *ib. et seq.*—last budget, 381—division on address, *ib.*—appearance of the Duchesse d'Orleans before them, 397, 398—republic demanded, 398—provisional government nominated, 399.
- Deputies, meeting and dissolution of the, at Naples, viii. 78.
- Deputies, the Sardinian, urge renewal of the war, viii. 111—proceedings in, after Novara, 120—armistice concluded, *ib.*—they reject it, and are dissolved, 121—election of, 132.
- Derajat, the, included in the old Dourance empire, vi. 210.
- Derbend, the pass of, ii. 345—capture of, by the Russians, 349—gates of, acquired by Russia, 31.
- Deby, lord, arguments of, against repeal of navigation laws, viii. 289 *et seq.*—speech of, on affair of Don Pacifico, 319—the ministry of, 1852, 322 and note—his character as an orator, *ib.*—character of his cabinet, 323—defeated on the budget, and resigns, 325.—*See also Stanley.*
- Derby, riots in, 1819, ii. 152—reform riots at, *ib.* 42.
- Derbyshire, insurrection in, i. 105—additional members for, *ib.* 21 note.
- Desmoncourt, general, iv. 325—capture of the Duchess de Berri by, 328.
- Descamisados, secret society of the, in Spain, ii. 239.
- Descarga, defeat of Espartero at, v. 179.
- Deschamps, M., proceedings of, at Rouen, 1848, viii. 30.
- Deserters, annual number of, in the army, cost of recovering, &c., vii. 231.
- Desewfly, general, execution of, viii. 261.
- Desierto, defeat of the Christians at, v. 207.
- Desmichels, general, successes of, against Abd-el-Kader, and peace concluded with him, v. 332—defeated, *ib.*
- Desmousseaux de Givré, M., motion by, on the address, 1848, vii. 376, 381.
- Des Piques, society called, *ib.* 373 note.
- Despotic countries, character stamped on literature of, *ib.* 265.
- Despotism, support given to the press by, i. 29—re-establishment of, under Ferdinand in Spain, 334—origin of secret societies under, 363—universality of, in Russia, ii. 18—education adverse to, 167—Castlereagh's efforts against, 209—character and influence of, in Turkey, 324—introduction of, into France by the revolt of the troops, iii. 262—established in France by universal suffrage, 166—strength and weakness given to Asia by, *ib.* 171—character of the drama under, 265—form of, in China, vii. 5—checks on it there, 6.
- Dessau, representation of, in the Diet, *ib.* 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
- Dessoles, general, becomes premier in 1818, i. 308—arguments of, against change in the electoral law, 312—views of, on the electoral law, ii. 86—dismissed from the ministry, *ib.*
- Destitution, effects of, in causing increase of population, vi. 350.
- Detroit, efforts of the American sympathisers at, vi. 95.

- Deutsche Beobachter, suppression of the, iv. 223.
- Deutz, career of, and his treachery towards the Duchess de Berri, iv. 327.
- Deux Moulins, capture of the, by the insurgents, iii. 141.
- Deux Ponts, society for liberty of press at, iv. 363.
- Deux-Sevres, department of, declared in state of siege, iv. 326.
- Déville, proscribed in 1815, i. 93.
- Devilliers, general, i. 124.
- Devizes, defeat of ministerial candidate in, 1835, vi. 13—Chartist riot at, 1839, 82.
- Devon, lord, motion by, on the corporate reform bill, vi. 8.
- Devon Commission, report of the, on railways in Ireland, vii. 253.
- Devonshire, duke of, lord chamberlain, iii. 314 note—death of Canning at his house, 324—lord chamberlain, 1830, iv. 3 note.
- Devonshire house, social influence of, i. 268.
- Devonshire, state of, 1817, i. 166 note—election of 1830 for, iii. 393—additional members for, iv. 21 note—defeat of Lord John Russell in, 1835, vi. 2.
- Dewitt, general, movements of, in Poland, iv. 192—at Grochow, *ib.*
- Dhuleep Singh, proclaimed maharajah of the Punjab, vii. 67—reception of, by Lord Hardinge, 95.
- Dhurum-Kote, capture of, by the British, vii. 90.
- Dhyan Singh, minister of Shere Singh, vii. 66—conspiracy under, 67.
- Diarbekir, population of, ii. 331 note.
- Dick, General Sir Robert, at Sobramon, vii. 92—slain, 94.
- Dick, major, at Maharajpore, vii. 70.
- Dickens, Charles, the novels of, i. 252.
- Didier, the outbreak of, at Grenoble, i. 150—his capture and execution, *ib.*—violence of, on his trial for treason, v. 294.
- Diderot on the Russians, ii. 22.
- Diebitch, general count, ii. 53—forces under, for the war with Turkey, iii. 14—operations of, at Schumla, 22—appointed to the command in 1829, 51—sketch of his career, *ib.* note—crosses the Danube and besieges Silistria, 53 *et seq.*—throws himself on the enemies' communications, 54—battle of Koulefscha, 56—movements after the battle, 57—surrender of Silistria, 58—preparations for passing the Balkan by, 59—its passage, *ib.*—subsequent movements, 60—danger of his position, *ib.*—defeats the Turks at Selimno, *ib.*—captures Adrianople, 61—his subsequent dispositions, *ib.*—measures of, against the Pacha of Scodra, 63—appointed to command against Poland, iv. 186—forces under, 191—advance of, towards Warsaw, 192—disposition, &c., of his forces, *ib.*—battle of Grochow, 193—battle of Praga, *ib.*—refuses to negotiate, 196—total defeat of, before Warsaw, 198 *et seq.*—commences operations, 202—advance of the Poles against his right, 203—he marches against their rear, 204—victory at Ostrolenka, *ib.* *et seq.*—his death, 205.
- Diest, capture of, by the Dutch, iv. 153.
- Diet, new Germanic, proposed by Prussia, viii. 185—*see* Germanic—the Polish, convocation of, iv. 180.—*See* Polish.
- Digeon, count, interim war-minister, 1823, ii. 286.
- Dijon, reform banquet at, vii. 131—red flag hoisted at, 1847, 375.
- Dillon, an Irish insurgent, vii. 306.
- Dinant, terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, i. 301.
- Dino, general, successes of, in Spain, ii. 291.
- Dino, mademoiselle de, v. 351.
- Diplomatic situations, large employment of officers in, in India, vi. 203.
- Direct taxation, the French franchise founded on, i. 272—unequal distribution of, in England, iv. 71—substitution of, for indirect, vi. 346.
- Direct taxes, inexpediency of, i. 53—statistics regarding, in France, 276—produce of, France, 1830, iii. 124—weight of them there, 174—additions to them, 1848, viii. 15—indignation caused by the additions, 16—falling off in them, 1848, 68.
- Disbanded soldiers, number and influence of, in Galicia, vii. 199.
- Discount, low rates of, 1844 to 1846, vi. 336 and note—rates of, during the crisis of 1847, vi. 271.
- Discount banks, establishment of, in France, viii. 14.
- Disfranchisement, ministerial plan of, by the reform bill, iv. 20.
- Disfranchising clauses, the, retained in new reform bill, iv. 46.
- Disraeli the elder, the works of, i. 234.
- Disraeli, the novels of, i. 251—on Sir Robert Peel, vi. 274—declaration of, on corn laws, 1845, 355—attack on Sir R. Peel by, 366—arguments of, against the corn-law abolition bill, 367—arguments of, against Irish coercion bill, 376—his account of the division on the Irish coercion bill, 378—arguments of, against the change in the sugar duties, vii. 223—on the disfranchisement of the colonies by the reform bill, &c., 230 note—on Lord George Bentinck, 257—arguments of, against repeal of navigation laws, vii. 289 *et seq.*—motion by, for relief to agriculturists, 293—arguments against free trade, 298 *et seq.*—motion on it, *ib.*—chancellor of the exchequer, 1852, 322 note—as leader of the House of Commons, 323—his budget, and defeat of ministers on it, 325.
- Dissent, increase of, from deficient church accommodation, i. 181—obstacles presented by, to a system of national education, ii. 166.
- Dissenters, the, oppose Brougham's scheme of education in 1820, ii. 164—bearing of the test and corporation acts on, iii. 331, 333—numbers of, in Ireland, v. 23, vi. 11 notes—views and objects of, v. 63—bill regarding marriages of, 414—bill regarding marriages of, passed, vi. 27—opposition of, to the factory and education bill, vi. 318—and to the education grants, vii. 273.
- Distances, effect of, in Russia, ii. 21.
- Distraint, power of, in Ireland, iii. 266—its frequency there, ii. 193—crimes resulting from it, vi. 376, 377.

- Distress, general, which ensued on the peace, i. 45—not due to the peace, 48—influence of, in England, ii. 133—the prevalent, 1830, the royal speech on it, iii. 375—debate in the Peers on it, 376 *et seq.*—universality of the, and cry for reform caused by it, 386.
- Dittmar, baron de, viii. 152.
- Divorce, law of, discussion on, in France, i. 148—rejection of new law on, in France, 1848, viii. 55.
- Djcham, defeat of the Persians on the, iii. 2
- Djemillah, occupation of, by the French, iv. 371.
- Djevan-Boulak, battle of, iii. 11.
- Doab, neglect of public works in, and its results, vi. 159
- Dobblhoff, M., viii. 229.
- Dobrogoyaki, a Pole, transported to Siberia, ii. 46.
- Dockyard men, military organisation of the, vii. 236.
- Doctrinaires, the, feeling of, on the elections of 1817, i. 289—party of, ii. 82—support the Decazes ministry, 87—new electoral law agreed to by, 88, 89—course followed by, after the fall of Decazes, 98—vote against re-establishing the censorship, 102—course followed by, regarding the electoral law, 108—rupture of, with the ministry, 114—their views, 115—vehemence of, against the Richelieu ministry, 124—party of, iii. 113—in the Broglie ministry, iv. 121—their views, *ib.*—resignation of, 123—ministry from, 341, 355—formerly oppose the law against associations, 369—general retirement of, 372—resignation of, v. 285—views of, on the conspiracy of Fieschi, 304—ministry from, 316—removed from the ministry, 326—views of, on Algeria, 335—schism between, and Count Mole, 349—negotiation between Thiers and, 1839, 360—excluded from the second Thiers ministry, 377.
- Doherty, chief justice, trial of Smith O'Brien, &c., by, vii. 302
- Dohony, an Irish insurgent, vii. 301.
- Dolgorsowsky, prince, appointed minister of justice, iii. 10.
- Dolma, storming of battery of, Missolonghi, ii. 418.
- Domestic policy, change in, from the fall of the Wellington ministry, iv. 1.
- Donabew, first repulse of the British at, and its subsequent capture, vi. 183.
- Donegal, outrages in, 1832, v. 10.
- Donnadieu, general, suppression of the outbreak at Grenoble by, i. 150—his subsequent severities, *ib.*—returned as member to the Deputies, and his character, ii. 119.
- Doon, cession of, to the British, vi. 177.
- Doorjun Saul, usurpation of the throne of Bhurtpore by, vi. 196—*th.* British declare against him, 196—taken prisoner, 198
- Dorset, duke of, master of the horse, 1835, vi. 407 note.
- Dorchester, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Dorsetshire, elections for 1831 in, iv. 34—wages in, 1839, vi. 69—distress in, 1841, vii. 284.
- Dost Mahommed, capture of Herat by, vi. 210—expelled from it, *ib.*—seizes the throne of Afghanistan, *ib.*—true interest of the British to support him, 217—mission of Sir Alex. Burnes to, 219—policy pursued by Lord Auckland toward him, *ib.*—liberal promises of the Russian agent, 220—determination of the British government to dethrone, 225—error of this, *ib.*—his ability and popularity, *ib.*—plans, &c., of 233—effect of fall of Gluznee on, 236—vain efforts to make a stand, and his flight, *ib.*—further pursuit of, 237—adventures and escapes of, 242—defeated at the Baman Pass, 243—his fresh efforts, *ib.*—his threatening advance, 244—victory, *ib.*—and surrender to the British, 245—effects of his surrender, *ib.*—terms of the capitulation regarding, 250—justice of the attack on, 267—liberation and restoration of, vii. 48.
- Douanes, loi des, in France, vii. 145.
- Doudeauville, M., a leader of the Parti-prêtre, iii. 75.
- Douglas, Mr Keith, on colonial representation, iv. 38 note.
- Douglas, Sir Howard, opposes the limited service system, vii. 272.
- Douglas, Monteith, vi. 267.
- Dourance empire, extent of the, in 1810, vi. 210—*See* Afghanistan.
- Douranees, insurrection and defeat of, vi. 247.
- Douro, defeat of the Portuguese royalists on the, ii. 301.
- Dover, reception of the queen at, ii. 175—embarkation of Louis Philippe at, vi. 334—garrison required for, vii. 235 note.
- Dowlat Rao Scindia, death of, vii. 67.
- Downton, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Doyle, Dr, on the state of Ireland, 1833, v. 18.
- Dragschan, defeat of Ipsilanti at, ii. 370.
- Draguignan, the Duke of Orleans at, iv. 354.
- Drainage act, benefits derived from the, vii. 237—employment afforded under the, in Scotland, 251.
- Draming, general introduction of, into Great Britain, viii. 294
- Drama-Ali, defeat of, by Niketas, ii. 396.
- Drama, decline of the, in England, and its cause, i. 296—the modern French, its corrupt character, iii. 181—decline of it in France, 207—causes of this, 208—character stamped on it in despotic states, iv. 265.
- Dramantis, a Greek leader, i. 104.
- Drapeau Blanc newspaper, prosecution of the, iii. 85—its circulation, 118 note.
- Drapeau rouge, demand of the mob for the, and conduct of Lamartine regarding it, *am.* 4
- Drave river, the, viii. 241.
- Dresden, revolutionary disturbances in, 1830, iv. 116—and 1831, 136—the china of, 220—the museum and palace of, 221—railway to, 250—outbreak at, 1848, viii. 183.
- Dreux-Brézé, M. de, a leader of the Legitimists, v. 344.
- Drew, lieutenant, capture of the Caroline by, vi. 94.
- Drink, annual expenditure by the working classes on, iv. 78
- Droits de l'Homme, Society of, at Lemaque's funeral, iv. 330—report on it, v. 290 note.
- Droitwich, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

- Dromore, bill abolishing bishopric of, v. 23 note.
- Drouet, general, i. 140—the arrest of, ordered, 93.
- Drought, excessive, in Great Britain, 1826, iii. 305—the season of, in India, vi. 156.
- Drouillard, M., trial of, for bribery, vii. 367.
- Drouyn de Lhuys, M., foreign minister under Louis Napoleon, vii. 67—ambassador to London, 319—a member of Louis Napoleon's cabinet, 332—appointed foreign minister, 348.
- Drouineau, lieutenant, v. 364.
- Drouot, general, proscribed in 1815, i. 93—dismissed from service, iii. 76.
- Druey, M., member of the Swiss Diet, vii. 357.
- Drummond, lieutenant, iv. 46.
- Drummond, Mr., secretary to Sir R. Peel, murder of, vi. 316.
- Drunkenness, increase of, by cheapening spirits, iii. 258—influence of, on cholera, iv. 317 note.
- Drury Lane Theatre, banquet to Mr Hume in, vi. 31.
- Druses, revolt of the, against Mehmet Ali, v. 269.
- Dublin, the archbishop of, on the tithe system, v. 9.
- Dublin, rejoicings in, on the acquittal of the queen, ii. 179—reception of George IV. in, 189—grants from Great Britain to the charities of, iii. 267—trials for riot at theatre of, 1823, 274—distress in, 1826, 287—ravages of cholera in, v. 5—increase of, since the Union, 62 note—the corporation of, vi. 19—proposed reform of it, 20—the Irish police placed under central office in, 132—speech of O'Connell at meeting in, 1839, 133—the election of 1841 for, 148.
- Dublin Society, grant to the, iii. 267 note.
- Dublin University, election of 1830 for, iii. 394.
- Dubouchaze, M., dismissed from the ministry, i. 288.
- Dubourg, general, during the Three Days, iii. 148—mission of, from the Republicans to the Orleanists, iv. 86—reception of Louis Philippe at the Hotel de Ville, 93.
- Dubreton, general, made a peer, i. 314.
- Du Cayla, the countess, character, &c., of, ii. 96—her introduction to Louis XVIII., and influence with him, 97, 311, 312.
- Duchaffant, M., iii. 140, 145 notes.
- Duchâtel, M., resignation of, v. 285—votes for, as vice-president of the Deputies, 309—becomes minister of finance, 316 note—removed from ministry of finance, 326—minister of interior, 1839, 362—and under Soult, 1840, 391 note—motion by, on reform, 1841, vii. 143—character, &c., of, 164—answer of, on the address, 1848, 379—proposals of, regarding the reform procession, 384—resignation of, 389—decree against, viii. 5.
- Duckworth, Sir John, his attack on Constantinople, ii. 336.
- Duclerc, M., minister of finances, 1848, viii. 36 note, 41—removal of, from the finances, 53.
- Ducos, M., minister of marine, viii. 348.
- Dudley, lord, on the resumption of cash payments, ii. 144 note—on the disfranchisement of Grampound, 168 note—on the queen, 175 note—picture of the state of the empire, 1825, iii. 249—becomes foreign secretary, 314—at first retains office under Wellington, 327—afterwards resigns, 328.
- Dudley, member given to, iv. 21 note—riots at, 1842, vi. 284.
- Dudon, M., president of the mixed commission in France, i. 283—returned as member to the Deputies, ii. 119.
- Dufaure, M., minister of public works under Soult, 1839, v. 363 note.
- Duff, Captain Grant, on the character of the sepoys, vi. 195.
- Dufland, madame, the romances of, iii. 209.
- Duffy, letter from, to Smith O'Brien, vii. 302 and note.
- Dufour, general, appointed commander-in-chief by the Swiss Diet, vii. 355—captures Fribourg and Lucerne, 358.
- Dulanre, efforts of, against the Polignac ministry, iii. 118.
- Dulong, M., death of, in a duel, iv. 368.
- Dumas, Alexandre, the romances of, iii. 209—a writer for the daily press, 211—the *Caligula* of, v. 348.
- Dumas, General Mathieu, iii. 140 note—made a councillor of state, i. 309—the writings of, iii. 199.
- Dumas, M. de, a leader of the Parti-prêtre, iii. 75—fidelity of, to Charles X., 157.
- Dumbarton, reform riots at, iv. 33—intended rising in, 1848, vii. 295.
- Dumolard, M., attempt of, to fix tariff of wages at Lyons, iv. 305—attempts to draw back, 306—discussion between him and the governor, *ib.*—efforts of, to bring about accommodation, his arrest and liberation, 307—further measures of, 309—censured and resigns, *ib.*
- Dumoulin, M., proposes to proclaim the empire in 1830, iv. 90.
- Duncannon, lord, one of the committee for preparing the reform bill, iv. 15—appointed home secretary, v. 71—O'Connell's letters to, 79—commissioner of woods and forests, 1835, 420 note.
- Duncombe, Mr, the Chartist petition presented by, vi. 316—brings forward the letter-opening charge against Graham, 352.
- Dundalk, increase of, since the Union, v. 62 note.
- Dundas, intimacy of Huskisson with, iii. 227 note.
- Dundas, Mr R., struck off as commissioner of the navy, iii. 381.
- Dundas, colonel, defeat of the American sympathisers by, vi. 102.
- Dundas, Sir D., solicitor general, 1846, vii. 221 note.
- Dundee, member given by reform bill to, iv. 56—ratio of mortality in, vii. 271 note.
- Dumin, lieutenant, at Sieroczyn, iv. 195.
- Dunkennin, the murders at, vi. 24.
- Dunoyer, captain, invades the Chamber of Deputies, vii. 400.
- Dunwich, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Dupanloup, M., attends Talleyrand on his deathbed, v. 351.
- Duperré, admiral, becomes minister of marine, v. 285—minister of marine under

- Duperré, admiral, *continued*.
 Thiers, 307 note—and under Soult, 1839, 363, 390 notes.
- Dupetit-Thouars, admiral, proceedings, &c., of, at Tahiti, vi. 324—takes possession of the island, *ib.*—outrage on Mr Pritchard, 325—his seizure of the island disavowed, *ib.*—excitement caused by the disavowal of his acts, vii. 191, 192.
- Dupin, M., iii. 138, 140 note—the defence of Ney by, i. 127—defence of the liberal press by, iii. 85—on the natural children in France, 160—resignation of, iv. 124—announces the dismissal of Lafayette, 128—attack by the mob on, and his escape, 142—on the prevalence of physical deformity in the manufacturing districts, 304—majority for, as president of Deputies, 357—and again, 1834, v. 283—speech of, in favour of economy, 284—becomes minister of marine, 285—arguments of, against the law for disjunction of trials, 324—views of, on Algeria, 335, 337—majority for, as president, 1839, 359—accompanies the Duchesse d'Orléans to the Deputies, vii. 397—announces the king's abdication, 398—returned to National Assembly, viii. 41—at Bugeaud's funeral, 341—after the coup d'état, 356.
- Dupin aîné, M., iii. 140 note—a member of Louis Philippe's first cabinet, iv. 99—chosen president of Legislative Assembly, viii. 338.
- Duplessis, M., opposes the indemnity to the imperial donatories, ii. 122.
- Dupont de l'Eure, M., returned to the Deputies in 1817, i. 289—returned for Paris in 1827, iii. 100—keeper of seals and minister of justice under Louis Philippe, iv. 99—violent language of, in the council, 105—connected with the refugee liberals from Spain, 108—party and views of, in the ministry, 121—threatens to resign if Barrot is dismissed, 123—resignation of, 128—chosen vice-president of chamber, 1831, 148—majority against, as vice-president of Deputies, 357—letter of, on resigning his seat in the Deputies, 370 note—views of, 1837, v. 345—demand of Thiers regarding, 360—views of, on the franchise, 1839, 372—returned to Deputies, 1842, vii. 155—nominated one of the provisional government, 400 note—votes for, 1848, viii. 34 note—at the meeting of the Assembly, 34.
- Dupoty, M., prosecution of, vii. 149.
- Duppeln, battle of, vii. 160.
- Dupuytren the surgeon, at the deathbed of the Duke de Berry, ii. 92.
- Duquette, a Canadian insurgent, execution of, vi. 103.
- Durand, lieutenant, at the assault of Ghuznee, vi. 235—chief engineer at Cabul, urges occupying the Bala-Hissar, 249 note.
- Durando, general, forces under, viii. 86—movements of, on the Piave, 90—forces under, at Vicenza, 95—defeat and capitulation there, *ib.*—at Novara, 118, 119.
- Durango decree, the, v. 186.
- Duras, the duke de, i. 126.
- Durée Passa, the, vii. 40.
- Durham, earl of, lord privy seal, iv. 3 note—one of the committee for preparing the reform bill, 15—advocates the creation of peers, 49—one of the commission for giving the royal assent to the bill, 56—views of, on the Irish coercion bill, v. 69—reconciliation between, and Lord Brougham, 80—festival to, at Glasgow, *ib.*—mission of, to St Petersburg, its objects, his reception, &c., 254—appointed governor of Canada, vi. 90—its state on his arrival, 97—difficulties of, regarding the trial of the prisoners, *ib.*—course followed by him, *ib.*—mistake in the ordinance for their transportation, 98—inefficient support given him by the home government, 99—he resigns, 100—report by him on Canada, *ib.*—comparison between Canada and the United States by, 108—his return to England, and death, 109 note.
- Durham, lady, vi. 109 note.
- Durham, continuance of military training in, 1820, ii. 160—additional members for, iv. 21 note—pressure in coal districts of, 1847, vii. 277.
- Dusseldorf, excitement in, 1848, viii. 150.
- Dutch loan, discussion on the, v. 6.—See Holland.
- Duval, M. Maurice, at Lafitte's, iv. 90—suppression of revolt at Toulouse by, vii. 147.
- Duvergier de Hauranne, M., vii. 163—returned to Deputies in 1831, iv. 147—joins the coalition against the government, vii. 372—speech of, at the Chateau Rouge banquet, 373—one of the ministry under Thiers, 393—at the last council of Louis Philippe, 394.
- Duvivier, general, at the Col de Monzaia, vii. 177—appointed to command at Medeah, 178—commander of the Garde Mobile, viii. 31—votes for, 1848, 34 note—during the insurrection of June, 44—wounded, 47, 49.
- Dwornicki, general, successor of, against Geismar, iv. 194—further operations of, 195—movements assigned to, 197—forces under, 198—invades Volhynia, is defeated, and retreats, 201.
- Dynastics, the struggle between, in France, iii. 159.
- Dysentery, sufferings of the British in Burmah from, vi. 186, 190.

E

- Earthenware, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 260.
- Earthquake, destructive, in Asia, iii. 394.
- East, the, character of the wars of, ii. 316—the wars between it and the West, 317, iv. 170—its lasting conquests over the West, ii. 317

—its unity constitutes its strength, iv. 215—debate in the Deputies on the affairs of, 1839, v. 366—Lamartine's speech on the subject, 367—and answer of Villainin, 368—measures of Soult in, 369—threatening aspect of affairs in, 1840, 384—Guizot's

East, the, continued.

account of British policy there, 385—Thiers' reply, *ib.*—the allied treaty, *ib.*—memorandum of the allies to France, 386—treaty of Feb. 13, 1841, regarding, 396—power of Russia in, vi. 29—permanence of the village system in, 161—obstacles to indirect taxation in, 163—increasing jealousy of Russia in, 212—her rapid progress there, 213—effect of the raising of the siege of Herat on British influence in, 224—jealousy of France regarding, 1840, vii. 137.

East India Company, the, shipping, &c., employed by, ii. 168—expiry of charter of, and its modified renewal, v. 35 *et seq.*—public works of, vi. 158—difficulties of, with regard to public works, 159—revenues of, 163 and note—management of the China trade by, vii. 7—revenue derived from opium, 9—opposed to the Afghanistan expedition, 21—pacific improvements of, 1849, &c., 107 *et seq.*—the pacific policy of, 113—reflections on the fall of, 115.—See also India.

East India directors, discreditable treaty with Scindia and Holkar, vi. 172—the recall of Lord Ellenborough by, vii. 72—appoint Sir H. Hardinge, 73—policy recommended to him, *ib.*—letter of, on railways, 75 note.

East India question, the, feeling of the country on it, v. 35—government plan on the subject, 36 *et seq.*—injustice done to the inhabitants of India by it, 38.

East India sugar, motion regarding, vi. 328—reduction of duty on, 1845, 343.

East India trade, statistics of the, v. 37.

East Indies, estimated supply of sugar from the, 1847, vii. 221 note.

East Retford, conviction of, for bribery, and its disfranchisement, iii. 322—resignation of Huskisson and his friends on the question, 327—importance of the division on it, iv. 67.

Eastern Counties Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note.

Eastern Europe, character of wars of, ii. 318.

Eastern Prussia, demands of Diet of, on accession of the new king, iv. 248.

Eastern question, difficulties of the, ii. 433—causes of present difficulties of the, in. 65—effects of treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi on the, v. 256—causes of discord remaining in the, 1833, 261—jealousy awakened on it in the English cabinet, 262—divergence of view regarding it between France and England, *ib.*—increasing coldness between Turkey and France, 263—treaty of 15th July 1840 for settlement of the, 269—speech of Thiers on, 1840, 373 *et seq.*—reflections on this debate, 375—memorandum from Guizot to the British Government on, 388—views of the former on it, 389—speech of Thiers on, 1840, 392—answer of Guizot, 393—escape of Europe from war on the, 1840, 396—alienation of France from England by the, 1841, vi. 281.

Eastern states, their decay brought about by revolt of distant provinces, v. 242.

Eastlake, Sir Charles, the paintings of, i. 260.

Ebrington, lord, returned for Devonshire, 1830, iii. 393—moves the vote of confidence in the Whig ministry, iv. 40—his motion against the Wellington ministry, 53—address to Earl Grey got up by, v. 64—becomes lord-lieutenant of Ireland, vi. 87.

Ebro, passage of the, by Don Carlos, v. 216.

Ecclesiastical affairs, ministry of, in France, ii. 311.

Ecclesiastical endowments, law for providing additional, in France, ii. 121.

Ecclesiastical peers, great creation of, in France, iii. 99—motion against the, vi. 13.

Ecclesiastical property, amount of, in Turkey, ii. 326.

Ecclesiastical states, the entrance of the Austrians into, viii. 107—anarchy in, 109—republic proclaimed, 110.—See Rome, &c.

Echarri-Aranaz, capture of, by the Carlists, v. 174.

Echo Français, publication of the alleged letters of Louis Philippe by the, vii. 140.

Echo de la Fabrique, the, a manufacturing journal, iv. 374.

Eckenflorde, naval disasters of the Danes at, viii. 191—recaptured, 194—Willisen defeated at, 195.

Eckmühl, the, prince of, made a peer, i. 314.

Ecoles des Beaux Arts, grant for, iv. 360 note.

Ecole Militaire, catastrophe at the, on the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, v. 327.

Ecole Polytechnique, re-establishment of the, i. 153—declaration of the pupils of the, for republicanism, iv. 89.

Economists, the, the school of, i. 232—arguments of, on machinery, iv. 82.

Economy, effects of, in Great Britain, i. 13—cry for, on the peace, 48—danger of England in 1841 from the passion for, v. 282—dangers from undue, in the army, vi. 271.

Edgeworth, Miss, the novels of, i. 249.

Edict of Nantes, revocation of, the silk manufacture in England due to, iii. 242.

Edinburgh, the architecture of, i. 258—rejoicings in, on the acquittal of the queen, ii. 179—the king's visit to, 207 *et seq.*—motion for reform in representation of, 1824, iii. 279—illuminations and riots in, on the dissolution of parliament, 1831, iv. 33—anti-reform meeting at, 35—reform meeting at, 41—violent reform meeting at, 50—two members given to, by reform bill, 56—the Grey banquet at, v. 80—ratio of mortality in, vii. 271 note—disturbances in, 1848, 296.

Edinburgh Review, the, rise of, i. 235—Horner's contributions to, 172—Horner on it, 173 note—Macintosh's essays in, 186—supports the reform bill, iv. 35—on the position of the Melbourne ministry, 1835, vi. 14.

Edinburgh yeomanry squadron, the, in 1820, ii. 161.

Edinburghshire, saving effected by consolidating the road trusts in, vi. 316 note.

Edmonstone, Mr., opposes the Afghanistan expedition, vi. 226 note.

Educated classes, the, views, &c., of, in Russia, ii. 30—difficulties connected with the disposal of, 166—Catholic emancipation a triumph of, iii. 357—election of public functionaries from, in China, vii. 6.

Education, relations of, to morality, i. 25—causes why it fails to arrest crime, 27—statistics of, among criminals, 205 note—measures for, in Poland under Russia, ii. 5—insufficient provision for, in Russia, 11—measures of the Emperor Alexander for, 34—general, scheme of, for England, proposed by Brougham in 1820, 104—statistics connected with it there, 165—inefficiency of the voluntary system, and necessity for endowments, *ib.*—difficulties of the question, 166—way in which to be solved, *ib.*—effects of, in promoting the dispersion of man, 167—spread of, in Greece, 357—law for removing it from the hands of the Jesuits, iii. 104—society for, Dublin, grant to the, 267 note—unrepresented under the reform bill, iv. 73—universal diffusion of, in Germany, 221—anomalous results of, on crime, *ib.*—statistics of the two in Prussia, *ib.*—and in Austria, 222—efforts of government for diffusion of, in Prussia, 237—effect of the diffusion of, in increasing the passion for freedom in Germany, 257—measures for, in Turkey, v. 268—the national board of, in Ireland, 417—factory, bill to regulate, vi. 312—imperfect, in manufacturing districts, 314—foundation, &c., of secular colleges in Ireland, 347—measures, &c., for, 1847, vii. 273—statistics of, among criminals, 274 note—national, error in the system of, under Louis Philippe, 123—its irreligious character, *ib.*—new bill regarding, in France, 193—measures for promoting, in Tuscany, 340—state of, in China, 7—enactments of French Assembly regarding, 1848, viii. 55—general diffusion of, in Germany, 141—provisions of Austrian constitution regarding, 239—measures proposed by French Assembly for, 335—new regulations of Louis Napoleon regarding, 342.

Edward VI., debasement of the coin under, i. 195.

Edwardes, lieutenant, operations of, against the Sikhs, vii. 99—major, at siege of Mooltan, 104.

Edwards, betrayal of the Cato Street conspirators by, ii. 158, 159.

Ega, defeats of the Christians on the, v. 170, 172.

Egerton, Lord Francis, v. 410—motion by, on Irish corporation bill, vi. 22.

Eglinton, earl of, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1852, viii. 322 note.

Egon, M., minister of marine, ii. 249.

Eguia, general, displaced by the revolutionists at Granada, i. 351—royalist insurrection under, ii. 245—named commander-in-chief, v. 193—victory at Guevara, *ib.*—defeats Cordova, 195—succeeded by Villareal, 200—besieges Bilbao, 206—disgraced, 220.

Egypt, the revolt of, against Turkey, ii. 333—pacha of, subjugation of Crete by, 401—position, &c., of, under Mehemet Ali, v. 243—his system of civil government, *ib.*—origin of the war with Turkey, 244—suspected designs of France on, 252—interference of Russia between her and Turkey, *ib.* *et seq.*—surrender of, to Mehemet Ali agreed to by Turkey, 253—treaty between, and Turkey, 255—Mehemet Ali confirmed in,

ib.—jealousy of England regarding French predominance in, 262—ultimate demands of the parties regarding, 269—conditions of treaty of the five powers regarding, *ib.*—importance of Syria in relation to, 273—terms of treaty between Mehemet Ali and Turkey regarding, 279—Thiers's policy toward, 384—treaty regarding, between Turkey and Mehemet Ali, 396—proposed cessation of, to England, vi. 334.—See also Mehemet Ali.

Egyptian fleet, junction of, with the Turkish, ii. 407.

Egyptian troops, the, engaged for reconquest of Greece, ii. 404.

Egyptians, race of the, ii. 319.

Eichhorn, M., a leader of the Puritan party in Prussia, iv. 253.

Ejectments, commencement of, in Ireland, ii. 193—number of, in Ireland, vi. 376—enactments regarding, 377.

Elbe, regulations regarding the free navigation of the, iv. 236—terms of treaty with Austria regarding the, v. 263.

Elbœuf, disorders at, 1848, viii. 33.

Elbruz mountain, the, ii. 344 and note.

Eldon, lord chancellor, opposes the relaxation of the criminal code, i. 183—opposed to the resumption of cash payments, ii. 144 note—on the Manchester meeting, 149 note—on the conduct of the magistrates there, 150 note—bill to prevent postponing trial brought in by, 153—anticipations of, regarding the queen, 176—at the trial of the queen, 177—on the admission of the Grenvilles into the ministry, 191—on the liberal tendencies of the cabinet in 1823, iii. 226—opposes the silk bill, 243—opposes the bills for enfranchising the English Catholics, 279—his alleged indecision in Chancery, 280—resignation of, on Canning's appointment, 313—on the bitterness of party spirit, 1827, 314 note—reception of, on his secession from the Canning ministry, 315—his retirement from public life, and character, *ib.* *et seq.*—arguments of, against repeal of the test and corporation acts, 334—339—George IV.'s account of, of the discussion with ministers on the Catholic question, 343 note—on the bill for suppressing the Catholic Association, 347—interview of, with George IV. regarding the Catholic bill, 353 and note—his judgments on Scotch cases, iv. 6.

Election, mode of, changed by ordinance in France in 1815, i. 90.

Elections, temper of France during those of 1815, i. 102—their ultra-royalist character, *ib.*—proposed new law of, 142 *et seq.*—debate on it, *ib.*—change in the law, and defects of it, 271—those of 1816, 272—their result, 273—new law proposed, 275—of 1819, preparations for, ii. 83—their result, 83—of 1820, their results, 119—1821, 229—1827, iii. 101—

in Great Britain, command of them the object of the Catholic Association, 278—1826, 306—interference of the priests in those of Ireland, *ib.*—1830, excitement during, and influence of the French revolution on them, 392—gave to the liberals by them, 393—those of Ireland, 394—violence of those of 1831, iv. 32—results of them, 34—

Elections, *continued*.

petitions against, for bribery, 1852, 74—the first, under Louis Philippe, unfavourable issue of, 147—the French, 1834, results of, 381—the first, under the reform act, v. 13—the French, 1834, results of, 283—of 1837, in France, 329 note, 343—the English, 1835, 408—the Scottish, *ib.*—the Irish, *ib.*—Great Britain, 1841, vi. 147—of 1847, the, in Great Britain, vii. 275—the last in France under Louis Philippe, 207—the French, 1848, decree regulating, viii. 16—postponed, 17—efforts of government to control them, 26—their results, 30, 33—June 1848, 41—law of, by Prussian constitution of 1848, 153—of 1852, in England, 324—for the Legislative Assembly in France, 1849, 338.

Elective franchise, the proposed, under the reform bill, iv. 20.

Electoral colleges, new constitution of the, in France, 1815, i. 90—proposed new constitution of, 142 *et seq.*—new constitution of, by ordinance of Sept. 5, 154—project regarding, 276.

Electoral corruption, increase of, under the reform act, v. 12.

Electoral districts, law fixing the boundaries of, in France, ii. 121—equal division of, one of the objects of the Radicals, v. 1.

Electoral law, the preparations of government for a change in, i. 152—changes in, by the ordinance of Sept. 5, 154—movement in the Peers against, 309—arguments for change in it, 810—discussion in the Peers on, 811—the motion for change in it carried, 813—new, proposed in France, ii. 88—the proposed new, 104 *et seq.*—amendment on it moved and carried, 107—further one carried by ministers, 108—effects of the change in, 125—ordonnance changing the, iii. 125—various changes in, by ordinance, 177—discussion on, after accession of Louis Philippe, iv. 107—change in, 144—new, in Belgium, viii. 146—new, Prussia, 186.

Electoral reform in France, *see* Reform.

Electoral right, extension of, in Hungary, viii. 207.

Electoral rights, new law of, in France, viii. 344.

Electoral suffrage, exclusion of government employes from, iii. 103.

Electors, number of, in France, i. 271, ii. 78—royal circular to, 1820, 118—the constitution of 1830 in France regarding age of, iv. 99—number of, under Louis Philippe, 382—system of registering, under the reform bill, v. 12—proposed qualification of, under municipal reform act, vi. 5, 6—Ledru Rollin's circular to, 1848, viii. 17—and Carnot's, 18—new circular from Ledru Rollin to, 25 *et seq.*

Electric telegraph, the, advantages and dangers of, i. 29—in India, vii. 108 and note—influence of, viii. 364.

Eleusis, priests of, in the Hetairia, ii. 357.

Elgin, lord, on Canada, vi. 107.

Elgin marbles, the purchase of the, i. 70.

El Guennaoui, a Moorish chief, vii. 183.

Elio, general, suppression of the insurrection in Valencia by, i. 339—fresh revolt in Valencia suppressed by, 342—severities of,

at Valencia, 345—called to defend Madrid, 349—overthrow and imprisonment of, 350—condemnation of, ii. 238—attack on, at Valencia, and his danger, 241—second trial, and execution of, 250.

Elio, a Carlist leader, disgraced, v. 229.

Elipoo, Chinese commissioner, negotiations with, vii. 18.

Elizabeth, reformation of the coin under, i. 195—Ireland during the reign of, v. 68.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, parentage, character, &c., of, 51, 60—alienation of Alexander from her, 61—reconciliation between them, 62—her arrival at Taganrog, 53—during the emperor's last illness, *ib.*—her death and funeral, 64.

Elizabethopol, battle of, ii. 839—defeat of the Persians near, iii. 2.

Elizondo, establishment of the Carlist Junta at, v. 152—captured by the Carlists, 180.

Ellenborough, lord, chief justice, trial of *Hogg* before, i. 169—death and character of, 184.

Ellenborough, lord, lord privy seal, iii. 328 note—on the East India bill, v. 37—president of board of control, 1835, 407 note—on the want of public works in India, vi. 159—president of board of control under Peel, 279—appointed governor-general of India, vi. 367—proclamation of, to garri-son of Jellalabad, vii. 29—his character, *ib.*—his preference of the military authorities, *ib.*—his views regarding Afghanistan, *ib.*—measures to reinforce Nott, 33—abandons the idea of advance to Cabul, 35—agrees to it, 36—orders the removal of the gates of Sonmuth, 43—proclamation on retirement from Afghanistan, 47, 48 note—object in restoring the gates of Sonmuth, 48—his conduct in it, 49—views of, as to Scinde, 53—his instructions to Napier, *ib.* and note—new treaty proposed to the Ameers, 53—and forced on them, 54—reinforcements sent Napier by, 60—annexation of Scinde, *ib.*—proclamation of, on annexing Scinde, 64—first proceedings in Scinde, 65—the war with Gwalior, 67 *et seq.*—results of his administration, 71—personal credit due to him, 72—causes of his recall, 30, 72—preparations of, for the Sikh war, 78—reflections on policy of, 113.

Ellice, Mr, made prisoner by the Canadian insurgents, vi. 101.

Elliott, lord, Irish secretary, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Elliot, captain, assistant commissioner at Canton, vii. 9—representations of, on the opium smuggling, *ib.*—surrender of the opium by, 10—further proceedings of, at Canton, *ib.*—commences hostilities, 11—treaty concluded, 12—and disavowed, *ib.*—recalled, *ib.* 13—again negotiates, 13—terms agreed to, 14.

Elliott convention, the, v. 175.

Ellis, Mr Agar, commissioner of land revenue, iv. 4 note.

El Oufia, tribe of, destroyed by the French, v. 331.

Elphm, bill abolishing bishopric of, v. 23 note.

Elphinstone, general, succeeds to command at Cabul, and his character, vi. 247—his defective defensive arrangements, 249—inactivity of, on the outbreak of the insur-

Elphinstone, general, continued.

rection, 250—and during the murder of Burnes, &c., *ib.*—indecision of, during siege of Commissariat fort, 251—recommends capitulation, 252—jealousy between him and Shelton, 253—storming of the Rickabashsee fort. *ib.*—his continued indecision, 254—indecision of, as to removal into the Balu-Hissar, 256—attempts to negotiate, 257—refuses to support Shelton at Beh-Meru, 258—capitulation, 259—faithlessness of the **Afghans**, 260—last instructions of Macnaghten to, 261—fresh treaty entered into, 262—the retreat, 263 *et seq.*—surrender of, 266—effect of his indecision, &c., 269—**causes** of his appointment, 270.

Elphinstone, lord, governor of Bombay, *v.* 247 note.

Elphinstone, Hon. Mountstuart, treaty concluded with **Afghanistan** by, *v.* 211—opposes the **Afghanistan** expedition, 226.

Elschmiadzin, fortress of, captured by the Russians, *iii.* 10—**attacked by the Persians**, *ii.* 11.

Elvas, Miguelite revolt in, *v.* 115, 117.

Ely, riots in, 1819, *ii.* 162.

Emancipation, difficulties in the way of, in Russia, *ii.* 17.

Emanu Ghui, expedition of Napier against, *viii.* 54—its capture and destruction, *ib.*

Emigrants, proposed indemnity to the French, *iii.* 78.

Emigrants, numbers of, 1820 to 1833, *iii.* 298 and note—present number of, 299—**influx of**, 1837, into the United States, *vi.* 46—number of, to Canada, 1817 54, 107 and note—**Irish remittances from**, 1848 51, *vii.* 250 and note.

Emigration, increased, from Great Britain caused by free trade, *i.* 5—from Ireland, 1843 to 1852, 6 note—from Great Britain, 1850 to 1852, *ib.*—increase of, to America, 86—**exclusively internal in Russia**, *ii.* 27—as a means of relieving the distresses of Ireland, 192—**influence of the passion for freedom in promoting**, 317—from Great Britain, 1838-52, *iii.* 242 note—of artisans, repeal of laws against, 214—**public advantage** which would have accrued to Ireland from, 273—**increase of**, in Ireland from free trade, 362—**vast increase of**, from England, *iv.* 58—**due to changes produced by the reform bill**, *ib.*—its amount, 1825 32 and 1846-53, *ib.* note—**amount from Ireland** as compared with price of wheat, *ib.*—**great increase of**, since the reform bill, 72—**characteristics of the passion for**, among the English and Germans, 216—its amount, *ib.* note—**amount of**, from Ireland, 1851-4, 27 note—**discussion in parliament on**, 1839, *vi.* 124—**necessity of**, in Ireland, 135—**amount of**, from Ireland during the famine, *vii.* 246—**table of**, 1811 to 1855, 247 note—its effect on the population, 248—**extensive**, from Scotland, after the famine, 252—**increase of**, from Great Britain, 292—**table of**, 1841 to 1852, *ib.* note—**Irish**, statistics of, 316, 319 notes—**small amount of**, to Algeria, 169—**statistics of**, 1846 to 1852, *viii.* 286 note—**influence of**, 1849, &c., 293—**effects of**, on census of 1851, 301—**effects of the gold discoveries on**, 327, 323 note—

what drives an established nation to, 360 *et seq.*—from Germany and England, 361—**influence of steam navigation**, &c., on, 364.

Emigration fund, formation of, by sale of crown lands, *vi.* 125.

Emigration question, commencement of the discussion of the, *iii.* 298—**debates on it**, *ib.*—**reflections on the subject**, and its importance, 299.

Enine, wife of Ali Pacha, *ii.* 353 note.

Empegnado, the, his execution, *v.* 96.

Empire, danger to the independence of Germany on the dissolution of the, *iv.* 216.

Employers, combination of workmen against, *iii.* 246—**and employed**, growing irritation between, *iv.* 63—**competition between**, and war with employed in France, 303, 383.

Employment, want of, the great cause of Irish distress, *iii.* 295—**want of**, for the educated classes in Germany, *iv.* 260—**government**, general passion for, in France, *vii.* 164.

Enars, the duke d', made member of Chamber of Peers, *i.* 93.

Encumbered Estates Commission, the, in Ireland, *iii.* 363.

Encumbered estates bill for Ireland, the, *vii.* 315 *et seq.*

Endowments, necessity of, to national education, *ii.* 163.

Enfantin, M., leader of the St Simonians, *iv.* 305—**trial of**, 354.

Enfranchisement, ministerial plan of, by the reform bill, *iv.* 20.

Engelhardt, general, defeat of the Hungarians by, *viii.* 250.

Enghien, the duke d', Chateaubriand's conduct on the murder of, *iii.* 182.

England, general, force organised under, *vii.* 33—his advance to the Kojuck, and defeat, 34—**passes the Kojuck Pass**, and joins Nott, 38—**retires through the Kojuck**, 42.

England, reduced produce of wheat in, from free trade, *i.* 6—**proportions of educated and uneducated criminals in**, 26—**iniquities perpetrated by juries in**, 157—the trials for treason in 1817 in, 169—**want of the parochial school system in**, 182—**statistics of crime in**, 204 note—**proposed introduction of the school system of Scotland into**, *ii.* 164—**statistics of education in**, 165—**newspapers published in** 1782, 1790, and 1821, 197 note—**consumption of animal food and wheaten bread in**, compared with France, *iii.* 172—**average produce per acre in**, 174—**crime in**, 1822, 1830, 258 note—**expense of the poor in**, compared with Ireland, 265—**grants from**, at various times to Ireland, 267—**effects of the conquest of Ireland by**, 269—**criminal commitments in**, 1822-31, 273 note—the collection, &c., of tithes in, 26—**bill for enfranchising the Catholics in**, thrown out, 276, 279—**bill prohibiting circulation of Scotch notes in**, 330—**great Protestant meetings in**, 1828, 339—**retribution on**, for Catholic emancipation, 361—**increase of poor-rates in**, 1823-30, 373 and note—**majority of members for**, against the reform bill, *iv.* 29 note—**change in representation of**, by the

England, continued.

reform bill, 57—education in, 221—the early prose writers of, 282—result of the elections of 1835 in, v. 408—diminished consumption of beer in, 413—government report on corporations of, vi. 2—bill for their reform, 4—immigration of Irish labourers into, 25—tithe bill for, and bill for registration of births, &c., 27—ratio of increase of population in, 35—pauperism and crime in, 1842, 69—the early struggles of Scotland with, 85—the elections of 1841 for, 148 note—the supremacy of, destroyed by the reform bill, 150—riots in, 1842, 284—bank act of 1844 for, 328—number of miles of railway completed in, to 1850, 338 note—diminution of crime in, during railway mania, 340 note—poor-rates and paupers, 1842-7, 343 note—proposed new turnpike regulations for, 363—employment and relief afforded by railways in, vii. 252—relative amount of poor-rate in, 260—ratio of mortality in, 271 note—miles of railway in, 290 note—pauperism and expenditure for it, 1847-8, 291 and note—committees for crime in, 1844-9, 292 note—town and country rates of mortality in, 313—average prices of wheat in, 1845-54, 317 note—paupers relieved in, 1848-56, 323 note.—See for the empire, Great Britain.

English, numbers of, in Paris, 1819, ii. 78.

English bankers, the, oppose the circulation of Scotch notes in England, iii. 330.

English and Irish Exchequers, consolidation of the, i. 67.

English farmers, jealousy of, in Ireland, iii. 271.

English institutions, unsuitness of, for the Irish, iii. 272—effects of the extension of, to Ireland, 335.

English government, effects of Catholic emancipation on, iii. 360.

English law, defect in, as regards treason, i. 170.

English Revolution, contrast between, and the French, iii. 178.

English and French silks, comparison between, iii. 242.

English spirits, increase of duties on, iii. 383.

English workmen, the expulsion of, from France, viii. 11, 32.

Engue, surrendered to the Carlists, v. 180.

Ennis, violent speech of O'Connell at, i. 355.

Enos, advance of the Russians to, iii. 61.

Eurique, don, one of the candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain, vii. 215.

Entail, law of, its necessity, iii. 88.

Entails, measures of the Cortes of 1820 regarding, i. 355.

Bothen, remarks on, i. 257.

Epornay, prosperity of wine-merchants of, iv. 81.

Epirus, intrigues of the Empress Catherine in, ii. 352—general insurrection in, 368—Greek expedition into, 358—successes of Bozzaris in, 398—operations of Bozzaris in, 399—operations in, 1824, 408—ravages of brigands in, v. 261.

Episcopalian, numbers of, in Ireland, v. 23.

Equality, passion for, in France, iii. 167—practical establishment of, in Poland, iv. 173.

Equestrian order, the, in the States-general of Prussia, iv. 255 note.

Eraso, general, escape of Don Carlos planned by, v. 184—destroys corn-mills at Bilbao, 174—defeat of Espartero by, 179—commands before Bilbao, 184.

Erche, M., minister of commerce, viii. 168.

Erekli, capture of, by the Egyptians, v. 248.

Erfurth, congress of princes summoned at, viii. 188.

Eristoff, prince, operations of, against the Persians, iii. 12.

Erivan, capture of, by the Russians, ii. 350—ceded to them, *ib.*—again taken by them, iii. 11—permanently surrendered to Russia, 13—province of, ceded to Russia, *ib.*

Erlon, the count d', his arrest, &c., ordered, i. 93.

Ernest, the archduke, at Custozza, viii. 101—defeat of Garibaldi by, 180.

Erolles, the baron d', heads the royalist insurrection, ii. 242—a member of the regency at Urgel, 251—proclamation by, *ib.* note—victory of, at Urgel, 251—defeated, 252—retires to France, *ib.*

Erolles, baron d', secret head of insurrection in Catalonia, v. 97—a Carlist leader, 168.

Erzeroum, population of, ii. 331 note, 345—forces under pacha of, 346—forces under him, 1822, 383—and 1823, iii. 16, 31—preparations for defence of, 38—capture of, by the Russians, 46—retreat of Paskevitch to, 47.

Escalante, general, v. 202—defeated by Gomez, 203.

Escovedo, political chief at Seville, ii. 237—elected to the Cortes of 1822, 240.

Eski-Arnautlar, combats at, iii. 53.

Eski Stamboul, attack by the Turks on, iii. 24, 25.

España, the conde d', suppression of insurrection in Catalonia by, v. 98.

Espartero, general, defeated at Guernica, v. 154—and at Onate, 161—removed from command, 177—surprise and defeat of, 179—relieves Bilbao, 184—defeated at Arrigorriaga, 192—movements of, 193—movements in concert with Cordova, 196—forces under, 197—combat at Orduna, 197—movements to relieve Bilbao, 206, 207—successful, 208—pursuit of Gomez by, 200, 201—forces under, and movements, 213—operations against Don Carlos, 217—efforts against the revolt of the troops, 218—refuses the premiership, *ib.*—becomes war-minister, *ib.*—pursuit of Don Carlos, 220—relieves Balmaceda, 222—his subsequent retreat, 224—defeats Count Negri, 225—further operations, 226, 227—further successes of, 230—capitulation of Maroto to, 231—retreat of Don Carlos before, *ib.*—subjugation of Cabrera, 232—becomes regent, 233—again overthrown, 234.

Espelata, governor of Pampluna, i. 350—relieves Bilbao, v. 184—attempts of the mob on, 189—movements of, 193—forces under, 197.

Espñosa, Don Carlos, appointed captain-general of Old Castile, i. 358—defeat of Quesada by, ii. 252—v. 202.

- Espionage, attempt to introduce system of, in India, vi. 202.
- Esseek, capture of, by the Austrians, viii. 243.
- Essex, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Established Church, Lord John Russell, &c., on an, v. 416—numbers belonging to the, in Ireland, vi. 11 note.
- Estar, count d', indemnity to, ii. 122 note.
- "Estates," establishment of, in Hanover, Baden, &c., iv. 224.
- Estates, meeting of the general, in Prussia, in 1842, iv. 251—the Hungarian, viii. 148—the Prussian, meeting of, 1848, 153—decree convoking the, in Austria, 202.
- Estates, hereditary, in Russia, ii. 12—sales of, in Ireland, under encumbered estates act, viii. 315 *et seq.*
- Estella, repulse of the Carlists at, v. 152.
- Esterhazy, prince, viii. 216.
- Estonia, enfranchisement of the serfs of, ii. 34.
- Estremadura, guerilla and robber bands in, i. 335—disturbances in, 1819, 342, ii. 238.
- Ettlingen, defeat of the Baden insurgents at, viii. 184.
- Etruria, defeat of the Arabs on the, vii. 177.
- Etruria, the queen of, treaty with Spain regarding, i. 340.
- Eu, Chateau d', visit of Queen Victoria to Louis Philippe at, and conferences on the Spanish marriages, vii. 211.
- Eubœa, insurrection in, ii. 389—pacha of, 397—successes of the Greeks in, 398—the Turkish garrison in, relieved, 404—defeats, &c., of the Greeks in, 423.
- Eugene, prince, victories of, over the Turks, ii. 332.
- Eugene, prince, attack on, before Schumla, iii. 24, 26—defeat of, before Varna, 27.
- Eugene, prince, of Savoy, viii. 114.
- Europe, exhaustion of the governments of, by the war, i. 2—effects of the alliance of France and England on, 4—calamitous effects of the revolution of 1848 on, 9—injury done to the cause of freedom by it, 12—influence of increased supplies of gold on, 18—ratio of increase of population in, 21—rapidity of reaction in, after the revolution of 1848, 30—general failure of representative institutions in, *ib.*—commencement of the wars of races in, 34—increased emigration from, 36—increasing influence of religion in, 41—increased influence of Russia in, ii. 7—sensation in, on the death of Napoleon, 132—simultaneous outbreak of the revolutionary spirit over, 1819 and 1820, 211—effects of the Spanish revolution in, 254—character of the wars of, 316—influence of the passion for freedom in, 517—wars of races in east of, 318—interest created in, by the defence of Misolonghi, 421—sensation caused by Navarino throughout, 431—character of the wars of, from 1815 to 1830, iii. 1—excitement in, on the passage of the Balkan, &c., 62—annual number of emigrants from, 298—interest excited by the debate on Navarino in, 328—new policy of England in, since the reform bill, iv. 57—influence of the French revolution of 1830 in, 119—change in attitude of France toward, 1830, 120—terrible wars between, and Asia, 170—causes of this perpetual strife, 171—opposite sources of their strength and weakness, *ib.*—disastrous effects of the conquest of the Byzantine empire, and the partition of Poland on, 172—importance of the restoration of Poland to, 215—sensation caused by the arbitrary decrees of the Germanic Diet in, 240—effect of the triumph of the Conservatives in 1815 on states of, 261—advantages of the German confederacy to the peace of, 262—hostility in, towards Louis Philippe, 315—increased consideration of France after the suppression of the revolt of the cloister St Meni, 340—powers of, how conciliated on behalf of government of Louis Philippe, 352—excitement in, on the successes of Ibrahim Pacha, v. 251—views of the powers regarding Russia and Turkey in 1839, 268—excitement in, on the bombardment of Beyrout, 274—escape of, from war on the Eastern question, 1840, 396—political feeling of landholders in, contrasted with the United States, vi. 50—effect of recent changes in, on power of Russia, 214—threatening aspect of, 1841, 280—Peel on increase of exports to, 289—consumption of sugar per head in, 290—sensation in, on the Afghanistân disaster, 302—effect of the Spanish marriages in, vii. 217—alarm excited by the revolutionary policy of England, 359—formation of league against her, *ib.*—excitement caused by annexation of Cracow, 203—effects on civilisation of the revolution in, viii. 360—operation of causes to arrest population, 364.
- European discipline, &c., introduction of, by Mehmet Ali, v. 243—effects of Mahmoud's introduction of 266.
- European powers, treaty agreed to by the, regarding the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, v. 279.
- European and Asiatic troops, right proportion of, in India, vi. 168.
- European Turkey, preparations for campaign of 1829 in, iii. 49.
- Europeans, characteristics of, iv. 171—sources of their strength and weakness, *ib.*
- Euxine, the, closing of, to all war-ships but Russian, v. 257.—See Black Sea.
- Evans, colonel, returned for Westminster, v. 32.
- Evans, general, the auxiliary legion under, v. 184—movements of his legion, &c., 192, 194—combat at Mendjur, and his subsequent inactivity, 196—forces under, 197—combat before St Sebastian, 199—operations under, and attack on Fontarabia, 205—defeat of, at Hernani, 212—resigns command, 213—capture, &c., of Irun, 214.
- Evans, sheriff, and the privilege of parliament, vi. 131—committal of, *ib.*
- Evans, Sir de Lacy, defeated in Westminster, 1841, vi. 148—arguments of, for the limited service system, vii. 272—opposes the embodying of the militia, viii. 323.
- Everett, Mr, on the emigration into the United States, i. 36 note.

- Evesham**, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Evora**, the archbishop of, v. 92—Miguelite feeling in, 117.
- Ewart**, Mr, bill introduced by, for giving counsel to prisoners, vi. 27—motion by, for abolition of punishment of death, 122.
- Exaltados**, the, in Spain, ii. 241—views of, in Cadiz, 292.
- Examiner**, the, on the ten-pound franchise, iv. 27—on the ministerial plan of reform, *ib.* note—supports the reform bill, 35.
- Exechmans**, general, efforts of, to save Labedoyere, i. 124—indemnity to, ii. 122 note—reception of, by Charles X., iii. 73—dismissed from service, 76—revolutionary force under, 155.
- Exchequer bills**, refusal of government to issue, 1825, iii. 237—fall in value of, 1847, vii. 262, 276.
- Exchequers**, the English and Irish, consolidation of, i. 67.
- Excise**, additions to the, 1839, vi. 136—comparative contributions per head to, in Scotland and Ireland, vii. 254.
- Exclusive system**, spread of the, in England, i. 206—its effect on society, 267.
- Excursion trains**, first starting of, and benefits from them, vi. 341.
- Executions**, diminution in number of, i. 204—conduct of the Irish peasantry at, iii. 272.
- Executive**, weakness of the, in Turkey, ii. 327—increased power of the, in France, iv. 168—views of the French liberals as to the government of the, v. 373.
- Executive commission**, weakness of the, in France, viii. 41.
- Exeter**, election of 1835 in, v. 409.
- Exmouth**, lord, sketch of the career of, i. 73 note—his first proceedings and demands at Algiers, 74—his preparations for the attack on Algiers, 75—the force under him, &c., 76—his last demands, 77—the battle, &c., 78—honours conferred on him, 81—his attack on Algiers as an instance of naval attack on land defences, v. 358—offer of, to Murat, i. 135.
- Export merchants**, distress among the, on the peace, i. 45.
- Exports**, ratio of, to shipping, 1820-1851, i. 15 note—British, 1792 and 1815, 44—large increase of, on the peace, 45—increase of, 1817, 166—and 1818, 175—amount of, 1818, 180—falling off in, 1819, 188—diminished, to South America, 213—increase of, for France, 1816 to 1821, ii. 78—fall in British, 1818 to 1821, 145—French, 1825-6, iii. 92—and 1822-30, 125 note—British, to South America, 1817-25, 218—British 1820-25, 221 note—1815-23, 222—failure of the reciprocity system to increase, 235—1838-53, 212 note—excess of imports over, 1825, 251, 253—falling off in, 1825, 262—Irish, 1793-1823, 268—British, 1818-32, as compared with currency, &c., 294 note—Irish, diminution of, 370—British, real and official values of, 371—increase in, 1814 to 1825, 378 note—comparative, to France, Russia, and Australia, iv. 28 note—French, fall in, after the Revolution, 139—British, 1830 to 1833, v. 29 note—increase of, to India and China, 1827-49, 38 note—Irish, before and since the Union, 62 note—French, 1834-6, 304—1837-41, 347 note—British, 1845-9, 401 note—1834-6, 405 note—United States, 1824-36, vi. 48 note—Great Britain to United States, 1835-42, 61 note—British, excess of imports over, 1837-42, and its effects, 62—Canada, increase of, since 1841, 106—West Indies, before and after emancipation, 113 note—comparison of navy with, 1792 and 1838, 138 note—India, 157 and note—decline of, from India under British rule, 164—India, 1849-54, 171 note—Great Britain, effects of distress in 1841, &c., on them, 282—1839-43, *ib.* note—decrease of, to United States, 1835 to 1843, 287—Peel on the state of, as affected by the corn laws, 289—1839-44, 311 note—1815 and 1845, 333 note—increase in, 1842 to 1847, 342 and note—great increase of imports over, to 1847, vii. 260—1846-9, 287 note—falling off in, 1847, 291—1845-50, *ib.* note—great excess of imports over, its causes and consequences, 305—increase of, by the gold discoveries, 325—1853-6, *ib.* note—France, increase of, 1841 to 1847, 118 and note—Algeria, 170—1850-55, 189 and note—France, 1845-50, viii. 14 note—Germany, 140 note—England, 1846 to 1852, 286 and note—effect of the gold discoveries on, 328.
- Exportation**, duties on, in Turkey, ii. 327—regulations regarding, in Germany, iv. 236.
- Eye**, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Eyre**, lieutenant, operations of, at Cabul, vi. 254—account of the retreat from Cabul by, 264, 265.
- Fabvier**, general, i. 151—at the funeral of Lafayette, iv. 378.
- Fabvier**, colonel, efforts of, to sow disaffection in the French army, ii. 292—at the passage of the Bidassoa, 288—defeated near Missolonghi, 419—force raised and operations under, 1825, 422—successes of, near Athens, 424—defeat of, in attempt on Chios, iii. 64—dismissed from Portugal, v. 89.
- Factory bill**, the, 1833, its provisions, &c., v. 55.
- Factory and education bill**, Sir James Graham's, vi. 313.
- Factory bill**, new, introduced by Sir James Graham, and Lord Ashley's ten hours' amendment, vi. 313.
- Factory children**, state, &c., of, in France, iv. 304.
- Factory districts**, large mortality in, vii. 268.
- Factory labour**, Mr Fielden's bill for limiting, vii. 267 *et seq.*
- Fain**, Baron, the work of, iii. 200.
- Falloux**, M., viii. 332.
- Faltchy**, crossing of the Pruth by the Russians at, iii. 15.
- Famagusta**, massacre of the Greeks in, ii. 368.

- Familles, la Société des, organisation, &c., of, v. 361—it is changed into that des Nations, *ib*.
- Famine, outbreak of, in Ireland, 1823, ii. 195—partial, in Ireland, 1830, iv. 13—the protectionists on the dangers of, in Ireland, vi. 368, 369—difficulty of return to the corn laws after the, 380—the danger of it had passed, *ib*.—commencement of the, in Ireland, vii. 238—inefficiency of the poor-laws to meet it, 239—government plans of relief, *ib*—extent of the distress, 240—mortality in Ireland from the, 245—reflections on it, 250—government provision against, in China, 2.
- Famines, Irish, 1823, &c., caused by potato disease, vi. 357—cessation of, in India under the Zemindar system, 160.
- Fanariot Greeks, the, ii. 335—murders of, 360.
- Faneourt, colonel, death of, during the mutiny at Vellore, vi. 173.
- Fane, Sir Henry, at first commands the Affghanistan expedition, vi. 223.
- Farms, splitting of, in Ireland for political purposes, ii. 269—small, multiplication of, in Ireland, 335.
- Farmers, the Irish, the agrarian outrages headed by, ii. 104 and note—identity of interest between, and the manufacturer, iii. 303—desire for reform among the, 367—opposition to the sliding scale among them, vi. 291—their state, 1845, 355.
- Farming, system of, in China, vii. 12.
- Faro, captured by Don Pedro, v. 130.
- Farrington, captain, defeat of the Affghan insurgents by, vi. 216.
- Fashion, the aristocracy of, and its influence, i. 206.
- Fathers of the Faith, title of, assumed by the Jesuits, vii. 195.
- Faubourgs, insurrection of the, 1830, iii. 141.
- Fancher, Leon, proposal of, regarding unemployed workmen, viii. 42—new loan proposed by, *ib*. one of the committee on electoral rights, 344.
- Faucit, Miss Helen, the acting of, i. 265.
- Federal union, influence of the revolutionary war in inducing the, in Germany, iv. 257—influence of, in Germany, 258—influence of, on the interests of mankind, 262—future possibilities of it, *ib*.
- Federici, general, at Pastrengo, viii. 87.
- Felangiers, general, appointed governor of Naples, i. 365.
- Felix, Don Ramon, becomes minister of the Transuarine provinces, ii. 231.
- Fellows, captain, at Navarino, ii. 429.
- Felony, bill for allowing counsel to persons accused of, rejected, i. 279.
- Feltre, the duke de, minister-at-war under Richelieu, i. 105—introduces law establishing courts-martial, 120—as minister-at-war, 274—changes introduced into the army by, 1817, 281—dismissed from the ministry, 288.
- Females, exclusion of, from the Spanish throne, iv. 118—decree abolishing this, 119—act regarding the employment of, of, in mines, vi. 312—bill for limiting the factory labour of, vii. 267.
- Ferdinand, the emperor, accession of, and his communication to the Diet, iv. 244—viii. 200—resignation of Metternich, 201—concessions made, 202—flight of, from Vienna, 210—proclamation from Innsbruck, and measures there, 211—disavows the proceedings of Jellachich, 212—returns to Vienna, 215—concessions of, during insurrection of Vienna, 229—retires to Olmutz, *ib*—abdication of, 238.
- Ferdinand of Naples, instructions of, regarding Murat, i. 138 note—breach of his promise of a constitution, 362—progressive reforms introduced by him, 363—accepts the constitution, 365—constitution granted by, in 1848, vii. 348—viii. 77—difficulties of, with the Chamber, and defeat of the insurgents, 78—dethroned in Sicily, *ib*—orders the withdrawal of his troops from the seat of war, 91—terms offered the Sicilians by, 125.
- Ferdinand VII., the character of, i. 331—his return to Spain, and treatment by the Cortes, *ib*. the decree of Valencia annulling the constitution, 332—terms of the decree, and pledges in favour of liberty, 333—enthusiasm with which received during his journey to Madrid, and his arrival there, *ib*.—courses open to him, 334—his despotic measures, *ib*.—re-establishes the inquisition, *ib*.—further arbitrary proceedings of, 335 *et seq*.—increasing tyranny of, 337—difficulties of, and change of ministry, *ib*.—marriage of, to the daughter of the king of Portugal, 338—treaty regarding the queen of Etruria, 340—marriage of, to the Princess Maria of Saxony, 346—vassilation of, 1820, 349—accepts the constitution, *ib*.—opening of the Cortes by, 354—refuses his assent to the decree against the priests, but at last yields, 356—illegal measures of, and his submission, 357—returns to Madrid, 358—humiliations to which subjected, *ib*.—position of, and attempt to resume his authority, ii. 230—attack by him on his ministers in the Cortes, 231—new ministry selected, *ib*.—appoints Murillo captain-general at Madrid, 234—vetoes the law regarding the clubs, *ib*.—closing of the Cortes, 235—speech of, on opening the extraordinary Cortes, 238—his irresolute conduct, 239—retires from Madrid to Toledo, 242—danger of, at Aranjuez, 244—complete prostration of his authority, 249—retires to St Isidoro, *ib*.—compelled to abandon Madrid on the advance of the French, 289—deposition of, by the Cortes, 291—position of, in Cadix, 292—negotiations with the French, 296—deliverance of, 297—scene at it, *ib*.—his first acts, 298—cruelties of, after his restoration, *ib*.—his entry into Madrid, and new ministry, 299—proclaimed by the Portuguese absolutists king of Portugal, iii. 307—Louis Philippe on, iv. 108—marriage of, to Christina, 118—decree altering the order of succession, 119—ultra-royalist conspiracy against, v. 93—absolutist proceedings, 95—suppression of revolt, and cruelties after it, 96—intrigues against, 1825, 98—death of his queen, and his marriage to Queen Christina, 101—intrigues regarding the succession, 102 *et seq*.—the Pragmatic Sanction, 103—birth of a daughter, 104—his irresolution, 105—his death, 109.

- Ferdinand, the archduke, at the storming of Sidon, v. 276.
- Fergusson, Mr, arguments of, for repeal of the test and corporation acts, iii. 332.
- Fergusson, Mr Cutlar, opposes the Irish coercion bill, v. 21—becomes judge-advocate, 64—opposes Lord Londonderry's appointment, 413—judge-advocate, 1835, 421 note—on the depression of Indian industry by our commercial code, vi. 200.
- Fermanagh, conflict between Catholics and Protestants in, iii. 375.
- Ferns, arrears of tithes in diocese of, v. 8.
- Ferozepore, meeting of the governor-general and Runjeet Singh at, &c., vi. 228.
- Ferozeshah, retreat of the Sikhs and march of the British to, viii. 84—battle of, 85 *et seq.*—second battle, 87 *et seq.*
- Ferrand, count, i. 132.
- Ferrandiners, secret society of the, iv. 374.
- Ferrara, democratic insurrection in, 1830, iv. 132—occupation of, 1847, by the Austrians, vii. 342—relief of citadel of, viii. 100—occupied by the Austrians, 107, 124.
- Ferrari, general, movements of, viii. 90.
- Ferretti, cardinal, vii. 339.
- Ferrol, revolt at, i. 349—holds out for the revolutionists, 292—surrender of, 294.
- Ferronnays, the count de la, made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 94—represents France at the Congress of Verona, ii. 253—minister of foreign affairs, iii. 101—retires from office, 105.
- Fêtes, public, decrees of the Germanic Diet regarding, iv. 239.
- Feuchères, madame de, connection of, with the Duke de Bourbon, iv. 105—his bequest to her, and reports circulated in consequence, 106—death of, vii. 140.
- Fends, prevalence of, in Afghanistan, vi. 209.
- Feudal exactions, number, &c., of, in Gallicia, vii. 197.
- Feudal militia of Turkey, the, ii. 340.
- Fendal privileges, abolished in Prussia, viii. 172.
- Feudal tenure, abolition of, in Hungary, viii. 207.
- Fentrier, M., minister of public worship, iii. 101.
- Fever, ravages of, among the army in Burmah, vi. 186, 189—in Ireland during the famine, vii. 245.
- Fever hospital, Dublin, grant to the, iii. 267 note.
- Few, captain, vii. 58.
- Fichte, the philosophy, &c., of, iv. 292.
- Fielden, Mr, on the new poor-law, 1839, vi. 72—bill brought in by, to limit factory labour, vii. 267.
- Fielding, the novels of, i. 249.
- Fielding, Copley, the paintings of, i. 259.
- Fieni, minister under Don Pedro, v. 132.
- Fieschi, attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe by, v. 297—his arrest, *ib.*—sketch of his career, *ib.* note—his trial and execution, 299—effects of the conspiracy of, on the position of the king, 304.
- Filangieri, general, capture of Messina by, vii. 79—commands against the Sicilians, 124—operations there, 126.
- Filibustering, origin of, in the United States, vi. 61.
- Financial year, proposed change in the, in France, i. 314.
- Finance, difficulties regarding, 1841, vi. 283.
- Finance committee, dissensions in the Goederich cabinet regarding the, iii. 327—appointment of the, 329.
- Finances, Algeria, vii. 169.
- Finances, Belgium, 1848, viii. 147.
- Finances, China, vii. 2.
- Finances, the French, desperate state of, in 1815, i. 97—1816, 144, 273—difficulties regarding, in 1817, 282—1817, 284—1818, 296—improvement in them, 1816 to 1820, ii. 78—1819, 83—1820 and 1821, 110—1822, 229—flourishing state of, on the accession of Charles X., iii. 77—1826-7, 92—1827, 97—1830, 124—under Louis Philippe, 1830, iv. 107—1831, 197—comparison of them, 1826-32, 138 note—indignation excited by the statement, 138—1832, 312—improved condition of, after suppression of revolt of St Meri, 341—1833, 1834, and 1835, 361—under Louis Philippe, statements regarding, v. 311—1836, 304—1837-41, 347 note—state of, 1841, 396—increasing embarrassment of, 1841, vii. 119—disastrous state of, 1840, 136—1841, and report on them, 145—1842, 154—increasing disorder of, under Louis Philippe, 166—state of, 1847, 365—speech of Thiers on; 1848, 377—last budget of Louis Philippe, 381—state of, 1848, viii. 14, 41—under Louis Napoleon, 67—disastrous state of, 1848, 333—1848-9, 334.
- Finances, Great Britain, contrast between, 1792 and 1815, i. 43—for 1815 and 1816, 55 note—1816 and 1817, 167—improvement in, 1818, 174—1818, 180—discussion in parliament on, 199—1819, *ib.* note—1820, ii. 164—1822, 205—1823, iii. 222—1824, *ib.*—detailed statement of, 1823, 1824, 224 note—1825, 256—1826, 300—1826, 1827, 1828, 321—1829, 369—1830, 382—1831, iv. 14, 47—distressed state of, 1832, v. 5—1832 and 1833, 6 note—1833, 30—1834, 156—1835, 405—1836, vi. 12—1837, 28—deplorable state of, 1839, 135—1840-42, 282 note—distressed state of, 1842, 294—proposed measures of Peel, *ib.*—1839-44, 311 note—favourable aspect of, 1844, 327—flourishing state of, 1842 to 1847, 342 and note—Peel's statement of, 1845, 343—1846, 371—1847, vii. 259—depressed state of, 1848, 290—1849 to 1852, viii. 300.
- Finances, deplorable state of, in Greece, 1826, ii. 423.
- Finances, Irish, before and since the Union, v. 62 note.
- Finances, India, 1839-52, vi. 160 note—how raised, &c., 163 and note—items of the revenue, 165—embarrassed state of, 200—1857, vii. 114.
- Finances, Poland, 1831, iv. 190—Gallicia and Posen, *ib.*—of Russian Poland, *ib.*
- Finances, powers of the States-general of Prussia regarding, iv. 255—1848, viii. 173.
- Finances, the Russian, statistics of, ii. 25—1819, 34—1826, iii. 8—1831, iv. 189 note.
- Finances, the Spanish, state of, from the loss of South America, i. 326—in 1815, 337, 341—measures of the Cortes regarding, 355—

- Finances, the Spanish, *continued*.
state of, and measures regarding them, ii. 234—1822, 241—deplorable state of, 245.
- Finances, Turkish, ii. 331.
- Finances, United States, effects of the crusade against the banks on the, vi. 59.
- Fine Arts, recent progress of, in England, i. 257 *et seq.*—in France, iii. 214 *et seq.*
- Finland, the acquisition of, by Russia, ii. 2—population of, 1831, iv. 189 note.
- Finlay, Mr, the affair of, viii. 318.
- Finlay, Mr Kirkman, free-trade petition presented by, ii. 168.
- Finn, Mr, motion of, on Orange lodges, vi. 11.
- Fisheries, companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.
- Fitzclarence, captain, at the arrest of the Cato Street conspirators, ii. 159.
- Fitzgerald, lord, motion by, on the Irish corporation bill, vi. 22.
- Fitzgerald, canal force in Scinde under, vii. 66.
- Fitzgerald, Mr Vesey, becomes president of board of trade, iii. 328—new corn-law introduced by, 1828, 330—defeat of, for the county of Clare, 336.
- Fitzherbert, Mrs, conduct of George III. toward, iii. 390—death of, and her career, vi. 42.
- Fitzjames, the duke de, i. 116—arguments of, for the government law of arrest, ii. 100—takes the oath to Louis Philippe, iv. 99—at Lamarque's funeral, 330—arrest of, 338.
- Fitzwilliam, earl, i. 179—dismissed from his lord-lieutenancy, ii. 152.
- Fiume, prices of wheat at, 1817 and 1819, ii. 141 note.
- Five per cents, proposed reduction of the, in France, v. 305 *et seq.*
- Flahault, count, efforts of, to save Labedoyère, i. 124—efforts of, to retain Prussia neutral toward Poland, iv. 208.
- Flax, consumption of, in England, 1822-5, iii. 251 note—abolition of duty on, vi. 344.
- Flaxman, the works of, i. 262.
- Flemings, jealousies between, and the Dutch, iv. 110.
- Fleury de Chaboulon, M., i. 124.
- Flinter, general, defeat of the Carlists by, v. 224.
- Flocon, M., vii. 148—on the proposed reform banquet, &c., 386—urges insurrection, 390—appointed one of provisional government, 400 and note—votes for, 1848, vii. 34 note—minister of commerce, 1848, 36 note.
- Flogging, prevalence of, in Russia, ii. 19—abolition of, in the Indian army, vi. 202—failure of this, vii. 234—discussion on, 1846, 231 *et seq.*—necessity of it in the field, 233.
- Florence, proposed congress at, ii. 258—revolutionary excitement in, 1830, iv. 118—reception of Lord Minto at, vii. 345—excitement in, on the fall of Milan, viii. 107—declares for a republic, 111—counter-revolution at, 123.
- Flotet, M., prefect of Toulouse, vii. 147.
- Florida, sale of, by Spain to the United States, i. 845.
- Flotte, M. de, elected for Paris, viii. 343 note.
- Flour, fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note.
- Flushing, the bombardment of, as an instance of naval attack on land defences, v. 358.
- Fo, religious system of, in China, vii. 6.
- Folard, the military history of, iii. 197.
- Follett, Sir W., solicitor-general, 1835, v. 407 note—solicitor-general, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Fontana d'Oro, the club of the, ii. 237.
- Fontanes, M. de, defence of the law of arrest by, i. 121—arguments of, for change in the electoral law, 311.
- Fonblanque, statistics of population from, viii. 301.
- Fontarabia, the British legion at, v. 205.
- Fontenay, cholera at, iv. 317 note.
- Foo-choo, opening of, vii. 20.
- Food, inapplicability of free-trade principle to, iii. 244—high price of, in Great Britain, 1841, vi. 281—Peel on effects of reduction in price of, 289—rise in prices of, 1845, 358—effects of free trade on prices of, vii. 317.
- Forbes, lieutenant, at the siege of Bhurtpore, vi. 198.
- Forbin des Essarts, M., moves the expulsion of Manuel, ii. 280.
- Foreign enlistment bill, arguments in parliament on the, i. 207 *et seq.*—is carried, 210.
- Foreign grain, effects of free trade on price of, vii. 294.
- Foreign market, comparison of, with the home, iii. 240.
- Foreign periodicals, decrees of the Germanic Diet regarding, iv. 239.
- Foreign policy, change of, in England after 1830, i. 4—change in British, and dangers from this, 15—change in, from the fall of the Wellington ministry, iv. 1—change in, since the reform bill, 57.
- Foreign shipping, proportion of, to British, 1820-51, i. 15 note—discouragement of, by the navigation laws, iii. 227—effects of the reciprocity system on, 232—statistics of, 1801-49, *ib.* note—comparison of, with British, 1842-56, vii. 327 note—effects of repeal of navigation laws on, viii. 292.—*See* Shipping.
- Foreign states, Lamartine's circular to, 1848, viii. 20.
- Foreign trade, value of, as compared with home, ii. 172.
- Foreign writers, explanation by, of the conduct of England in regard to slavery, vii. 229.
- Foreigners, prosperity caused in Paris by expenditure of, iv. 81—alien act for registration of, vi. 354.
- Forests, comparative want of, in Spain, i. 322—of Poland, value of the, iv. 173.
- Forli, capture of, by the Papal troops, iv. 315.
- Fort Cox, siege of, by the Caffres, viii. 312.
- Fort Hare, Caffraria, operations at, viii. 312.
- Forster, M., votes for, as vice-president of the Deputies, v. 309.
- Forté, marquis de la, viii. 50.
- Fortified places, mode of defence of, by the Turks, ii. 339.
- Fortune newspaper, advocates a republic, iv. 311.

- Forty-shilling franchise, unsuitability of, to the Irish, *ib.* 272.
- Forty-shilling freeholders, influence of creation of, in Ireland, *iii.* 269—facilities given by system of, to designs of Catholic Association in Ireland, 335—command of them obtained by it, *ib.*—violent declaration of the Catholic Association regarding the, 342—bill for disfranchising the, 353—the Irish, excluded by the reform bill, *iv.* 56.
- Foster, Mr Leslie, on the Irish church, *iii.* 277—opposes the Catholic emancipation bill of 1825, 285.
- Foucault, M. de, arrest of Manuel by, *ii.* 281.
- Fouché, discussions as to his appointment to the ministry, *i.* 86—appointed minister of police, 87—opposes reactionary measures, 89—advocates restoring the freedom of the press, 92—lists of the Napoleonists for punishment prepared by, 93—efforts of, during the elections of 1815, 102—dismissed from the ministry, 103—his fall and death, 104—efforts of, for the escape of the proscribed Napoleonists, 121—and to save Labedoyère, *ib.*—efforts of, for the escape of Ney, 126—and to save Lavalette, 132—the *Memoirs of*, *iii.* 200.
- Foucher, general, during the insurrection of June, *viii.* 40—wounded during insurrection of July, 49.
- Fould, M., returned to national assembly, *viii.* 41.
- Foundlings, total number of, in France, *iii.* 169 note—how managed when young, 171—number of, born in Paris, 1829-31, *iv.* 140 note—annual number of, in France, *v.* 350.
- Foundling hospital, Dublin, grant to the, *iii.* 267 note.
- Foundling hospitals, the, of France, *iii.* 170—their management of the children, 171—defence of, by Lanartino, *v.* 350.
- Four per cents, reduction of the, 1830, *iii.* 333—reduction of the, in England, *v.* 405.
- Fourvières, destruction of the, *viii.* 22.
- Fowey, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
- Fox, C. J., views of, with regard to the sinking fund, *iii.* 333—conduct of George IV. to, in reference to Mrs Fitzherbert, 390—and Mrs Fitzherbert, *vi.* 42.
- Foy, general, *i.* 309—returned to the Deputies in 1819, *ii.* 84—his previous career and character, *ib.*—on the death of the Duke de Berri, 94—arguments of, against the proposed law of arrest, 99—arguments of, against the new electoral law, 104—named a member of Berton's provisional government, 225—protests against the expulsion of Manuel, 282—returned for Paris, 1824, 307—on the ordonnance regarding the army, *iii.* 76—on the proposed indemnity to the emigrants, 80, 82 note—death and character of, 86.
- Foy, Fernand, elected for Paris, *viii.* 343 note.
- Franc-Communeros, society of the, in Spain, *i.* 358.
- France, position and social state of, at the close of the war, *i.* 1—causes in, which pre-disposed to the revolution of 1830, 3—the middle class elevated to power by the re-

France, *continued.*

volution of 1830, 4—the alliance with England which followed, *ib.*—arrest of the revolution of 1848, 11—restoration of military despotism by Louis Napoleon, 12—standing army of, *ib.*—distress from contraction of the currency, 19—proportion of crime to education, 26—rapidity of reaction after 1848, 30—effects of representative institutions on, 31—increasing influence of religion, 41—difficulties of the government after Waterloo, 83—difficulties from the changeable disposition of the people, *ib.*—effects this produced in 1815, 84—effects of the first restoration, *ib.*—humiliation and sufferings after Waterloo, *ib.*—reaction against Napoleon, &c., 85—difficulties of Louis XVIII. in consequence, *ib.*—ministry of 1815, 87—proclamation of Louis XVIII., *ib.*—entry of the king into Paris, 88—violence of the royalists, 89—difficulty regarding the Chambers, *ib.*—new electoral constitution, 90 *et seq.*—royalist difficulties, 91—partial restoration of the freedom of the press, 92—the punishment of the Napoleonists resolved on, *ib.*—ordinance regarding the Chamber of Peers, 93—making the peerage hereditary, 94—the allied troops in, *ib.*—the army of the Loire, 95—reorganisation of the army, 96—restoration of the works of art from, *ib.*—desperate state of the finances, 97—royalist reaction in the south, 98—massacres, &c., there, 99 *et seq.*—persecution of Protestants, 101—temper during the elections, 102—their ultra-royalist character, 103—fall of the Talleyrand ministry, 104—that of the Duke de Richelieu, 105—difficulties of the negotiations with the allies, 107—demands of the allies, 108—the treaty of Paris, *ib.*—moderation of the allies, 112—meeting and temper of the Chamber of Deputies, 113—opening of the Chambers, and the king's speech, 116—difficulties about taking the oath of fidelity, 117—influences urging the government to the punishment of Ney, &c., 123—considerations which weighed with the court, *ib.*—general amnesty proclaimed, 140—proposed new law of elections, 142 *et seq.*—the budget for 1816, 144 *et seq.*—discussion on the endowment of the church, 146 *et seq.*—discussion on the law of divorce, 148—changes in the administration, 149—conspiracy of the liberal party, *ib.*—outbreak of Didier at Grenoble, 150—subsequent severities, *ib.*—conspiracy in Paris, 151—and at Lyons, *ib.*—preparations for a change in the electoral law, *ib.*—ordinance of 5th Sept., 164—feelings on it, *ib.*—effects of it, 155—reflections on the reaction of 1815, 156—it was forced on the government, 157—iniquities perpetrated by juries in, *ib.*—illustration of human vicissitude from, 159—causes which led to the failure of the Revolution, 160—effects of the coup d'état of 5th Sept., 271—democratic basis on which the franchise was now founded, 272—the elections of 1815, *ib.*—efforts of the royalists and liberals, *ib.*—result of the elections of 1815, 273—internal government after the coup d'état,

France, *continued.*

273—general distress in, 274—opening of the Chamber of Deputies, *ib.*—state of parties in it, 275 *et seq.*—discussion on new law of election, 276 *et seq.*—proposed new laws regarding individual freedom and the liberty of the press, 279 *et seq.*—scarcity in, and measures of government to relieve it, 281—more liberal system in the army, *ib.*—concordat between, and Rome, 282—great difficulty regarding the finances, *ib.*—efforts of Wellington and the Emperor Alexander with regard to the indemnities, 283—convention regarding the army of occupation, 284—the budget for 1817, *ib.*—law regarding bequests to the church, 285—arguments for a proprietary clergy, 286 *et seq.*—changes in the ministry, 288—the elections of 1817, 289—state of public opinion, *ib.*—new law of recruiting, 291 *et seq.*—expiry of the laws regarding personal freedom and prevotal courts, 293—failure of that for establishing the concordat, 295—budget for 1818, 296—arrangement concluded regarding the indemnities, 297—representatives of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, 299—secret treaty with the allies, *ib.*—and secret protocols, 300—evacuation of, by the allied troops, 302—the elections of 1818, 305—financial crisis in, *ib.*—breaking up of the ministry, 306—new ministry formed, 308—measures of the new ministers, 309—general promotion of the liberals, *ib.*—movement against the electoral law in the Peers, *ib.*—discussion on it, 310—excitement in, with regard to the law of elections, *ib.*—defeat of the ministry, 313—their measures, 314—great creation of peers, *ib.*—ascendancy of the liberals in the Deputies, *ib.*—results of the change already made, 315—repeated coups d'état, *ib.*—those all on the popular side, 316—flight of Spanish liberals into, 325—invasion of, by the Spaniards in 1815, 327—population per square mile, *ii.* 10 note—representative of, at the Congress of Trochu, 36—neutrality of, at the Congress of Laybach, 37—first symptom of alliance with England, 38—evils of, at the close of 1816, 77—rapid flow of prosperity during the following year, *ib.*—exports, imports, and revenue, 78—thorough establishment of representative institutions, *ib.*—increasing demands of the liberal party, 79—popular acts of the new ministry, *ib.*—return of parties proscribed, 80—increasing strength of the liberals, *ib.*—law regarding the press, *ib.*—debate on the return of the proscribed parties, 81—sensation excited by this debate, 82—increasing violence of the press, *ib.*—the budget for 1819, 83—preparations for the elections of 1819, *ib.*—their results, *ib.*—change in the ministry, 86—attack by the press on the new one, 87—king's speech at opening of session, *ib.*—strength of parties in the Chamber, *ib.*—designs of the liberals in Paris, 88—new electoral law proposed, *ib.*—and decided on by the government, 89—opposition of the liberals to it, *ib.*—assassination of the Duke de Berri, 91—sensation caused by it,

France, *continued.*

93—indignation against the ministry, 94—fall of Decazes, and formation of a new ministry, 95—first measures of the session, and discussion on the law of arrest, 99 *et seq.*—discussion on re-establishing the censorship, 100 *et seq.*—reflections on it, 102—alarming state of, and defensive measures of government, 103—denunciation of the secret government, 104—proposed new electoral law, *ib.*—discussion on it, *ib.* *et seq.*—disturbances in Paris, 108 *et seq.*—the budget for 1820 and 1821, 110—organisation and objects of the conspiracy in the army, 111—its failure, 112—prosecutions which followed, *ib.*—birth of the Duke de Bordeaux, 113—rejoicings on it, *ib.*—congratulations and promotions on the birth of the prince, 114—rupture with the Doctrinaires, *ib.*—disturbances in the provinces, and internal measures of government, 116—changes in the royal household, *ib.*—new organisation of the army, 117—ordonnance regarding public instruction, 118—the king's circular to the electors, *ib.*—result of the elections, 119—effect of the change in the Assembly, *ib.*—change in the ministry, 120—speech of the king on opening the session, *ib.*—measures fixing the electoral districts, 121—law for additional ecclesiastical endowments, *ib.*—modification of the corn laws, *ib.*—law for indemnity to imperial donatories, 122—new law regarding censorship of press, *ib.*—increasing irritation and difficulties of the ministry, 123—fall of the Richelieu ministry, 124—the new one, *ib.*—importance of the accession of the royalist ministry, 125—effects of the change in the electoral law, *ib.*—defects of the representative system in, 126—undue ascendancy of the Parti-prêtre, *ib.*—cause of the reaction against liberal institutions, 127—death of Napoleon, *ib.* *et seq.*—objects of the liberals in, as compared with England, 133—difference in the causes which produced discontent in the two, *ib.*—effects of over-issues of paper in, during the Revolution, 136—monetary crisis in, 1819, 142—loans raised in 1817-18, *ib.* note—number of children receiving education, 165—exports from England per head to, 173 note—number of capital offences in the code of, 198—character of the revolutionary attempts of 1819-20, 212—divergence from England on the Spanish question, *ib.*—law regarding the press, 222—rise of the Carbonari and secret societies in, 224—conspiracy at Beloit, 225—insurrection at Thonars, *ib.*—conspiracy at La Rochelle, 226—insurrections at Colmar, Marseilles, and Toulon, 228—budget of 1822, 229—favourable result of the elections to the royalists, *ib.*—state of public opinion, 230—declaration regarding South American independence, 240—instructions to her representatives regarding Spain, 261—questions proposed on the Spanish question, 262—the results of the congress to her advantage, 263—effects of the Spanish revolution in, 253—necessity for the intervention in Spain, 254—views with which the

France, *continued.*

intervention is regarded in England, 255—danger of a renewal of the family compact, *ib.*—representatives of, at the Congress of Verona, 258—views of, at the congress, 259—the slave trade carried on under flag of, and her resistance to its suppression, 260—division in the cabinet on the Spanish question, 266—continued warlike preparations, 267—unanimity in favour of war, *ib.*—withdrawal of the ambassador from Spain, *ib.*—opening of the Chambers, and the royal speech, 268—reply of the Spanish government, *ib.*—discussion in the *Députés* on the Spanish question, 274 *et seq.*—effect produced by Chateaubriand's speech, 278—Talleyrand on the war, *ib.*—vote for carrying it on, 279—enthusiasm for the Spanish war, 282—efforts of the liberals to sow disaffection in the army, *ib.*—first difficulties in the Spanish campaign, 286—forces, 287—the invasion of Spain, 288 *et seq.*—declines the intervention of Russia in Spain, 302—elections of 1824, and strength of the royalists, 306—opening of the Chambers, 307—law of septenniality, *ib.*—law for reducing the interest of the national debt, 309—difference between the funds of, and those of England, *ib.*—changes in the ministry, 310—statistics, *ib.*—death, &c., of Louis XVIII., 312—merit of the invasion of Spain in 1823, 314—it nearly established the throne of the restoration, *ib.*—it was justifiable, 315—efforts of, to avert a rupture between Russia and Turkey in 1821, 350—and on behalf of the Principality, 1823, 394—views of, regarding Greece, 421—the treaty of 6th July regarding Greece, 425—naval preparations to enforce it, 426—final note to Turkey, 427—expedition from, against Ibrahim Pacha in Greece, *ib.* 64—position of, on the accession of Charles X., 70—his character, *ib. et seq.*—the Duke d'Angoulême declared dauphin, 71—secret camarilla of priests, 72—censorship of the press abolished, 73—dangers of this, *ib.*—increasing influence of the Jesuits, 74—their strength in the legislature and ministry, *ib.*—general prosperity in, 76—injudicious measure regarding the army *ib.*—meeting of the Chambers, *ib.*—state of the finances, 77—civil list, and restoration of the Orleans estates, *ib.*—proposed indemnity to the emigrants, 78—difficulties of the government in connection with it, 80—arguments against it, *ib. et seq.*—effects of the indemnity to the emigrants, 82—law against sacrilege, 83—measures for the reduction of the debt, 84—coronation of the king, 85—prosecutions of the liberal press, *ib.*—recognition of the independence of St Domingo, 87—proposed change in law of succession, 88 *et seq.*—finances, 1326 and 1827, 92—measures of the Jesuits, *ib.*—jubilee in, *ib.*—Jesuit preceptor to the Duke de Bordeaux, *ib.*—re-establishment of the censorship, 93 *et seq.*—indignation caused by this, 94—passing of the law, 95—disbanding of the National Guard of Paris, 96—results of this, *ib.*—treaty of 6th July regarding Greece, and convention

France, *continued.*

regarding the slave trade, 97—financial projects and embarrassments of the government, *ib.*—a dissolution resolved on, 98—censorship re-established by ordinance, *ib.*—creation of peers, and dissolution, *ib.*—preparations of the parties, 99—elections and riots in Paris, 100—recriminations between the ministry and the Jesuits, *ib.*—dissolution of the Villèle ministry, 101—the Martignac ministry, *ib.*—meeting of the Chambers, 102—law excluding government employés from the suffrage, 103 *et seq.*—new law regarding the press, 104—law against the Jesuits, *ib.*—preparations for change of ministry, 105—opening of the Chambers, 1829, 106—state of parties in the *Députés*, 107—accession of the Polignac ministry, 108—importance of this, 109—attacks of the press on the ministry, 112—Lafayette in the south, *ib.*—retirement of La Bourdonnaye, 113—Polignac's memoir on the state of, 115—influence of the press in, 117—their hostility to the Polignac ministry, *ib.*—meeting of the Chambers, 118—votes on the presidency, and address, *ib.*—prorogation of the Chambers, and designs of the king, 122—prosecutions of the press, 123—report of finance minister, 124—population, &c., *ib.*—taxes and revenue, *ib.*—public debt, *ib.*—general prosperity, 125—and discontent, *ib.*—the expedition to Algiers, 126 *et seq.*—negotiations with England on the subject, *ib.*—agreement with Russia for extending the frontier to the Ruine, 131—dissolution of the Chambers, *ib.*—result of the elections, 132—*coup d'état* resolved on, *ib.*—the ordinances, 133—want of preparation on the part of the government, 136—issuing of the ordinances, and their first effect, 137—commencement of the insurrection, 138—commencement of the conflict in Paris, 140—measures of the government, 142—proceedings of the liberals, and formation of provisional government, 144—state of affairs at St Cloud, and firmness of the king, 145—forces, &c., on the 29th, 146—meeting of liberals at Lafayette's, *ib.*—and their resolution, 147—continued successes of the insurgents, 148 *et seq.*—Paris evacuated by Maimont, 150—concessions resolved on, *ib. et seq.*—attempt to form a new ministry, 151—completion of the revolution at Paris, 152—last attempt at negotiation, *ib.*—the lieutenant-generalcy refused by the Duke d'Orleans, 153—the king retires from St Cloud, *ib.*—and abdicates, 154—departure of Charles X., &c., for England, 156 *et seq.*—reflections on the fall of the Restoration in, 158—errors of the king in the conflict, 159—difference in this respect in England, *ib.*—secret objects of the liberal opposition, 160—error of the king in his ground of resistance, *ib.*—want of preparation by the government, 161—error of the government in not arresting the liberal leaders, *ib.*—effects of the treachery of the troops, 162—results of this to the cause of freedom in, *ib.*—error of the military commanders, 163—cause of this in the composition of the army, *ib.*—

France, *continued.*

military errors committed, 164—*influence of the Parti-prêtre on government, 165—veinence of the opposition to the restoration, ib.—the constitution as popular as the country could bear, 166—the Bourbons identified with the national disasters, ib.—effect of the continuance of peace, 167—causes of the expeditions to Spain and Algiers, ib.—political reasons for these, 168—effects of the destruction of the aristocracy, ib.—absence of religious restraint in the towns, 169—number of natural children in these, ib.—political effect of this, 170—these as combatants in Paris, ib.—circumstance which mitigated these evils, 171—decline in the comforts of the working classes, ib.—causes of this, 172—effects of the division of land on industry, 173—burdens on the land in, 174—crowding of the inhabitants into towns, 175—effects of destruction of commercial wealth during the revolution, ib.—general competition and misery of working classes, 176—want of representation of them, ib.—were the ordonnances illegal, 177—previous ones not objected to, ib.—necessity for coups d'état in, 178—conduct of the king, ib.—sketch of the literature of, during and after the restoration, 179 *et seq.*—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—exports to, 1840-9, 236 note—exports of silks from England to, 243 note—preponderance of agricultural population in, 303—origin of the differences between, and Portugal, 1826, 307—disavows the proceedings there, 309—tendency of, toward military conquest, iv. 57—exports to, compared with Australia, 58 note—effects of uniform representation in, 79—objects of the revolution in, 80—its failure, 81—prosperity of the bourgeois class, ib.—their interests adverse to those of labour, 82—effects of spread of machinery, &c., ib.—increased strength of government, ib.—dangers to which this led, 83—the Republicans, ib.—the Napoleonists, 84—the Orleansists, ib.—the duke remains in retirement, ib.—he proposed as king, 85—the duke proposed as lieutenant general for the Duke de Bordeaux, ib.—first placards in the Orleans interest, 86—his situation, ib.—interview between Thiers and the duchess, 87—irresolute conduct of the duke, ib.—meetings of the Deputies and Peers, ib.—meeting at the Chamber of Peers, 88—meeting of republicans, ib.—scene at the Hotel de Ville, 89—defeat of the Napoleonists, 90—panic of the Orleansists, ib.—arrival of the duke at Paris, ib.—he accepts the lieutenant-generalship, 91—Guzot's proclamation of the principles of the government, 92—visit of the duke to the Hotel de Ville, ib.—efforts of his partisans to popularise his dynasty, 94—conversation between him and the republicans, ib.—speech of Chateaubriand, ib.—acceptance of the crown by Louis Philippe, 98—speeches on his accepting the constitution, ib.—changes in the constitution after the revolution, 99—resignation of peers and ministers who were appointed, ib.—distress in Paris, 100*

France, *continued.*

—reception of the revolution at Lyons, Bordeaux, and in the provinces, 100—recognition of Louis Philippe by the English government, 101—reception of Louis Philippe's accession on the Continent, ib.—he recognised by Austria, 102—and by Prussia, ib.—his character, *ib. et seq.*—dissensions in the council, and violence of depuration of National Guard, 105—death and will of the Duke de Bourbon, *ib.*—reports spread on the bequest of his property to the Duke d'Angoulême, 106—attitude of Lafayette, and its dangers, *ib.*—arrest of the ex-ministers, and disturbances in Paris, *ib.*—first legislative measures, 107—discussion on electoral law, *ib.*—financial measures, *ib.*—proceedings against popular societies, *ib.*—attempt to revolutionise Spain from Paris, 108—this secretly favoured by Louis Philippe and his ministers, *ib.*—its failure, 109—*influence of the revolution in Germany, 115—in Switzerland, 117—and in Italy, ib.—resumé of the influence of the revolution in, 119—change in her attitude toward the continental powers, 120—cabinet divisions, and fall of the ministry, 121—trial of the ex-ministers of Charles X., *ib. et seq.*—dissolution of the ministry, 123—Lafitte's ministry, 124 *et seq.*—sentence on the ex-ministers, 126—disaffection of the National Guard, and misery in Paris, 127—demands of Lafayette, *ib.*—his dismissal from command of Guard, 128—changes in the cabinet, *ib.*—favourable accounts from Algiers, 129—great additional expenditure for the army, *ib.*—crown of Belgium offered to Duke de Nemours, 130—views on its refusal, 131—a party to convention for separation of Belgium and Holland, 130—at first declares against Austrian intervention in Italy, 133—violence of parties, and misery in Paris, 137—budget of 1831, and its effects, *ib.*—indignation it excited, 138—state of commerce and credit, 139—indignation of the democrats, *ib.*—extravagant ideas afloat, *ib.*—corruption resulting from the system of centralisation, 140—moral statistics of Paris, *ib.*—tumult in church of St Germain l'Auxerrois, 141—disturbances in Paris, and weakness of government, 142—fall of Lafitte, and appointment of Casimir Perier, 143—views of parties on this change of ministry, *ib.*—change in electoral law, 144—proscription of the Bourbons, *ib.*—opposition of the liberal journals to Perier, and formation of National Association, *ib.*—Perier's statement of the principles of his government, 145—efforts of the king to conciliate the electors, 146—disturbances in Paris, *ib.*—the king's progresses into Normandy and Champagne, *ib.*—unfavourable issue of the elections, 147—the king's speech, *ib.*—defeat of government in choice of president, &c., 148—views of, regarding Holland and Belgium, 149—reasons which led her to support the Belgians, *ib.*—supports the election of Prince Leopold, 150—change in her language regarding Luxembourg, 151—progress of negotiation, and secret treaty with England, 152—interven-*

France, *continued.*

tion of her troops in Belgium, 154—armistice, and withdrawal of them, *ib.*—acquiescence of the northern powers in her settlement of Belgium, *ib.*—forcible intervention of, in Lisbon, 155—compels the submission of Portugal, 156—excitement on the affairs of Belgium, *ib.*—arguments of the opposition on foreign affairs, 157—answer of ministers, 158—violence in the Chamber on the debate on Poland, 159—excitement on the fall of Warsaw, 160—law against the Bourbons, *ib.*—proposed abolition of the hereditary peerage, 162—debate on it, *ib.* *et seq.*—it is carried, 167—reflections on it, *ib.*—previous degradation of the peerage, 168—secret views regarding Poland, 184—efforts to retain Prussia neutral toward Poland, 208—moderation displayed by Germany toward, on the peace, 216—education in, 221—statistics of crime and education compared with Prussia, *ib.*—dread of, awakened in Germany by the revolution of 1830, 237—and by the alliance between her and England, 238—feeling in, on the arbitrary measures of the Germanic diet, 240—influence on Germany of the war with, 256—great increase of the power of the crown from previous changes, 302—social dangers of the government, *ib.*—picture of the working classes at this time, 303 *et seq.*—these evils aggravated by the revolution, 304—commencement of the Lyons insurrection, and condition of the workmen there, 305—attempt to fix a tariff for wages, *ib.*—the insurrection at Lyons, 306 *et seq.*—measures of the government against it, 308—its suppression, 309—views on it entertained, *ib.*—renewed efforts of the republicans, and sketches of their leaders, 310 *et seq.*—strength of the republican press, and extravagance of the court, 311—the civil list, *ib.*—increase in the general expenditure, and budget for the year, 312—conspiracy of Notre Dame and the Rue Prouvaires, 313—conspiracy at Grenoble, *ib.*—remonstrances against the Austrian intervention in Romagna, 314—expedition to Ancona resolved on, and reasons for it, *ib.*—occupation of Ancona, 316—effects of this, *ib.*—first appearance of cholera in Paris, *ib.*—commissions on it, 318—its ravages, *ib.*—fortitude and benevolence shown, 319—death of Casimir Perier and of Cuvier, 320—attempt of the Duchess de Berri in the west, 321 *et seq.*—disquietude and measures of the royalists, 324—vain attempt at insurrection, 325—the duchess resolves on a rising, which fails, *ib.*—adventures of the duchess, and extinction of the revolt, 326—the duchess in Nantes, *ib.*—forbearance of the government towards the adherents of the duchess, 327—her betrayal by Deutz, capture, and imprisonment, *ib.* *et seq.*—discontent and democratic movement in Paris, 329—death of Lamarque, *ib.*—his funeral, and commencement of the insurrection, 330—preparations of the government, *ib.*—the insurrection, *ib.* *et seq.*—vigorous measures of government, 332—mysterious meeting at Lafitte's, *ib.*—progress of the insurrection,

France, *continued.*

333—moral chances on both sides, *ib.*—measures and forces of government, *ib.*—Soult's military measures, 334—successes of the insurgents, and consternation of military chiefs, 335—forces on both sides, and scene of the struggle, *ib.*—successes of the troops, 336—storming of St Meri, *ib.*—conduct of the king, and results of the conflict, 337—deputation from the Chamber, *ib.*—answer of the king, and Paris declared in a state of siege, *ib.*—resistance to this, and legal decision regarding it, 338—arrest of royalist leaders, *ib.*—proceedings of the courts-martial, 339—war with the press, 340—increased consideration of the government from the suppression of the revolt, *ib.*—improved condition of the country and revenue, 341—connection by marriage of Leopold with, *ib.*—changes in ministry, and new creations of peers, *ib.*—preparations for war with Holland, 342—convention with England for cession of Antwerp to Belgium, *ib.*—negotiations on the subject, 343—preparations for war, 347—preparations for siege of Antwerp, *ib.*—the siege of Antwerp, 345—effects of its capture in, 347—abandonment of the barrier treaty, 349—additions thus made to her power, *ib.*—vindication of Polignac's coup d'état, 350—results of the double victory over the royalists and republicans, 351—force and corruption, the principle of the government, 352—its general policy, *ib.*—its danger in the end, 353—liberation of Duchess de Berri, *ib.*—journey of Duke of Orleans through the south, *ib.*—licentiousness of romances and theatres, 354—trial of the St Simonians, *ib.*—changes in ministry, and creation of peers, 355—Soult's circular to the prefects, *ib.*—state and views of the republicans, 356—death of Napoleon's son, *ib.*—opening of Chambers, and king's speech, 357—trials of strength in the Chambers, *ib.*—project for fortification of Paris, 358—opposition to it, 359—large grants for public works, and their distribution, *ib.*—income and expenditure, 1833, 360—king's journey to Normandy, and answers to addresses, 361—new spirit of propagandism, 362—remonstrances of Russia, &c., against Polish committee, *ib.*—propagandist organisation in Germany, 363—efforts of propagandists in Switzerland and Italy, *ib.*—affairs of Algeria, 365 *et seq.*—violence of the press in Paris, 1833 and 1834, 367—opening of Chambers, 1834, and violence of parties, 368—correspondence with the allies on a general disarming, *ib.*—discussion on, at Congress of Muntz-Graetz, 364—laws against public criers, and imposing stamp duty on pamphlets, 369—law against association, *ib.*—violent debates on it, 370 *et seq.*—passing of the repressive measures, and changes in cabinet, 372—resistance to the law against secret societies, *ib.*—their organisation and objects, 373—insurrection resolved on at Lyons, 374—its causes, *ib.*—outbreak of the revolt, *ib.*—desperate struggle, and final success of the troops, 375—insurrectionary movements over the country, 376—

France, *continued.*

and in Paris, 376—defensive measures of government, 377—their victory, and massacre in the Rue Transnonaine, 378—their measures after victory, *ib.*—death of Lafayette, *ib.*—rise of Lamartine, and his character, 379—dissolution of the Chamber, and results of the elections, 381—results of the revolution of July, *ib.*—change for the worse it had induced, 382—error of the liberal explanation of these changes, *ib.*—how the revolution failed, *ib.*—schism between proprietors and proletaires, 383—effect of her intervention in 1823 in Spain, v. 85 *et seq.*—recognises the absolutist revolution in Portugal, 83—sympathy with the reactionists in Spain, 91—support given the Queen's party in Spain by, 108—recognises Queen Isabella, 109—conduct of, on Don Miguel's usurpation, 119—a party to the Quadruple Alliance, 134—her policy in it, 135—effects of her support to the liberals in Spain, 141—further interference in Spain, 160—demand by Spain for auxiliary force, 184—reasons against Turkey applying for aid to, 252—intervention of, between Turkey and Egypt, 253—acquires in the Russian intervention, 254—remonstrances of, against treaty of Unkar-Skelessi, 257—views and policy of, regarding Greece, 258—evacuation of Greece by troops of, 38—coldness between, and Russia, 261—alliance with Mehmet Ali, *ib.*—jealousy in England regarding this, 262—divergence between them on the Eastern question, *ib.*—causes of the coldness between them, *ib.*—increasing coldness between Turkey and, 263—efforts of, to avert hostilities between Turkey and Mehmet Ali, 264—policy of, in the Eastern question, 1839, 268—excluded from treaty for settlement of the East, 269—conciliatory note of the allies to, 270—extreme irritation in, 271—danger of rupture between her and Great Britain, *ib.*—excitement in, on the bombardment of Beyrout, &c., 274—views of Louis Philippe at this crisis, *ib.*—conference between him and Guizot, and its results, 275—change in views and policy of, 276—note from M. Thiers to the allied powers, *ib.*—fall of Thiers and accession of Guizot, 276—terms of treaty between Mehmet Ali and Turkey arranged by, 279—a party to the treaty regarding the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, *ib.*—danger of England from, in 1840, 282—repented defeats of the republicans, 283—opening of the Chamber, 1834, and great majority for ministers, *ib.*—ministerial changes, 284—declaration of the new ministers in favour of economy, *ib.*—further changes, and Count Molé premier, 285—fall of new ministry, and restoration of old one, *ib.*—flourishing state of Algiers, *ib.*—first debate on address, 286—majority for ministers in the Chamber, 287—Mortier succeeded by de Broglie as premier, *ib.*—cause of the long ministerial crisis, 288—divergence of Thiers and Guizot, *ib.*—character of de Broglie, 289—settlement of question with the United States, 289—commencement of the trials for treason, 290—effect of mode of trial resolved

France, *continued.*

on, 290—contest with the bar, 291—contest about the choice of counsel, 292—commencement of the proceedings, *ib.*—refusal of the accused to plead, *ib.*—progress of the trial, 293—continued disorders, *ib.*—proceedings in Deputies on the subject, 294—the trials disjoined, and escape of the Parisian leaders, *ib.*—conclusion of the trials, 295—reflections on them, *ib. et seq.*—fête of July, and conspiracy against the king, 296—explosion of the infernal machine, 297—arrest of the assassin, &c., *ib.*—effect produced by this in Paris, 298—funeral of Mortier and the other victims, *ib.*—execution of the murderers, 299—proposed new law of repression, *ib. et seq.*—answer of the opposition, 301 *et seq.*—laws proposed for this purpose, 303—improved position of government in 1836, *ib.*—increased prosperity, and beginning of railway mania, 304—fall of the duke de Broglie, 305—proposed reduction of the interest of the debt, *ib.*—views of ministers on the subject, and their resignation, 307—Thiers becomes premier, *ib.*—postponement of the question of the reduction of the interest, and first trial of strength in the Chambers, 308—Thiers's profession of faith, 309—declaration of Guizot, *ib.*—and of Odillon Barrot, 310—legislative measures, *ib.*—important financial statements, 311—negotiations regarding occupation of Cracow, *ib.*—other diplomatic treaties, 312—journeys of the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours to Berlin and Vienna, *ib.*—Ahlbrandt's attempt to assassinate the king, 313—his seclusion in his palace, *ib.*—the secret societies in Switzerland, 314—measures against them, *ib.*—the Spanish question and its dangers, 316—change of ministry, and accession of Count Molé, *ib.*—liberation of Polignac, &c., 317—death of Charles X., 318—Louis Napoleon's attempt at Strasbourg, 319 *et seq.*—conduct of the government toward him, 322—trial and acquittal of his fellow-conspirators, *ib.*—law for disjunction of trials, which is rejected, 324 *et seq.*—modification of ministry, 325—alliance arranged for Duke of Orleans, 326—preparations for it, and general amnesty, 327—the marriage, and subsequent catastrophe, *ib.*—inauguration of Versailles as a palace of the arts, *ib.*—fresh political societies, 328—dissolution of the Chamber, *ib.*—affairs of Africa, 329 *et seq.*—faults of the government in Africa after the Revolution, 330—increased efforts of, in Algeria, 333—views of parties on Algeria, 335—recriminations on the disaster before Constantine, 337—indignation in, on the treaty of La Tafna, 339—necessary rigour of the government of Louis Philippe in, 342—joy in, on the storming of Constantine, 343—fresh creation of peers, *ib.*—leaders of opposition, 344 *et seq.*—opening of Chambers, 345—growth of railway companies, 346—M. Arago's report on railway lines, *ib.*—general prosperity, 347—fever of speculation, *ib.*—frauds on the public, 348—influence of passion for gain on literature and the press, *ib.*—

France, *continued.*

change induced on system of government, 349—great increase of corruption, *ib.*—position of Count Molé, and his attention to the court, 350—statistics of the army, and social concerns, *ib.*—death and character of Talleyrand, *ib.* *et seq.*—conspiracy of Hubert, 352—Louis Napoleon expelled from Switzerland, *ib.*—evacuation of Ancona, 353—views of, on the Belgian question, 1838, 355—warlike preparations of, 356—differences with Mexico, 357—coalition against government, and dissolution of Chambers, 359—ministerial crisis, and attempt to form a liberal administration, *ib.*—attempts to form a ministry, 360—organisation of la Société des Familles, 361—insurrection of 12th May, 362—second ministry of Soult, *ib.*—state of parties after this change, 363—trial of Barbès and the conspirators, 364—their views in the conspiracy, 365—progress of the Napoleon party, *ib.*—increased strength of the government, 366—debate on affairs of the East, *ib.* *et seq.*—Soult's measures there, 369—Jouffroy's exposition of the system of government, 370—affairs of Africa, *ib.*—the insurrection there, 371—successes against it, *ib.*—death of Princess Marie, 372—creation of peers, *ib.*—commencement of agitation for lowering the suffrage, *ib.*—views of liberals as to government of executive, 373—opening of session of 1840, and king's speech, *ib.*—speech of Thiers on the Eastern question, *ib.* *et seq.*—reflections on this debate, 375—marriage of the Duke de Nemours and Princess of Saxe-Coburg, *ib.*—donation to Duke de Nemours refused by the Deputies, 376—second ministry of Thiers, *ib.*—it supported by first division, 377—early measures of the ministry, *ib.*—state of the press, 378—bill regarding infant labour, *ib.*—project for removing the bones of Napoleon to Paris, 379—pillar to Insurrection on the Place of the Bastille, 380—expedition of Louis Napoleon to Boulogne, *ib.* *et seq.*—Darmès's attempt to assassinate the king, 382—reinterment of Napoleon's remains, 383 *et seq.*—affairs in the East, 384—Guizot's account of British policy there, 385—memorandum of the allies, 386—indignation on the treaty of 15th July, *ib.*—vigorous measures of the cabinet, 387—different views as to the fortifying of Paris, *ib.*—great preparations, 388—memorandum to English government, *ib.*—Guizot's views on the Eastern question, 389—withdrawal of the fleet from the Levant, *ib.*—cause of the downfall of Thiers, 391—new ministry, *ib.*—king's speech at opening the Chamber, 392—debate on the address, *ib.* *et seq.*—division in favour of government, 394—fortifications of Paris continued, *ib.*—Soult's view with regard to these, 395—state of the finances, *ib.*—treaty of February 13 regarding the East, 396—danger of England from, *vi.* 45—commercial panic in, 1838, 68—cause of the decay of her colonies, 107—danger from war with, 1839, 196—her navy, 1840, contrasted with the British, 137—restrictive system of, 146—proportion of army to population, 107—in-

France, *continued.*

trigues with Zemaun Shah for invasion of India, 210—alliance with Persia, 1808, 211—effect of the revolution in augmenting the danger from Russia in the East, 214—alienation from England, 1841, 281—increased irritation of, by the Tahiti affair, 283—consumption of sugar per head, 290—origin of the dispute regarding Tahiti, 323—interference of the French missionaries there, 324—the island taken possession of by her, *ib.*—affair of Mr Pritchard, 325—adjustment of the matter, *ib.*—negotiations with England on the Spanish marriages, 326—prosperous condition of, 1841, *vii.* 117—great material prosperity, *ib.*—thirst for gain, 118—increasing discontent among the working classes, *ib.*—the deficits in the revenue, 120—increasing discontent, *ib.*—trifling subjects of debate in the Chambers, and serious objects of Thiers, *ib.*—objects of general thought and interest, 121—causes of this divergence, *ib.*—Chamber of Peers afforded no remedy for the evils, 122—danger of this state of things, *ib.*—mistake committed in the national education, 123—its religious character induced socialism, *ib.*—blindness of the government, &c., to this, 124—corruption the great engine of government, *ib.*—efforts of the liberals to discredit the government, *ib.*—Louis Blanc's picture of the country, 125—spread of socialist principles, 126—want of an adequate currency, *ib.*—general demand for reform, *ib.*—feeling regarding subservieny to England, 127—different objects on which the attention of government was set, *ib.*—position and movements of the clergy, *ib.*—speech of Arago on reform, *ib.*—answer of Thiers, 129—succession of reform banquets, 130—banquet at Chatillon, 131—growing importance of the question of wages, *ib.*—speech of Arago on it, 132 *et seq.*—commencement of combination and riot in Paris, 133—riots in 1840, *ib.*—measures of government to suppress them, 134—their causes, *ib.*—effect of the general monetary crisis, 135—failure of the attempt to form private railway lines, *ib.*—the government takes them, *ib.*—state of the finances in consequence, 136 *et seq.*—untoward commencement of the Guizot ministry, 137—treaties with England regarding the slave trade, *ib.*—treaty of Dec. 1841 with the allied powers, 138—indignation excited by this treaty, 139—interdiction of the Polish banquet, 140—publication of letters ascribed to Louis Philippe, *ib.*—prosecutions against the publishers of these, 141—ambiguity regarding their authorship, 142—debate on reform, and its refusal, 143—law on literary property, *ib.*—first step in favour of free trade, 144—disastrous state of the finances, 145—proposed new valuation, 146—discontent excited by it, *ib.*—troubles at Toulouse, 147—death of Garnier Pagès, and election of Ledru-Rollin, 148—his trial and acquittal, *ib.*—attempted assassination of the Duke of Orleans, &c., *ib.*—doctrine of moral complicity, 149—debate on reform in the council of

France, continued.

state, 149—movement in its favour in the Chamber, 150—debate on it, *ib. et seq.*—extension of the railway system, 154—close of the session and new elections, *ib.*—death of the Duc d'Orleans, 155—division of parties on the regency question, 156—debate on it, *ib. et seq.*—sketches of leading men, 159 *et seq.*—corruption of ministerial majority, 164 *et seq.*—demoralisation of the National Guard, 165—resume of state at this time, 166—the war in Algeria, 1840 8, 167 *et seq.*—differences and rupture with Morocco, 182—treaty, 187—true value of Algeria to, 189—her occupation of it, and the British of India, 190—change in external policy of, during the last years of Louis Philippe's reign, *ib.*—excitement on affair of Orléans, 191—pacific views of the king and Guizot, *ib.*—violence of the public journals, 192—affair of the university, 193 *et seq.*—decision of the Chamber, 195—negotiations with Rome, and ordonnance against the Jesuits, 195—effect of these measures, *ib.*—treaty regarding right of search for slaves, 196—excitement in, on annexation of Cracow, 203—embarrassment of the government on the Polish question, 204—renewed attempt to assassinate the king, 205—escape of Louis Napoleon from Ham, 206—marriage of the Duc de Bordeaux, 207—last election under Louis Philippe, *ib.*—the Spanish marriages, 208 *et seq.*—danger to England of alliance with Spain, 209—proposals for double marriage from Spain, 210—further conferences, 211 *et seq.*—the marriages contracted, 212—coldness in consequence with Great Britain, *ib.*—its effects, 217—who was to blame in them? 218—effects of this disunion on Poland, 331—class from which the army is drawn in, 233—army of, 1846, 234—navy, 235—details of her army, 236 note—expansion of her paper currency, 283—miles of railway in, 290 note—effects of the monetary crisis in England on, 303—change in distribution of population, 315—increased protective system, 324—exports and imports with, 324 note—comparative exports of, and those of England, &c., 325 note—differences on treaty of Utrecht, 332—cordiality before the marriages, 333—discord with England regarding Greece, 334—reunion with England regarding Portugal and La Plata, 336—measures and policy of, in the Papal States, 342—policy toward Switzerland, 351—supports the Swiss conservatives, 355—a party to the proposed league against England, 360—causes of her different policy and that of England in 1847, 361—the completeness of the revolution in, *ib.*—internal state in end of 1847, 362—the Prince de Joinville's letter, *ib.*—views of the king, 363—deficient crops of 1845 and 1846, 364—potato failure, 1846, and monetary crisis, *ib.*—financial state of, 1847, and great loan, 365—enlarged issues of bank notes, *ib.*—currency, 1846-7, 366 note—corruption in the government departments, 366—events which brought it to light, 367—further scandals, trials of Teste, &c., 368—the murder of the Duchess de

France, continued.

Fraslin, 369—use made of these abuses by the revolutionists, 370—cry for reform, *ib.*—discontent of the National Guard, 371—coalition against government, and measures agreed on, *ib.*—commencement, &c., of the banquet agitation, 373—efforts of the liberals to keep back the socialists, 374—Lamartine's views, 375—decline of the banquet agitation, *ib.*—meeting of Chambers, and king's speech, 376—discussion on address, *ib. et seq.*—last budget of Louis Philippe, 381—division on address, *ib.*—opposition resolve on a banquet, 382—agitation in Paris, 383—death of the Princess Adelaide, *ib.*—preparations for banquet, *ib.*—and for the procession, 384—difficulties regarding it, *ib.*—decision of the liberal chiefs against it, 385—strength of the republicans, 386—forces and measures of government, *ib.*—aspect of the people, 387—policy of the National Guard, *ib.*—they in effect join the insurgents, 388—consternation at the palace, 389—Guizot resigns, *ib.*—its reception, 390—catastrophe in front of his house, 391—the dead bodies paraded, *ib.*—Thiers sent for, *ib.*—agitation during the night, 392—success of Marshal Bugeaud, *ib.*—the troops withdrawn, 393—effects of this concession, *ib.*—abandonment of the Palais Royal, 394—last hours of the monarchy, *ib.*—the king abdicates, 395—his flight, and proceedings of the generals, 396—escape of the royal family, 397—heroism of the Duchesse d'Orleans, *ib.*—opinion in the Chamber, 398—treachery of Lamartine, *ib.*—entry of the Duchesse d'Orleans into the Chamber, *ib.*—she is refused a hearing, and compelled to retire, 399—nomination of provisional government, 400—and of another, and proclamation of republic, *ib.*—portrait of the revolutionists, 401—escape of the Duchesse d'Orleans, &c., *ib.*—causes of the revolution, 402 *et seq.*—analogy between the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, viii. 1—discontent with rule of middle class, *ib.*—first acts of provisional government, 2—disorders round Paris, 3—confusion, &c., at the Hotel de Ville, *ib.*—cares of the government, *ib.*—disorders in Paris, 4—conduct of Lamartine with regard to the Drapeau Rouge, 5—institution of Garde Mobile and volunteers, *ib.*—decrees against ex-ministers, *ib.*—re-opening of clubs, &c., 6—prostration of credit, and formation of Ateliers Nationaux, *ib.*—their origin, 7—principles of the Socialists, 8—absence of religious jealousy, 10—socialist demands of working classes, 11—acts against free trade, and expulsion of English workmen, *ib.*—financial crisis, and resignation of the finance minister, 12—state of the bank, *ib.*—suspension of cash payments, 13 *et seq.*—state of finances, 14—indirect taxes taken off, and additions to direct, 15—indignation at this, 16—decree convoking the Assembly, *ib.*—it postponed, 17—Ledru Rollin's circular to electors, *ib.*—and Carnot's, 18—fresh measures of intimidation, 19—abolition of punishment of death for political offences, *ib.*—Lamartine's foreign circular, 20—his au-

France, continued.

answer to Irish deputation, 21—disorders in Lyons, &c., 22—reception of revolution in Algeria, 23—attempt to revolutionise Belgium, *ib.*—declaration to Poles, *ib.*—military preparations, 24—suspension of cash payments by savings banks, *ib.*—recognition of the republic by the United States and Great Britain, *ib.*—new circular of Ledru Rollin, 25—efforts to control the elections, 26—dissolution of flank companies of the National Guard, 27—republican demonstration, 28 *et seq.*—repulse of requisitionists, 29—elections, 30—preparations for revolt, *ib.*—conspiracy against Ledru Rollin, *ib.*—insurrection at Paris, and its suppression, 31 *et seq.*—disorders at Rouen, &c., 32—great review in Paris, *ib.*—the elections, *ib.*—first meeting of the Assembly, 34—appointment of executive commission, 35—discontent of the Socialists, 36—division between them and the Assembly, *ib.*—insurrection of May 15, 37 *et seq.*—measures which followed its suppression, 39—subsequent proceedings of Assembly, 40—agitation in favour of Louis Napoleon, *ib.*—increasing conservatism of electors, and weakness of government, 41—state of finances, *ib.*—insurrection of June, 42 *et seq.*—Cavaignac dictator, 45—termination of insurrection, 48—its results, 49—disturbances in provinces, 50—first measures of Cavaignac's government, 51—the revolutionists punished each other, 52—embarrassment of the finances, 53—inquiry into the revolts, *ib.*—violence of Proudhon, 54—repressive measures, 55—proposed assessment of income, *ib.*—discussion on constitution, 56 *et seq.*—constitution adopted, 60—renewed club agitation, 61—return of Louis Napoleon, and his entry into the Assembly, *ib.*—renewed banquet agitation, 62—contest for the presidency, *ib.*—embarrassment from events at Rome, 66—election of president, *ib.*—ministry, 67—state of finances, *ib.*—failure of indirect taxes and imposts, *ib.*—effects of revolution on universal suffrage, 68—effects of the revolution upon Italy, 70—revolutionary attempt on Savoy from, 83—protest by, against the Austrian occupation of Bologna, 107—the minister of, opposes resumption of hostilities by Sardinia, 111—negotiates the armistice, 120—intervention of, at Leghorn, 123—assistance to the Sicilians from, 124—the government resolve to attack Rome, 127 *et seq.*—intervention of, in favour of the Italian revolutionists, 133—invasion of Belgium from, and its defeat, 146—sides with England regarding the Hungarian refugees, 318—part taken by, in the affair of Don Pacifico, *ib.*—danger of war with, 319—naval strength of, 1850, 320—the representative of, at Wellington's funeral, 329—state of government after the election of the president, 331—formation of army of the Alps, *ib.*—divisions and changes in cabinet, 332—appointment of vice-president, *ib.*—state of finances, and debate on salt duties, 333—increased duty on successions, *ib.*—financial state, 1848 and 1849, 334—laws regarding prison labour, *ib.*—meas-

France, continued.

ures on primary education and the council of state, 335—reaction against the revolution and the Assembly, *ib.*—proposed dissolution of the latter, 336—conspiracy of January 29, 337—the general election in May, 338—meeting of the Assembly, *ib.*—insurrection of June, 339 *et seq.*—flight of the Radicals, and repressive measures of government, 340—revolt in Lyons, *ib.*—change of ministers, 341—impression made by this, *ib.*—measures of Louis Napoleon, 342—election in Paris, 343—its effects, *ib.*—meeting of Louis Napoleon with the electors, *ib.*—new law on electoral rights, 344—effect of it, *ib.*—hostile spirit of the Assembly, 345—president's tour in the provinces, *ib.*—parliamentary coalition against him, 346—rupture between president and Changarnier, 347—opening of new session of Assembly, *ib.*—rupture between it and the president, 348—violent proceedings in it, *ib.*—hostile vote against him, 349—change of ministry and exhaustion of parties, *ib.*—new ministry, 350—revision of constitution, *ib.*—the president and Cavaignac on it, 351—vote against revision of constitution, and prorogation of Assembly, *ib.*—state of parties and change of ministry, *ib.*—opening of session, 352—motion on questions, *ib.*—it rejected, 353—views of lenders, *ib.*—military meeting, 354—conspiracy in Assembly, *ib.*—preparations for coup d'état, *ib.*—president's proclamation, 355—dispersion of National Assembly, 356—combat in Paris, *ib.*—majority for Louis Napoleon, 357—final results of the great convulsion in, 358 *et seq.*—diminished increase in population of, 361.

France, Isle of, residence, &c., of Villèle in, *ib.* 220 note.

Franchise, peculiar, established in France and England by the revolution of 1830, i. 4—the, change in, in France, and effects of it, 271—its democratic basis, 272—as defined by the Spanish constitution of 1812, 327—in France under the Restoration, *ib.* 166, 176—influence of the law, in Ireland, 269—terms of, as arranged for the reform bill, *ib.* 15—admission of tenants-at-will to, 38—settlement of, in Ireland by the reform bill, 56—as regulated by constitution of 1830 in France, 99—demands of Lafayette regarding, 127—lowering of, under Louis Philippe, 144—effects of this, 382—commencement of agitation for lowering the, in France, *v.* 372—proposed reduction of, in Ireland, *ib.* 141—extension of, in Belgium, 1848, *viii.* 146—Holland, by constitution of 1848, 148—the Prussian, by constitution of 1848, 153, 172—new form of, in Prussia, 186—in Hungary, 207—the proposed, in Austria, *ib.*—bill lowering the, in Ireland, 320.

Francis II., the emperor, a party to the Holy Alliance, *i.* 111—arrival of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—at the Congress of Troppau, *ib.* 36—at that of Laybach, 37—measures of, against the Piedmontese insurgents, 41—recognition of Louis Philippe by, *ib.* 102—

- Francis II., the emperor, *continued*,
at the Congress of Muntz-Graetz, 364—
death of, 244.
- Francis Joseph, accession of, viii. 238—
proclamation by, *ib.*—declared Viceroy of Bo-
hemia, 204—joins the army, 266.
- Francis, Sir Philip, death and character of,
i. 185.
- Francisco, don, marriage of, to the Queen of
Spain, vii. 216—alienation of the queen
from, 336.
- François, general, during the insurrection of
June, viii. 46.
- Frankfort-on-the-Maine, contributions from
France to, i. 109 note—population of, iv. 258
—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—
fixed as the meeting-place of the Germanic
Diet, iv. 217—representation of, in the
Diet, *ib.* note—population and military
contingent, 216 note—progress of, since
the peace, 220—suppression of newspaper
in, 239—riot in, and its occupation by the
Austrians, 240—a member of the Zollve-
rein, 242—fresh riot in, and placed under
martial law, 243—society for liberty of the
press at, 363—outbreak at, *ib.*—statistics of,
viii. 140 note—excitement in, on the
French revolution of 1848, 149—meeting of
the Germanic Diet at, 155—outbreak in,
174—accepts the Germanic constitution of
1848, 181—removal of National Assembly
from, 182—meeting of the old Diet at, 191.
- Franklin, Dr, intumescence of Huskisson with,
iii. 227 note—and the Maine boundary
question, vi. 319.
- Franks, colonel, at Goojer t, vii. 105.
- Fraser, captain, wounded at Purwanduriah,
vi. 244.
- Frazer's Magazine, i. 236—opposes the reform
bill, iv. 35.
- Fraud, universality of, among functionaries
in Russia, ii. 27 *et seq.*
- Frauds, extension of facilities for, during
railway mania, vi. 338.
- Frayssenous, count, appointed to ministry
of ecclesiastical affairs, ii. 311, iii. 75.
- Frederick VII., accession of, in Denmark,
viii. 156—his views on the Schleswig ques-
tion, *ib.*—protests against the Prussian
invasion, 158—armistice, 161.
- Frederick, prince, at Vicenza, viii. 96.
- Frederick, prince, receives the command
against Brussels, iv. 113—his attack on it,
ib.—defeated, and retreats to Antwerp, 114.
- Frederick, prince, heads the Schleswig re-
volt, viii. 157.
- Frederick, general, wounded during the re-
volt at St Petersburg, ii. 62.
- Frederick William, King of the Netherlands,
negotiations of the insurgents with, iv. 112
—his speech on opening the Chambers, *ib.*
—his dethronement declared in Brussels,
114—resolution of, to withstand the ces-
sion of Luxembourg, 150—protests against
its cession, 151—declares war, 152—forces
under, 153—successes of, *ib.*—armistice
concluded on the intervention of the
French, 154—advantages gained by him,
155.—See Holland.
- Frederick William II. and Chateaubriand,
anecdote of, ii. 217 note.
- Frederick William III., a party to the Holy
Alliance, i. 111—arrival of, at Aix-la-Cha-
pelle, 298—interview between, and Alex-
ander, ii. 33—recognition of Louis Philippe
by, iv. 102—at Congress of Munschengratz,
241—death of, 248—his testament, *ib.* note.
- Frederick William IV., accession of, and his
first acts, iv. 245—his answer to the de-
mand for a constitution, 249—speech of,
on the inauguration of the cathedral of
Cologne, 251—at the general meeting of
estates, *ib.*—his speech on dismissing
them, 252—concessions of, *ib.*—declines to
interfere against the Puritan party, 253—
visit of Queen Victoria to, 254 and note—
measures of, to calm the religious excite-
ment of 1846, 254—speech of, on opening
the States-general, *ib.*—at the Congress of
Muntz-Graetz, 364—proclamation by, 1848,
viii. 150—yields to the demands of the
liberals, 151—new constitution, 153 *et seq.*
—change in views of, 163—proclamation re-
garding Posen, and insurrection there, 164
—measures to arrest the revolution, 166
—appoints Wrangel to command of the
troops, *ib.*—change of ministry, 167—
further measures, 168—dissolves the As-
sembly, 170—his victory, 171—new consti-
tution, 172—address to the troops, *ib.*—
the imperial crown offered to, 179—he re-
fuses it, 180—note from Austria to, *ib.*—
the smaller states urge him to accept the
imperial crown, 181—dissolves the new
Chamber, 186—new electoral law, *ib.*—
speech to new Chamber, 187—attempt to
assassinate, 188—views of, at the Warsaw
conference, 189.
- Frederick William, prince, at the Congress
of Troppau, ii. 36.
- Frederick William of Hesse-Cassel, made co-
regent with his brother, iv. 136.
- Fredericia, defeats of the Prussians at, viii.
192.
- Frederickstadt, bombardment of, viii. 195.
- Free Bands, attack on Lucerne by the, vii.
353.
- Free cities, the, effect of the act of the Ger-
manic Diet on, iv. 233.
- Free corps, the, in the Tyrol, viii. 85—their
defeat, *ib.*
- Free countries, character stamped on litera-
ture of, iv. 265.
- Free Kirk movement, the, in Scotland, vi. 85
et seq.—effects of it, 86 *et seq.*
- Free-labour sugar, proposed reduction of
duties on, vi. 328—reduction of duty on,
1845, 343.
- Free press, alleged danger to the crown from,
iv. 25.
- Free trade, the true authors of, i. 28—
Brougham on, 171—doctrine of, first
broached in parliament, ii. 168—applica-
tions of, to raw material, iii. 244—further
measures toward, 1825, 260—remote cause
of, 298—arguments for the application of,
to corn, 301—effects of reform in inducing,
362—its effects on Ireland, *ib.*—influence
of, on the Tory landholders, 367—motion
by Mr Hunt against, iv. 47—establish-
ment of, among the states of Germany, 236
—internal, established in Prussia, 237—
effects of establishment of, on Canada, vi.
106—declaration of Peel against, 1841, 142

Free trade, continued.

—and of Palmerston in favour of, 144—excitement in favour of, 1841, 147—Peel's change of view on, 272—first steps to, as regards sugar, 328—arguments of the supporters of, 1845, 354—application of, to grain inevitable, 356—conduct of the Irish members in supporting, and its effects on Ireland, 383—its adoption inevitable, 386—vast results of introduction of, vii. 219—alleged effect of, in producing the crisis of 1847, 283—and fettered currency, dangers of, 304, 305—the monetary crisis of 1847 due to them, 304, 309—ultimate effects of, irrespective of the currency, 311—commencement of national decline with, 315—at first induces cheap and ultimately dear food, *ib.*—was forced upon Sir R. Peel, 321—effects of it on national progress and independence, 322—its effects to be judged before 1852, 325—first step toward, in France, 144—approaches to, in Tuscany, 340—acts of the provisional government of France against, viii. 11—necessity for its universal extension, 284—effects of, on prices and imports of grain, 287—effects of, on price of foreign grain, 294—motion in parliament on, 297 *et seq.*—its effects, how modified, 300—cry for, induced by rise of prices, 362.—See also Corn laws.

Free-trade measures, influence of the, as regards the depopulation of Ireland, vii. 249.

Free-trade policy, results of the introduction of, in Great Britain, i. 5.

Free-trade system, danger arising from the, in Great Britain, i. 15—effects of the introduction of, on Russia, ii. 28—commencement of the, iii. 237—arguments in its favour, *ib. et seq.*—indication thus afforded of growth of commercial class, 239—arguments against it, *ib.*—its results as shown by experience, 241—introduced with reference to silk trade, 242—influence of, in leading to repeal of the corn laws, vi. 381—influence of the, on British shipping, viii. 202 and note.

Free-traders, the, arguments of, on the agricultural distress question, ii. 171 *et seq.*—advocate the abandonment of the colonies, iv. 72—exultation of, on Sir R. Peel's measure, vi. 368—oppose the Irish coercion bill, 377—oppose Mr Fildes's factory bill, vii. 269—attitude of, 1852, viii. 296—their arguments, 297.

Freedom, disastrous effects of the revolution of 1848 on, i. 12—sympathy in England with all struggles for, ii. 254—influence of the passion for, in promoting the dispersion of man, 317—effects of the treason of the French troops to Charles X. on the cause of, iii. 162—amount of, in France under the restoration, 163—the desire of, not the spring of the revolution, 167—influence of religion on, in England, 169—effects of the murder of Kotzebue on, iv. 229—effect of the act of the Germanic confederacy on, 233—ultimate effect of the Prussian reforms on, 237—effect of the French revolution in checking it in Germany, *ib.*—effect of the revolutionary war in increasing the passion for, in Germany, 257—and of general education, *ib.*—effects

of the Germanic confederacy on the progress of, 263—causes which shipwrecked it in Germany, 264—class government destructive of, 382—effects of long-continued, in England, v. 33—causes of the failure of the efforts of, in Germany, 1848, viii. 197 *et seq.*—final results of French revolution to, 358 *et seq.*—over-estimate of capacity of nations for, 367.—See also Liberty.

Freedom of corporations, abolition of, vi. 4.

Freedom of the press, partial restoration of the, in France, i. 92—demands of the estates of Prussia for, iv. 253—society for establishing, in France, 373—establishment of, in India, vi. 206—reflections on it, *ib.*—See also Press.

Freedom of thought, passion for, in France, *ib.* 230.

Freeholds, number and value of, in Ireland, iii. 269 and note—multiplication of small, there, 335.

Freemantle, Sir T., Secretary of Treasury, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Freemasons, democratic tendency of the, in Spain, i. 358—conspiracy headed in Poland by the, iii. 10—cruelties against, in Spain, v. 99.

Freemasons' societies, suppression of, in Russia, ii. 46.

Freemen, proposed extinction of the, vi. 6—arguments against it, *ib.*—it prevented by the Lords, viii.

Freiligrath, the poems of, iv. 279.

French, the, changeable disposition, &c., of, i. 83—their system of government in Egypt, v. 243—their stationary condition in Lower Canada, vi. 323.

French drama, character of, *ib.* 296.

French legion, the, in Spain, v. 192.

French missionaries, proceedings and interference of, Tahiti, vi. 324.

French nobility, contrast between their conduct and that of the English, v. 3.

French officers, large employment of, by Runjeet Singh, vi. 218.

French party, majority obtained by the, in the Canadian Assembly, vi. 105.

French and German philosophy, contrast between, iv. 291.

French physicians, heroism of, during the yellow fever at Barcelona, ii. 237.

French propagandists, efforts of the, in Switzerland and Italy, iv. 363.

French Revolution, the, completion of its first drama, i. 1—opening of the second, *ib.*—the true authors of, 28—Earl Grey's defence of, iv. 4—its influence on the reform question, 26—the reform bill a result of it, 57—objects to which directed, 80—its failure, 81—results of its infidelity, v. 342—its final results, viii. 358 *et seq.*

French Revolution of 1830, causes which predisposed to, i. 3—its influence on Great Britain, *ib.*—influence of it on the elections of 1830 in England, iii. 388, 393—the royal speech on it, 399—impetus to the reform passion given by it, iv. 65—objects to which directed, 81—influence of it in Belgium, 110—and in Germany, 115—review of its influence, 319—its influence on the revenue, 137—Casimir Perier on it, 145 influence of it on the nobility, 167—and in

French Revolution of 1830, *continued*.

- Poland, 176—great effect of, in checking freedom in Germany, 237—its disastrous effects there, 260—its effects on the condition and morals of the working classes, 304—its results to, 1834, 331—change for the worst it had induced, 332—error of the liberal explanation of this, *ib.*—how it failed, *ib.*—schism induced between proprietors and proletaires, 333—its effect in Portugal, v. 125 *et seq.*—influence of it in Switzerland, vii. 351—disappointment from it, 332—analogy between, and 1848, viii. 1.
- French Revolution of 1848, the, i. 9 *et seq.*—its effects in Europe, 9—effects of it on Great Britain, in aggravating the monetary crisis, vii. 237—diminished exports to, 1846-9, *ib.* note—on the Glasgow outbreak of 1848, 294—and in Germany, viii. 137, 146, 148—effects of the news of, in Vienna, 199—in Hungary and Bohemia, 203 *et seq.*
- French Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, increase of Russia from, i. 7.
- French silks, cheapness, &c., of, iii. 242.
- French wines, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 257.
- Frere, ensign, at the assault of Ghuznee, vi. 236 note.
- Freyre, general, measures of, against the insurgents at Cadiz, i. 347—proceedings of, at Cadiz, 351—conspiracy under, in Portugal in 1817, 359.
- Fribourg, society for liberty of the press at, iv. 363—protest by, against the suppression of the convents, vii. 353—a member of the Sunderbund, 354—capture of, by the revolutionists, 358.
- Fridrichs, colonel, operations under, iii. 42.
- Friends of the Constitution, society of the, in Spain, ii. 239.
- Friends of Ireland, the society of, iii. 304—put down by proclamation, *ib.*
- Frimont, general, operations of, against the revolution at Naples, ii. 40—suppression of insurrection in Bologna by, iv. 133.
- Froce, M. de, the writings of, i. 275.
- Frith, major, in battle before Poona, vi. 190—at battle of Miloon, 191.

- Froebel, M., viii. 232.
- Frollet, a guerilla leader, v. 97.
- Frome, member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Frondeville, the marquis de, on the law against seditious cries, i. 121.
- Frost, Mr John, the leader of the Chartists at Newport, vi. 83—his trial and sentence, *ib.*—his conduct on returning from transportation, 84 note.
- Frost, severity of the, in Great Britain, 1838, vi. 63.
- Fullerton, lord, supports right of able-bodied poor to relief, vi. 351 note.
- Fulton, first application of steam to navigation by, i. 215 note.
- Funis, the, rise of, in 1817 and 1818, i. 174—fall in, on the resumption of cash payments, ii. 145—reduction of the five per cents, 205—price of, 1824, iii. 223—reduction of the four per cents, *ib.*—high price of, 1834, 351—fall in, 1825, 264—reduction of the four per cents, 1830, 383—transfers in, proposed duty on, iv. 15 note—the French, fall in, after the revolution of 1830, 129, 139—rise in, after suppression of revolt of St Meri, 341—and in 1836, v. 304—votes of Chambers on reduction of interest on, 1837, 345—rise in, 1838, 347—1837-41, 348 note—fall of, during the Eastern crisis, 388—the English, rise in, 1834, 405—reduction of the four per cents, *ib.*—rise in, on announcement of the income tax, vi. 297—high rate of the British, 1844, and conversion of the three and a half per cents, 326—fall in, 1847, vii. 201—investments of the emperor of Russia in, 275—continued fall, 1847, 276—losses on, during crisis of 1847, 286—fall of, in Paris, 1848, viii. 6.
- Fundholders, Mr Attwood on the position of the, v. 29.
- Fussell, a Chartist, trial and sentence of, vii. 300.
- Futteh Jung, accession of, in Afghanistan, vii. 36—his dethronement and flight to the English, 39 note—brief sovereignty of, 43.
- Futteh Khan, treachery and death of, vi. 216.

G

- Gasta, flight of the Pope to, viii. 109.
- Gage, Sir W., a lord of the admiralty, 1841, vi. 290 note.
- Gagern, M. von, viii. 155—president of the Diet, 161, 163—ministry of, 176—conduct towards Austria, 178.
- Gagern, general von, murder of, viii. 161.
- Gain, passion for, in France, 1838, vi. 347, vii. 118—its effects on literature and the press, 348—absorbing passion for, during railway mania, vi. 336.
- Galata, the suburb of, ii. 335—great fire at, 395—school for Franks established at, v. 268.
- Galatz, exports of grain from, ii. 327—revolt of the Greeks and massacre of the Turks at, 363—defeat of the Greek insurgents at, 370—capture of, by the Russians, iii. 15.
- Gallois, general, operations under, in Africa, v. 371.
- Galliano, a member of the Cortes of 1822, ii. 240—moves the deposition of the king, 291.
- Galiccia, insurrection in, i. 343—royalist revolt in, 1820, 353, ii. 239, 243—reception of the decrees against the priests in, i. 357—continued civil war in, ii. 293—Carlist revolt in, v. 168—expedition of Gomez into, 299.
- Galiccia (Austrian Poland), *see* Gallicia.
- Galletti, a Roman revolutionist, viii. 109.
- Galley-slaves, liberation of, by the Palermo revolutionists, i. 366—revolt of, at Civita Vecchia, 369.
- Gallicia, defensive preparations of Austria in, iv. 134—spread of the secret societies in, 176—preparations of Austria in, 1831, 183

Gallicia, *continued*.

—statistics of, 190—retreat of Dwernicki into, 202—and of the Podolian insurgents, *ib.*—their disarming there, 212—state of, under Austria, 1845, vii. 197—disputes about the *corvées*, 198—spread of socialism, *ib.*—injurious influence of the Jews, 199—and of the disbanded soldiers, *ib.*—the insurrection in, 200 *et seq.*—its horrors, 201.

Gallipoli, population of, ii. 331 note.

Gallitzin, Prince Alexander, ii. 67.

Galloway, major-general, at the siege of Bhurtpore, vi. 197.

Galway, the famine of 1823 in, ii. 195 note—disturbances in, 1831, iv. 36—increased, since the Union, v. 62 note—proposed municipal reform of, vi. 20—proclaimed in 1848, vii. 801.

Gambaloita, combat at, viii. 105.

Gambolo, defeat of the Barmians at, viii. 116.

Game laws, the, as a source of crime, i. 201.

Gamelle, secret society called, iv. 873 note.

Gandja, capture of, by the Russians, ii. 349.

Ganges Canal, the, vii. 108 note.

Gantheaume, admiral, made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 94.

Garabata, the, in Algeria, iv. 367.

Garay, Don Martin de, heads revolt in Navarre, i. 349.

Garcia, Don Basilio, Carlist expedition under, v. 205—successes of, 224—defeated and his forces dispersed, *ib.*—captures Almaden, 225—execution of, 230.

Garde Mobile, institution of the, viii. 5—on the revolt of March, 81—during the revolt of 15th May, 87—during the insurrection of June, 44—cruelty of the insurgents of June to, 49—discontent of, 337.

Garibaldi, forces under, viii. 105—incursion of, into Lombardy, and its defeat, 107—return of, to Rome, 110—heads the insurgents at Rome, 126—moves against the Neapolitans, 128—defensive preparations, 129—his flight, 130 note—dispersion of his bands, and his escape, 130.

Garnier Pagès, *see* Pagès.

Garotti, Don Nicolas, becomes minister of justice, ii. 241.

Garter, investiture of Louis Philippe with the, vi. 333.

Gas, joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.

Gasco, a leader in the Cortes of 1820, i. 355—becomes minister of the interior, ii. 249.

Gascoigne, general, vote of, on the address, 1830, iii. 377—returned for Liverpool, 1830, 393—motion by, against the reform bill, iv. 29—thrown out for Liverpool, 1831, 38—his amendment introduced into new reform bill, 46.

Gaskill, J. M., a lord of the Treasury, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Gasparin, M. de, becomes minister of interior, v. 816 note—removed from that office, 326—again minister of the interior, 1839, 360 note.

Gasser, captain, viii. 83.

Gassicourt, M., views of, in 1819, ii. 83.

Gates of Derbend, pass of the, ii. 345.

Gateshead, member given to, iv. 21 note.

Gatton, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Gaugieux, M., on the labour question, vii. 132.

Gaul, persistent character of the, i. 83.

Gautier, M., finance minister, 1839, v. 360 note.

Gazan, general, dismissed from service, iii. 76.

Gazette des Cultes, circulation of the, iii. 118 note.

Gazette de France, the, circulation of, iii. 113 note—extension of suffrage advocated by, v. 372—publication of alleged letters by Louis Philippe in, vii. 140—prosecution of it for this, 141—suppression of, viii. 56.

Gazette de Prusse, the, iv. 252.

Genoa frigate, capture of the, viii. 191—re-captured, 195.

Geismar, general, forces and operations under, 1828, iii. 22—defeat of, by Pacha of Widdin, 29—defeats him and takes Kalafat, *ib.*—forces under, 1829, 50—measures of, against the Pacha of Scodra, 63—operations of, in Poland, iv. 192—defeats of, by Dwernicki, 194—defeat of, before Warsaw, 198.

General Association, formation of the, in Ireland, vi. 25.

Geneva, vote of, on the Jesuit question and the Sunderbund, vii. 354.

Geneva, increased consumption of, during railway mania, vi. 340 note—proposed reduction of duties on, 363.

Genoa, the duke de, elected king of Sicily, viii. 71—declines, *ib.*—forces under, &c., 81—besieges Peschiera, 92—at Goito, 93—operations under, 102—at Novara, 117, 118.

Genoa, strength of the revolutionary spirit in, ii. 42—death of O'Connell at, vi. 310—reception of Lord Minto at, vii. 345—democratic excitement in, 1848, viii. 70—insurrection in, 121—its suppression, *ib.*—system of prison labour in, 335.

Genoa, the, at Navarino, ii. 428, 429.

Gentz M., at the Congress of Troppan, ii. 36.

Gentleman's Magazine, the, i. 235.

Geoffieux, colonel, murder of, ii. 250.

Geoffrey, circumstances connected with trial of, iv. 339.

Geology, recent progress of, i. 234.

George III., death of, ii. 155—impression made by it on the country, *ib.*—library of, presented to the nation, ii. 225.

George IV., while prince regent, opening of parliament in 1817 by, i. 103—attack on him by the mob, 164—on Lord Sidmouth, ii. 152—accession of, 155—alarming illness of, 156—the circumstances of his marriage to Queen Caroline, 173—her after life, 174 *et seq.*—he presses for a divorce, *ib.*—conditions demanded by, with regard to the queen, 176—her trial, 177—increasing popularity of, and his coronation, 188—his appearance on the occasion, 189—visit of, to Ireland, *ib.*—visit of, to Scotland, 1822, 207 *et seq.*—speech of, on opening parliament, 1823, 268—views of, on the Spanish war, 285—presentation of the library of George III. to the nation by, iii. 225—his personal dislike to Canning, *ib.*—speech of, July 1825, 261—speech of, in parliament, 1826, 288—opening of parliament,

George IV., *continued*.

and his speech, 306—message regarding Portugal, 307—his dislike to Canning, but appoints him premier, 313—new ministry, 314—Goderich appointed premier after Canning's death, 325—the royal speech on Navarino, 328—urges decided measures against the Catholics, 339—his firmness on the subject, 340—difficulties of the ministry with, on the Catholic question, 343—at last gives in, *ib.*—account of the discussion to Lord Eldon, *ib.* note—his speech on opening parliament, 348—reluctance of, to the Catholic bill after it is passed, 353—circumstances of his consent to bring in the bill, *ib.* note—royal speech of, at meeting of parliament, 1830, 375—last illness and death of, 388—his character, 389 *et seq.*—the marriage of, to Mrs Fitzherbert, vi. 42.

George XIII., prince of Georgia, bequest of his dominions to Russia by, ii. 343.

George, a Moldavian leader, ii. 371.

George, an American sympathiser, execution of, vi. 103.

George Sand, the romances of, iii. 209.

Georges, mademoiselle, the actress, iii. 213.

Georges, Polignac engaged in the conspiracy of, iii. 110.

Georges, general, forces under, 1831, iv. 153—successes of, *ib.*

Georgy, general, character of, viii. 217 *et seq.*—execution of Count Zichy by, 224—at Schwechat, 235—views of, on the prospects of Hungary, 240—forces under, 241—his first movements, 242—ability of his retreat, 243—able movements of, 244—difficulties of his retreat, 245—battle of Kopolna, 247 *et seq.*—defeats Schlick, 251—plans and movements, *ib.*—battle of Tapio-Bische, 252—and of Isaszeg, *ib.* *et seq.*—movements after it, 253—generous conduct of, 254—division between him and Kossuth, 255—his views, *ib.*—opposed to declaration of independence, 256—relieves Komorn, and further successes, 258—views of, after capture of Pesth, 259—capture of Buda, 260—further successes, 261 *et seq.*—total forces of, 263, 264—opposed to democratic party, and causes of delay in opening the campaign, 264—battle of Pered, 265—battle of Acz, and wounded, 267—battle of Komorn, 268—throws Klapka into it, and retreats, *ib.*—battle of Waitzen, *ib.*—proposals to him to capitulate, 270—dismissed from the command, but restored, *ib.*—results of the campaign, *ib.*—ability of his movements, 271—combat at Borozlo, *ib.*—again defeated, 277—declared dictator, *ib.*—interview with Bem, 278—his capitulation, 279—pardoned, 281.

Georghaki, a leader of the insurgent Moldavians, ii. 370.

Georgia, intervention of Peter the Great in, ii. 348—bequeathed to Russia, *ib.*—acquisition of, by Russia, iii. 2—routes from, into Asia Minor, 81.

Georgia (United States), statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—majority against Van Buren in, 59.

Gerard, M., iii. 140, 145 notes.

Gerard, general, views of, in 1815, i. 95—dur-

ing the Three Days, iii. 144—the command of Paris offered to, 147—appointed minister-at-war, 151—secretary-at-war under Louis Philippe, *iv.* 99—marshal, secretly favours the attempt to revolutionise Spain, 109—resignation of, 124—intervention of, in Belgium, 153, 154—force for the coercion of Holland under, 343—forces for the siege of Antwerp, 344—commencement of it, 345—its surrender, 346—becomes minister-at-war, *v.* 284—speech of, in favour of economy, *ib.*—advocates a general amnesty, 285—resigns, *ib.*—at the last council of Louis Philippe, vii. 394.

Gerard, violence of, on his trial before the Peers, *v.* 294.

German, war not natural to the, *iv.* 215—number of, in Austrian empire, viii. 138 note.

German frontier, proposed railway from Paris to the, vii. 154.

German literature, Madame de Stael's criticisms on, iii. 186—sketch of, *iv.* 265 *et seq.*

German tribune, suppression of the, *iv.* 239.

German unity, declaration of Frederick Wilhelm on, *iv.* 251.

Germanic Confederacy, sage constitution and immense strength of the, *iv.* 217—its military forces, 218—pledge of representative governments to the, 224—advantages of, to the peace of Europe, 262—its effects on domestic peace and the progress of freedom, 263—statistics of forces of, 365 note.

German Diet, resolution of the, regarding Luxembourg, *iv.* 134—constitution, votes, &c., in the, 217 and notes—resolution of the, regarding internal affairs of the confederacy, 225—its effect in suppressing liberty, 226—letter of the Emperor of Austria to, *ib.*—resolutions adopted in consequence, 227—final act of the, regarding constitutional governments, 232—its effect, 233—refuses to sanction a constitution in Holstein, *ib.*—measures of, 1832, against the press, 239—decree of July 5th on the subject, *ib.*—various decrees of the, 1835, 244—death of the Emperor Francis, and communication of his successor to, *ib.*—refusal of the, to restore the constitution of Hanover, 245—influence of the constitution of the, 258—additional restrictions on the press by the, 1833, 363—first proceedings of, on revolution of 1848, viii. 148—reconstruction of the old, 191.

Germanos, the Archbishop, blockades Patras, ii. 375.

Germany, violence of the revolution of 1848 in, i. 9—increased emigration from, 36, ii. 28—character of the democratic attempts of 1820 in, 212—sympathy with Greece in, 421—prices of wheat in, iii. 301—state of political feeling in, 1830, *iv.* 115—disturbances in Cologne, &c., 116—convulsions over all the north, *ib.*—in Dresden, Leipzig, &c., *ib.*—and in Brunswick, 117—affairs of, 1830, and precautionary measures, 134—defensive measures in Austria, *ib.*—state of feeling in Prussia, 135—fermentation in the lesser states, *ib.*—troubles in Saxony and Hesse-Cassel, 136—insurrection in Hanover, *ib.*—peace necessary to, after the effects of the war, 215—moderation of de-

Germany, *continued.*

mands on the peace, 216—dangers to her independence on the dissolution of the empire, *ib.*—constitution and strength of the confederacy, 217—its military forces, 218—peace and prosperity thus secured to, 219—statistics, 220—splendour of capitals and chief cities, *ib.*—universal education, 221—relations between this general education and crime, *ib.*—seeds of discontent arising from the general prosperity, 223—way in which this came about, *ib.*—expectation of liberal institutions after the peace, *ib.*—evidence from public acts regarding this, 224—delay in the governments in performing these engagements, *ib.*—representative assemblies established in Hanover, Württemberg, and Baden, *ib.*—tardy promises of the Prussian government, 225—resolution of the Diet regarding internal affairs of the confederacy, *ib.*—effects of this, 226—effect of the Spanish and Italian revolutions, *ib.*—resolution of the Diet on the propositions of Austria, 227—supreme Austriacal court, *ib.*—assassination of Kotzebue, 228—sensation excited by the execution of Sand, 229—results of this to freedom, *ib.*—circular of cabinet of Berlin, *ib.* *et seq.*—reflections on this picture of Germany, 231—circular of Metternich on the effects of the repressive measures, *ib.*—and on the Neapolitan revolution, *ib.*—final act of the confederation regarding constitutional governments, 232—effect of this on the liberty of, 233—illusory edict of Prussia regarding provincial Diets, *ib.*—refusal of the Diet to sanction the demand of Holstein for a constitution, *ib.*—the constitution of the provincial estates of Prussia by edict of June 5th 1823, 234—circular on it, *ib.*—proceedings of Prussia against the secret societies, 235—the real value of the provincial estates, *ib.*—causes which prevented an outbreak, 236—wisdom of internal government of Prussia, *ib.* *et seq.*—effect of the French revolution of 1830 in checking freedom, 237—and of the Belgian and Polish revolutions, 238—effect of the siege of Antwerp, *ib.*—measures of the Diet against the press, 239—decree against foreign publications, *ib.*—sensation caused by these measures, 240—riot in Frankfurt, and its occupation by the Austrians, *ib.*—congress of sovereigns at Munchengrätz, 241—establishment of the Zollverein, *ib.* *et seq.*—fresh riot in Frankfurt, and placing of it under martial law, 243—decrees of 1835 in the Diet, 244—death of the Emperor Francis, and his successor's communication to the Diet, *ib.*—change in public mind toward material objects, 245—the Diet refuses to restore the constitution of Hanover, *ib.*—dispute of Prussia with the Pope, 246—sensation excited by it, *ib.*—internal regulations of the Prussian government, 247—amnesty in Prussia, and reciprocity treaty with Holland, 248—death of the King of Prussia, and revival of the constitution question, *ib.*—answer of King of Prussia to demand for a constitution, 249—excitement on meeting of estates of Prussia, *ib.*—extension of Zollverein, 250—great

Germany, *continued.*

system of railways in Northern, 250—progress of constitutional ideas, 252 *et seq.*—great religious movement in 1845, 253—constitutional progress in 1845, *ib.*—and in 1846, 254—increased demand for reform, 255—session of the Prussian States-general, *ib.*—extraordinary political state of, 256—effect of the revolutionary war on the two parties which divided it, *ib.*—increasing passion for freedom, 257—effect of general education, *ib.*—difficulties from the want of foreign commercial colonies, 258—causes which held her together, the Diet and federal union, *ib.*—effect of the preponderance of Catholics, *ib.*—the army the expression of general opinion, 259—influence of Russia on Prussia and the lesser states, *ib.*—influence of want of employment in forcing men to become government employes, 260—effects of the revolutions of 1820 and 1830, *ib.*—counteracting influence of these causes, 261—influence of these causes on literature of, 262—advantages of confederacy to peace of Europe, *ib.*—effect of it on domestic peace and the progress of freedom, 263—causes which shipwrecked liberty, 264—sketch of literature of, during first half of 19th century, 265 *et seq.*—religious character of, and its origin, 263—reaction to rationalism, *ib.*—sketch of the fine arts in, 267 *et seq.*—sculpture in, *ib.*—painting, 268—architecture, *ib.*—music, 269 *et seq.*—effect of recent disasters on the mind of, 301—progress of the cholera over, 316—increasing influence of Russia in, 350—memoir by Prussia on state of, 1832, 362—efforts of the French propagandists, and revolutionary organisation in, 363—class from which the army is drawn in, vii. 233—exports to, 1846-9, 287 note—miles of railway in, 290 note—agitated state of, 1848, viii. 137—passions of religion and race in, *ib.*—different races in Austria, 138—prosperity in, during the peace, 139—great extent of education in, 141—effect of the military system, *ib.*—division of parties on the representative system in, 142—demand for unity in, 144—the Zollverein, *ib.* *et seq.*—prevalence of visionary ideas in, 145—effects of the French revolution on, 146—progress of revolution of 1848 in, 148—the lesser sovereigns yield, 149—disturbances, &c., in Prussia, 150—submission of the king there, 151—revolution in Bavaria, 152—dispute between Prussia and the General Diet, 154—elections for the latter, 155—attack on Schleswig-Holstein, 156 *et seq.*—armistice there, 161—meeting of the Diet, and revolt in the south, *ib.*—new constitution, and Archduke John chosen regent, 162—composition of the Diet, *ib.* note—dissatisfaction of Prussia, 163—installation of the regent, *ib.*—changes effected by the National Assembly, *ib.*—declaration of the Assembly on Prussia, 171—proceedings of the Diet and the regent, 173—outbreak at Frankfurt, 174—revolt in Baden, 175—debate on the prosecution of those implicated, 176—increasing jealousy of Austria, *ib.*—execution

Germany, *continued*.

- of Blum, 177—breach with Austria, 178—
influence of the clubs, 179—the crown offered to the King of Prussia, *ib.*—he declines it, 180—views of Austria, *ib.*—the constitution accepted by the lesser states, 181—its character, *ib.*—breach between the Assembly and Prussia, 182—violent proceedings of the Assembly, and its dissolution, *ib.*—insurrection in Saxony and Hanover, 183—and in Baden and the Palatinate, *ib.*—constitution agreed to by Prussia, &c., 185—further changes in Prussia, 186 *et seq.*—final arrangement of Diet and constitution, 187—state of Hesse-Cassel, and threatened war, 188—intervention of Russia, 189—the Olmutz convention, 190—final arrangement, 191—renewal of hostilities in Schleswig-Holstein, *ib.*—final settlement of the question, 195—causes of the failure of the liberal movement in, 197—effects of the loyalty of the army, 198—and of the Prussian representation of classes, *ib.*—emigration from, 361.—*See also* Austria, Prussia, and the other States.
- Gevauden, views of, in 1819, *ib.* 88.
- Ghebel, colonel, arrest of the Mouravieffs by, *ib.* 68—his death, *ib.*
- Ghent, the court, &c., of Louis XVIII. at, *i.* 86—democratic spirit in, *iv.* 111—outbreak of the insurrection in, *ib.*—disorders and pillage in, 113—succours to Brussels from, 114—Dutch party in, 149.
- Ghilzie, insurrection of the, in Afghanistan, *iv.* 242—defeat of the, at Khelat-i-Ghilzye, 246—defeat of, by Col. Chambers, 247.
- Ghiesbregk, defeat of insurgent Affghans at, *vi.* 246.
- Gholab Singh, intrigues of, at Lahore, *vii.* 80—terms of treaty regarding, 95—resistance by the Sikhs to him, 96.
- Ghoorkas, first collision with the, *vi.* 174—the war with, *ib.*—their character, 175—early disasters, *ib.*—successes of Ochertony, 176—further successes, and conclusion of peace, *ib.*, 177—destruction of regiment of, in Kohistan, 256—at Sobraon, *vii.* 94.
- Ghoulars, defence of the Acropolis by, *ii.* 398—shut up there, 404—victory of, at Marathon, 408—execution of Odysseus by, 409—operations assigned to, in 1825, 411—besieged in the Acropolis, 1826, 424—killed, *ib.*
- Ghumnicole-Kane, captured by the Russians, *iii.* 47.
- Ghuznee, description of, *vi.* 234—tragedy before it, *ib.*—its assault and capture, 235 *et seq.*—results of this, 236—force to occupy, 238—the fall of, *vii.* 84—recapture of, by Nott, 42.
- Giannone, the prose of, *iv.* 282.
- Gibbon, the works of, prohibited in Spain, *ii.* 339—Guizot's edition of his Rome, *iii.* 188—the autobiography of, *iv.* 287.
- Gibbs, general, monument to, *i.* 60.
- Giberti, the abbé, influence of the works of, *vii.* 838.
- Gibson the sculptor, the works of, *i.* 262.
- Gideon, general, *viii.* 250.
- Gielgud, general, forces under, *iv.* 197—operations of, 198—at Ostrolenka, 204—cut off from the main body, 205—throws himself into Lithuania, 206—defeat of, at Wilna, 207—retreats into Prussia, and his murder, *ib.*
- Gifford, Sir Robert, his speech in the Queen's case, *ii.* 179.
- Gifford, Mr. editor of the Antijacobin Review, *ii.* 214 note.
- Gilbert, Graham, the paintings of, *i.* 260.
- Gilbert, general, afterwards Sir Walter, at Moodkee, *vii.* 84—at Ferozeshah, 85—at Sobraon, 92, 93—operations of, against the Sikhs, 101—at Chillianwallah, 102—at Goojerat, 105—overthrow of the Affghans and capture of Attock by, 106.
- Gillespie, general, monument to, *i.* 69.
- Gillespie, colonel, suppression of the mutiny at Vellore by, *vi.* 173—forces under, against the Ghoorkas, 175—repulse and death of, *ib.*
- Gilly, general, *i.* 140—proscribed in 1815, 93—indemnity to, *ii.* 122 note.
- Ginguené, M., the works of, *iii.* 203.
- Girardin, Emile de, mission of, to the king, *iii.* 148—charges against the ministry by, *vii.* 368—urges the abdication of Louis Philippe, 395—imprisonment of, *viii.* 51.
- Girardot, lieutenant, *viii.* 326 note.
- Girgento, surrender of, to the Neapolitans, *viii.* 126.
- Girod, a leader of the Canadian insurgents, death of, *vi.* 91.
- Girod de l'Ain, M., president of the Chamber, 1831, *iv.* 148—report by, on the secret societies, *v.* 290—minister of justice, 1839, *v.* 360 note.
- Gironde, depressed state of the vine-growers of the, 1831, *iv.* 303.
- Gisquet, M., advocates holding the Tuileries in 1832, *iv.* 335—measures of, after the revolt of St Meri, 338, 339—disclosures on trial of, *v.* 349.
- Giurgevo, terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding, *iii.* 63.
- Gladstone, Mr. on the imports into Liverpool, *i.* 194—arguments of, against the Jamaica bill, *vi.* 115.
- Gladstone, W. E. master of mint, 1841, *vi.* 280 note—becomes colonial secretary, 361—arguments of, for repeal of navigation laws, *viii.* 288 *et seq.*—arguments of, in favour of free trade, 297—on Sir R. Peel, 320.
- Glandèves, M., conversation between, and Lafitte, on the Duke of Orleans, *iv.* 85.
- Glanière, the, a manufacturing journal, *iv.* 374.
- Glasgow, insurrection planned in, *i.* 164—secret society in, 165—great meeting of Radicals in, 1819, *ii.* 147—fall of wages in, 1819, 153 note—continuance of military training near, 1820, 100—attempted insurrection in, 1820, 161—its suppression, *ib.*—effect of the repeal of the combination laws in, *iii.* 245—distress in, 1826, 287—petition for government assistance from, 1826, 296—reform meeting at, *iv.* 41—violent reform meeting at, 50—two members given by reform bill to, 50—statistics of voters registered in, 66 note—ratio of infant mortality in, 304 note—peculiarities of cholera in, 317 note—ravages of cholera in, *v.* 5—importance of the slave

Glasgow, *continued*.

trade to, 39—the Durham festival at, 80—the elections of 1835 in, 409—address of the working classes of, against the Lords, vi. 13 note—banquet to Sir R. Peel at, 81—the great cotton-spinners' strike in, 1837, 74—population, crime, &c., in, 1822-38, 77 note—anti-corn-law association formed at, 84—results of Free Kirk movement in, 87 note—departure of first emigrants for New Zealand from, 125—danger of, 1842, from the rioters, 285—and Greenock Railway, parliamentary expenses of, 338 note—annual increase of population in, 341—Irish immigration into, during the famine, vii. 247—the subscription for the relief of the Highlands in, 1847, 251—ratio of mortality in, 271 and note—the bankruptcies in, during 1847, 285—vast influx of destitute Irish into, 288—extreme suffering in, 1848, 298—outbreak in March, 294—further riots, and their suppression, 295—effects of this success, *ib.*—abortive attempt at insurrection in, on the 10th April, 298—fabrication of signatures to Chartist petition at, 299—high rate of infant mortality in, 313.

Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, free-trade petition from the, ii. 168.

Glasgow university, Sir R. Peel elected lord rector of, vi. 31.

Glasgow, the, at the battle of Algiers, i. 78 & 79.

Glass, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 260—proposed reduction of duties on, iv. 15 note—reduction of duties on, vi. 327—abolition of duty on, 344.

Glenelg, lord, vi. 2—course followed by, regarding the Canadian prisoners, 99—measures of, at the Cape, viii. 311.—See also Grant, C.

Globe, *le*, circulation of, iii. 118 note—prosecution of, 123—the advocate of the views of the St Simonians, iv. 140, 305.

Gloucester, county prison, destruction of the, by the Bristol rioters, iv. 43.

Gloucestershire, additional members for, iv. 21 note.

Gloves, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 260—proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 363.

Glück, the works of, iv. 301.

Glyptothek, the, at Munich, iv. 221, 298.

Godby, brigadier, at Aliwal, vii. 91—at Chilianwallah, 102.

Goderich, viscount, becomes colonial secretary, iii. 114—appointed premier after Canning's death, 325—weakness of his cabinet, 326—its dissolution, 327—colonial secretary, 1830, iv. 3 note.

Godefroi, M., v. 292.

Godwin, colonel, afterwards general, capture of Martaban by, vi. 186—operations of, in Burmah, vii. 108—storming of Bassein, 109—capture of Promé and Pegu, 110.

Goethe, parallel between Wordsworth and, i. 224—Madame de Stael's criticism on, iii. 186—the works of, iv. 260 *et seq.*—parallel between him and Schiller, 271—the autobiography of, 288—influence of his Werter, *ib.*—his novels, 289—on the popular orator, vi. 303.

Gohud, surrender of, to Scindia, vi. 172.

Goito, defeat of the Austrians at, viii. 84—

passage of the Mincio by the Sardinians at, 87—repulse of the Austrians at, 93.

Gokla, a Mahratta chief, death of, vi. 180.

Gold, influence of the supply of, on society, i. 18—diminished produce of, in South America, and increased in Russia, 19—effects of the discoveries of, in California, 21—their effects in promoting emigration, 36—increased price, and diminished supply of, 48—return of, to Great Britain, and fall in its price, 49—variations in the price of, 65, 66—prices of, at various times, 196—dangers of its rise abroad, 198—views of Adam Smith on, ii. 134—deficient supplies of, during the fall of the Roman empire, 136—varying value of, at the present time, 137—liability of, to be drained away, 138—causes and effects of influx of, into the country, 140—paper as the representative of or substitute for, iii. 216—coinage and circulation of, 1822, &c., 289—exportation of, in 1825, and its effects, 295—withdrawal of, to the Continent, &c., 378—foundation of the currency system of England on, v. 399—danger of a currency based on its retention, 400—causes of drain of, 403—terror caused by the export from England of, vi. 67—the effects of it, 68—drain of, from England to India, 171—drain of, from England, 1839, &c., 282—the distress of 1842, &c., due to export of, 287—cessation of drain of, from fine harvest of 1843, 310—Peel on, as the standard of value, 329—proportion of paper circulation to be based on, under act of 1844, 330—Mr Hawes on its alleged depreciation, 331—increased supplies of, from South America and Russia, 335—Mr Baring on the exports of, vii. 262—increased produce of, in Russia, 275—alleged effect of issue of paper on, 282—constant drain of, to meet the excess of imports, 306—effects of increased supply of it, *ib.*—argument of the bullionists as to export of, 307—danger of its merely passing through the richer states, 308—errors of the bullionists on this, *ib.*—variations in quantity held by the Bank since the act of 1844, 310—supply of, from Russia to France during the monetary crisis, 364—increased supply of, and its effects, viii. 327 *et seq.*

Gold currency, liability of, to be withdrawn, iii. 295.

Gold discoveries in California, &c., the effects of, i. 16, viii. 327 *et seq.*—due to the monetary crisis in England, vii. 303—effects of, in modifying those of free trade, vii. 285—their effects on prices, 291—their influence on the cause of protection, 294—and on emigration, 364.

Gold mines, government revenue from, in Russia, ii. 25.

Golden Horn, the, ii. 334, 335.

Golding, lieutenant, treacherous attack on, vii. 81.

Goldoni, the comedies of, iv. 277.

Golownin, general, commands the covering force at Varna, iii. 25—forces, and position of, in the Polish war, iv. 208—defeat of, 210.

Gomez, general, success of, on the Egra, v. 172—defeats the Christians at Hernani,

- Gomez, general, *continued*.
 192—first expedition of, 200—second, 201 *et seq.*—disgraced, 229.
- Gomez, don J. M. Pamplona, v. 89.
- Gontaut, madame de, ii. 92, iii. 92—fidelity of, to Charles X., 167.
- Gonsalvi, cardinal, negotiates the concordat of 1817 with France, i. 282.
- Gooch, Mr, motion by, on agricultural distress, 1821, ii. 184.
- Goojerat, vii. 104—battle of, 105.
- Goolai, capture and destruction of, vii. 39.
- Gora, check of the Russians at, iv. 195.
- Gordon, hon. captain, a lord of the Admiralty, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Gordon, Sir John Watson, the portraits of, i. 260.
- Gordon, Sir Robert, English ambassador to Turkey, iii. 62.
- Gordon, mademoiselle, a partisan of Louis Napoleon's, v. 323.
- Gordon, M., v. 96.
- Gore, general, monument to, i. 69.
- Gore, colonel, check of, at St Denis, vi. 90—captures it, 91.
- Gorjakowski, count, preparations of, at Mantua, viii. 84.
- Gortschakoff, general, viii. 271.
- Gosford, lord, sent as governor to Canada, vi. 17—his measures there, *ib.*—proceedings of, in Lower Canada, 1836, 80—at the commencement of the insurrection, 90—on its suppression, 91—resignation of, 96.
- Gossett, major, at the battle of Algiers, i. 79.
- Goths, the, conquests of, ii. 317—descendants of, in Austria, viii. 138—settlement of, in Prussia, *ib.*
- Gothic architecture, revival of, in Great Britain, i. 258.
- Göttingen, insurrection in, 1837, iv. 186.
- Gotz, general, viii. 254—defeat and death of, *ib.*
- Gouben, trial and execution of, for the Rochelle conspiracy, ii. 227.
- Goudchoux, M., a member of provisional government, vii. 400 note—resignation of, viii. 12—finance minister under Cavaignac, 51 note—first financial measures, 52—proposes taxation of income, 55—duty on successions proposed by, 333.
- Gough, Sir H., afterwards lord, takes the command in China, vii. 13—measures of, against the Canton forts, 14—storming of Amoy, 15—of Chusan, 16—of Chinghae, *ib.*—and of Ningpo, *ib.*—victories there, 17—capture of Chapoo, *ib.*—of Chin-kiang-foo, 19—advance to Nankin, *ib.*—becomes commander-in-chief in India, 69—forces for war with Gwalior, *ib.*—victory at Maharajpore, *ib.*—character of, 78—urges the concentration of the troops, 80—battle of Moodkee, 83—march to Ferozeshah, 84—junction with Little, 85—battle of Ferozeshah, 85 *et seq.*—heroic conduct of, 87—renewed battle, *ib.*—subsequent operations, 89—battle of Aliwal, 91—position, 92—forces and preparations, *ib.*—battle of Sohraon, *ib.* *et seq.*—conduct, &c., of, at Sohraon, 95—advance to Lahore, *ib.*—treaty, *ib.*—honours bestowed on him, 96—resumes command on the second Sikh war, 100—battle of Ramnugger, *ib.*—further operations, 101—battle of Chillianwallah, 102 *et seq.*—conduct of, at Chillianwallah, 103—his forces, 104—battle of Goojerat, 105—at Wellington's funeral, 380 and note.
- Gough, brigadier, at Moodkee, vii. 84.
- Gouin, M., motion by, for reduction of interest on national debt, v. 306—arguments for it, *ib.*—minister of commerce under Thiers, 376 note.
- Goulburn, Mr, becomes secretary for Ireland, ii. 192—tithe composition act introduced by, iii. 275—bill for suppression of the Catholic Association brought in by, 281—his arguments against it, *ib.*—becomes chancellor of the exchequer, 327—arguments of, against the Irish church bill, v. 23 *et seq.*—home secretary, 1835, 407 note—proposed as Speaker, vi. 118—chancellor of the exchequer under Peel, 279—bill for reducing the three and a half per cents, 326—budget for 1844, 327—taxes reduced, *ib.*—reduction of duties on sugar, *ib.*—on the protection still retained to manufactures, 382 note—memorandum of, on the dangers of corn-law repeal, 385 note.
- Gourgaud, general, at St Helena, ii. 129—Napoleon's memoirs dictated to, iii. 197—at the reinforcement of Napoleon, v. 384.
- Government, absolute necessity for, i. 28—fear the universal element of, in Russia, ii. 18—weakness of the central, in Turkey, 326—mildness of its theory, 329—increased strength given by the reform bill to, iv. 77—strength given to, in France by the support of the bourgeoisie, 82—indifference of, to strikes, vi. 78—form of, in China, vii. 5—checks on it, 6.
- Governments, exhaustion of the, by the war, i. 2—their difficulties now with their subjects, *ib.*
- Government employés, number, &c., of, in Germany, iv. 260.
- Government employment, competition for, in France, iii. 176, iv. 83—distribution of, in France, 352, 353.
- Government functionaries, corruption among, in France, vii. 366.
- Government offices, multiplication of, in France, iii. 103.
- Government patronage, great amount of, in France under Louis Philippe, v. 349.
- Governolo, check of the Austrians at, viii. 100.
- Gower, Nephews, & Co., bankruptcy of, 1847, vii. 276.
- Grabbe, general, forces under, viii. 262.
- Grabowsky, general, occupation of Bologna by, iv. 315.
- Graham, Sir James, on the small notes bill, ii. 206—moves for committee on circulation of Scotch notes in England, iii. 330—his speech on the subject, 331 note—motion by, for reducing the salaries of public officers, 379—his speech, *ib.* note—motion by, on the treasuryship of the navy, 381—first lord of the admiralty, 1830, iv. 3 note—administrative powers of, 10—his inconsistencies, 11—one of the committee for preparing the reform bill, 15—views of, on the creation of peers, 49—resignation of, v. 64—declines to join Sir R. Peel's ministry,

Graham, Sir James, *continued*.

407—arguments of, against the Irish church motion, 418 *et seq.*—arguments of, against the municipal reform bill, vi. 7—opposes Lord Chandos's motion on agricultural distress, 1836, 28—home secretary under Peel, 279—his factory and education bill, 312—new factory bill introduced by, 313—on the Chartist petition, 1843, 816—bill for establishing secular colleges in Ireland brought in by, 347—charge of opening letters against, 352—declaration of, on corn laws, 1845, 355—on the results of the new tariff, *ib.*—brings in the life preservation bill for Ireland, 379—arguments for it, 374—anticipations of, regarding the potato disease, vii. 238—arguments of, against Mr Fielden's factory bill, 269—arguments of, for repeal of navigation laws, vii. 238 *et seq.*

Graham, Lord William, attack by the reform rioters on, iv. 33.

Grain, dependence of England on foreign countries for, i. 15—power of the old and new state as to production of, 23—fall in prices of, on the peace, 46—importation of, 1818, 175—deficiency of, in France in 1816, 274—exportation of, from Russia, ii. 28 note—consumption, importation, &c., of, in France, 121—price of, and pressure of taxation, Huskisson on, 200—exports of, from Turkey, and supplies to Constantinople, 327—prohibition of export of, from Russia, 23—price of, in France, 1824, 77—average produce of, per acre in France, 173—imports of, into Great Britain, 1838-53, 242 note—foreign, bill for admission of, 1826, 304—temporary relaxation of duties on, 1826, 307—export of, from Germany, iv. 220—commencement of the agitation for free trade in, vi. 84—*see* Anti-corn-law—large importations of, into England, 1842, 282—Peel on the average import of, 290—rise in prices of, 1845, 358—Sir R. Peel's new tariff regarding, 363—facilities for import of, into Ireland during the famine, vii. 243—importations of, into Ireland, 1847, 244—table of importations of, 1845 to 1850, 249 note—importations of, caused by the Irish famine, and their effect in bringing on the monetary crisis, 261—table of, 1843-50, *ib.* note—importations and fall of price of, 1847, 276—expenditure for purchase of, alleged as the cause of the crisis of 1847, 282—value of, imported in 1848, 290—importations of, into England since free trade, 315—suspension of duties on, in France, 1846, 364—increased importations of, *ib.*—imports of, 1846-7, 365 note—adulterations of, for the French navy, 367—payment of Chinese revenue in, 2—low prices of, in England, 1848 to 1852, viii. 287—foreign, effects of free trade on price of, 294—diminished production of, in Ireland, 295.

Grain riots, prevalence of, in France, 1817, i. 281.

Grammont, the duke de, i. 116.

Grampond, disfranchisement of, ii. 167.

Granada, proceedings of the revolutionists at, ii. 351—violence during the elections at, ii. 241.

Granby, marquess of, opposes the Irish coer-

cion bill, vi. 377—on Lord George Bentinck's railway scheme, vii. 255—his arguments against free trade, viii. 298.

Grand jury law, demand for modification of, in Ireland, vi. 376.

Grand juries, unsuitable to Ireland, iii. 272.

Grandscha, *see* Georgia.

Grandville, arrest of Polignac at, iv. 106.

Granger, M., v. 292.

Grant, Mr C., at first retains office under Wellington, iii. 327—afterwards resigns, 328—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—president of board of control, 1830, iv. 3 note—colonial secretary in Melbourne ministry, v. 420 and note—created Lord Glenelg, which *see*, vi. 2.

Grant, Francis, the portraits of, i. 260.

Grant, Mr R., appointed governor of Bombay, v. 64.

Grant, Sir Wm., on the state of the criminal law, i. 201.

Grant, captain, at Maharajpore, vii. 70.

Grant, Dr, death of, vi. 256.

Graham, the election for 1831 in, iv. 34.

Granville, lord, succeeds Lord Palmerston, viii. 321.

Grattan, Mr, death and character of, ii. 162—his character as a statesman and orator, *ib.*

Graz, death of Charles X. at, v. 318.

Gravenstein, defeat of the Prussians at, viii. 160.

Gravia, defeat of the Turks at, iii. 408.

Gravin, attempt by, on the Duchess de Berri, ii. 116.

Grazing districts, alarm at the new tariff in the, vi. 298.

Great Britain, position of, at the close of the war, i. 26—causes which made her share in the French revolution of 1830, 3—the middle class elevated to power by the changes of 1830, 4—the alliance with France which followed, *ib.*—and consequent change in her foreign policy, *ib.*—its effects on her colonial empire, 5—results of the change in her commercial policy, *ib.*—emigration from, 1850 52, 6 note—reduced produce of wheat in, *ib.*—great recent advances of, in India, 8—the stand against revolution in, 1848, 10—dangers to, from the revolutionary movements of 1848, 18—causes which have rendered its condition so precarious, *ib.*—defenceless state of, in 1851, 14—diminution of the warlike spirit in, *ib.*—dangers arising from the free-trade system in, 15—and from change in her foreign policy, *ib.*—distress in, from contraction of the currency, 19—contraction of the paper circulation of, *ib.*—its effects on industry in, 20—effect of representative institutions on, 31—commanding position of, at the close of the war, 43—statistics showing her general prosperity, *ib.*—anticipation of prosperity in, 44—distress which ensued on the peace, 45—scarcity in, 1816, 46—contraction of the paper currency, and effects of this, 49—debates on property tax, 50—on the budget for 1816, 56—land forces, 1816, 59—debates on agricultural distress in, *ib.* *et seq.*—consolidation of the Irish exchequer with its, 67—new silver coinage, 71—reflections on the parliamentary his-

Great Britain, *continued.*

tory for 1816, *ib.*—efforts of the factious to stir up sedition, *ib.*—the Spafield riots, 72—*the expedition to Algiers, 78 et seq.*—a party to the convention of the 20th Nov. 1815, 109—declines being a party to the Holy Alliance, 112—subsidy to Russia from, *ib.*—the charge of Napoleon committed to, *ib.*—illustration of human vicissitude from, 159—results of democratic ascendancy in, 161—continued distress and discontent in, 1817, 163—plan of a general insurrection in, *ib.*—meeting of parliament, and attack on the prince regent, *ib.*—measures of government against the discontent in 1817, 164—suspension of habeas corpus, and seditious meetings act, *ib.*—insurrectionary movements and their suppression, 165—effect of the measures of government, and improved prospects, 166—finances, 167—state of Ireland, *ib.*—debate in parliament on the trade and manufactures, 170—general establishment of savings banks, 171—ameliorations in criminal punishment, *ib.*—sensation caused by the death of the Princess Charlotte, 173—improved condition of the country, 174—and its causes, *ib.*—debates on the resumption of cash payments, 175 *et seq.*—discussion on bill of indemnity, 179—military and naval forces, and revenue, 1818, *ib.*—commerce and shipping, 180—grant for building new churches, 181—treaty with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade, 182—the alien act continued, *ib.*—committee on charities, *ib.*—relaxation of the criminal code, 183—opening and close of the year 1819, 187—debates on the currency question, 188 *et seq.*—Mr Vansittart's finances, *ib.*—resolutions, 199—finances for 1819, *ib.* note—discussions on criminal law reform, 200 *et seq.*—statistics of criminals in, 204 note—clandestine succours sent to the South American insurgents, 207—discussion in parliament on this, *ib.*—continued succours to the South American insurgents, 210—ultimate results of this, 211—losses sustained by her intercourse with South America, 212—decline in her exports thither, 213—exports from, to Brazil, *ib.*—and to America, *ib.* note—progress of literature, science, &c., in, after the war, 214—progress of steam navigation, 215—and of the cotton manufacture, *ib.*—and in other manufactures, 216—rise of the Reviews, 235—the modern historians, 240—the new school of novelists, 249—recent progress of architecture, 257—of painting, 258 *et seq.*—decline of the drama, and causes of this, 266—spread of the exclusive system, and its effects, *ib.*—increasing liberalism of the higher ranks, 267—influence on society of the great Whig houses, 268—and want of this on the Conservative side, *ib.*—rise and influence of the newspaper press, 269—it all on the popular side, *ib.*—representatives of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—analogy of her early history to that of Spain, 317—advantages of her colonies to, 318—her exports to them, 319—total exports to her colonies, 320 note—influence of, in Portugal, 330—treaty with Spain for limitation

Great Britain, *continued.*

of the slave trade, 340—influence of, on Portugal, 359—trades unions and secret societies in, 363—proportion of agricultural population in, ii. 8—population per square mile in, 10 note—position of her cultivators, and those of Russia, 16—danger from the Russian fleet to, 24—emigration from, 28—impetus given to agriculture in Russia by free trade in, *ib.*—decline of the production of wheat, *ib.*—representative of, at the Congress of Troppau, 36—neutrality of, at the Congress of Laybach, &c., 37, 39—first symptom of alliance with France, 38—the conduct of, with regard to the captivity of Napoleon, 128—exaggerations regarding his treatment, *ib.*—the instructions from government regarding Napoleon at St Helena, 130—their instructions on intelligence of his illness, 131—sensation caused by his death in, 132—objects of the liberals in, as compared with France, 133—difference in the causes which produced discontent in the two, *ib.*—effects of the change in the monetary laws, 134—influence of the gold discoveries on, 139—causes which brought about the currency bill of 1819, *ib.*—effects of extension of the currency in 1818 and 1819, 142—great internal prosperity, 143—contraction of the currency in 1819 and its effects, *ib.*—total circulation, &c., of, 1818–22, 144 and note—effects of the contraction of the currency on prices, 145—increasing disaffection in, from the distress in 1819, &c., 146—the Peterloo meeting, &c., 147 *et seq.*—other seditious meetings, 151—deficient military force in, during the disturbances of 1819, 152—meeting of parliament in 1819, 153—Lord Sidmouth's six acts, *ib.*—death of the Duke of Kent, 154—and of George III., 155—impression the death of the latter made, *ib.*—illness of George IV., 156—meeting of parliament, and discussion on the queen, 157—the Cato Street conspiracy, *ib.*—disturbances in Scotland and the north of England, 160—meeting of the new parliament, 1820, 162—increase of the yeomanry, 163—the finances, *ib.*—proceedings of the parliamentary session of 1820, 164—committee appointed on agricultural distress, 170—rate of exports per head to different countries, 173 note—commencement of the troubles about the queen, 173—her return, 174—and enthusiastic reception, 175—the trial of the queen, 177 *et seq.*—feelings in, on the queen's acquittal, 179—firmness of the ministry, 180—return of popularity to them, 181—meeting of parliament, 1821, *ib.*—debates on foreign affairs, *ib.*—reforms of the criminal law, 182—continued agricultural distress, and new committee of inquiry, 184—demands for reduction of taxation, 185—military force. 1792 and 1821, 186 note—the report of the Agricultural Distress Committee, 186—changes in the ministry, 191—subscription for the Irish famine, 1823, 195—crime in, as compared with France, and its alleged causes, 198—continued fall of prices in, *ib.*—measures for relief of agricultural classes, 199—repeated

Great Britain, *continued*.

defeats of ministers, 204—reduction of taxation, 1822, *ib.*—the budget, 205—reduction of the five per cents, *ib.*—equalisation of the dead-weight, and naval and military pensions, 206—small notes bill, *ib.*—the king's visit to Scotland, 207 *et seq.*—effect of the resumption of cash payments, 210 *et seq.*—Castlereagh, the last of the true rulers of, 211—character of the democratic outbreaks of 1819-20 in, 212—divergence of, from France on the Spanish revolution, 254—views in, regarding the Spanish revolution, and French intervention there, *ib.*—danger to, from the family compact between them, 255—influence of the South American revolution and the Spanish bondholders, 256—views of the cabinet on the subject of Spain, 257—and of Mr Canning, *ib.*—representatives of, at the Congress of Verona, 258—views of, 259—note of, at the congress regarding South American independence, 260—instructions to her representatives at the congress regarding Spain, 261—the results of the congress to her disadvantage, 263—king's speech on opening parliament, 1823, 268—debate on the Spanish question, 270—the government resolve on non-intervention in Spain, 273—feelings in, on the French invasion, 283—maintains neutrality, 291—opposes the intervention of Russia, 302—recognition of the South American republics by, 303 *et seq.*—effects of this, 305—and France, difference between the funds in, 309—her intervention in South America unjustifiable, 315—its ultimate disastrous effects, 316—Parga garrisoned by, 359—its surrender and evacuation, *ib.*—debates in parliament on it, 360—efforts of, on behalf of the Principalities, 1823, 394—increasing sympathy with Greece in, 402—the Greek blockade recognised by, 403—views of, regarding Greece, 421—protocol regarding Greece agreed to, 422—the treaty of 6th July regarding Greece, 425—naval preparations to enforce it, 426—final note to Turkey, 427—views on the battle of Navarino, 432—efforts to bring about accommodation between Russia and Turkey, iii. 62—concurs in French expedition to Greece in 1826, 64—effects of primogeniture in, 91—convention with France regarding the slave trade, 97—agricultural progress in, compared with France, 126—negotiations with France regarding the expedition to Algiers, 126—embarkation of Charles X. for, 158—difference between, and France, as regards the selection of ministers, 159—position of the crown in, as compared with that of Charles X. in France, 160—intended coalition against, 167—association of religion and order in, 169—contrast between, and France as regards their revolution, 178—class of newspaper writers in, compared with France, 211—advantages and evils of paper currency in, 216—contraction of currency by bill of 1819, 217—effect of the South American revolutions on its currency, *ib.*—exports to South America, 1817-25, 218 note—cause which augmented the currency in 1823, 218—change of prices

Great Britain, *continued*.

not immediate but gradual, *ib.*—effect of the expanded currency on them in 1823 and 1824, 219—general prosperity in 1823-24, 220—symptoms of increased prosperity, *ib.*—picture of state of country from 1815 to 1823, 221—budget of 1823, 222—and 1824, *ib.*—conversion of dead-weight, 223—reduction of four per cents, *ib.*—arrangements regarding national debt, *ib.*—grants for new churches, Windsor Castle, and National Gallery, 224—prosperous state of the country, 225—ministerial changes, 1822 to 1825, *ib.*—liberal measures of the cabinet, 226—the navigation laws, 227—Mr Wallace's five free-trade bills, 1822, 228—retaliatory measures threatened by Prussia, 229—debate on the reciprocity system, *ib. et seq.*—effect of it on her shipping, 232—increase of colonial trade, 235—statistics of shipping employed with her colonies, 234 note—failure of reciprocity system to increase her exports, 235—causes of this, 236—commencement of the free-trade system, 237—indication thus afforded of the growth of the commercial class, 239—results of this system, 241—state of the silk trade, 242—introduction of free trade in reference to it, 243—comparative importance of agriculture and manufactures in, 239—the home and foreign markets, 240—reduction of duties on wools, 243—effects of these changes, 244—repeal of laws against emigration of artisans and combinations among workmen, 245—effects of this change, *ib.*—cause of frequency of strikes, 247—affairs in the West Indies and Ireland, 248—picture of the state of the empire in 1825, 249 *et seq.*—sound condition of trade and manufactures to end of 1824, 250—this owing to extended currency, 251—causes of danger, 252—excess of imports over exports, 253—drain of specie produced by South American speculations, 254—budget for 1825, 256—reductions of taxation, and public accounts, 257—reduction of duty on spirits, *ib.*—consequent increase of crime, 258—spirits consumed, and criminal commitments, 1821-48, 259 note—temperance leagues, 260—renewed measures in favour of free trade, *ib.*—change in laws regarding colonial shipping, *ib.*—its effects, 261—approach of the monetary crisis, *ib.*—severity of the crash, 262—increased circulation forced on government, 263—causes of it, 264—immigration from Ireland into, 266—grants from, to Ireland, *ib.*—exports from Ireland to, *ib.*—renewal of alien act, 279—act for uniformity of weights and measures, 280—chancery reform, *ib.*—act to suppress the Catholic Association, 281—Catholic emancipation bill, 285—it rejected by the Lords, 286—impression produced by the Duke of York's declaration, 286—gloomy state of, in opening of 1826, 287—riots in various places, *ib.*—king's speech, and letting out of bonded grain, 288—real causes of the distress, and its remedy, *ib.*—debate on the suppression of small notes, *ib. et seq.*—bill for it carried, 292—importance of this decision, 293—its effects, *ib. et seq.*—passion for political change, *ib.*—error in

Great Britain, *continued.*

the debates on it, *ib.* *et seq.*—measures of relief proposed, 290—the banking system in Scotland and Ireland, *ib.* *et seq.*—the emigration question, 298—appointment of committee on it, *ib.*—debates on it, *ib.*—importance of the subject, 299—finances, 300—debate on repeal of the corn laws, *ib.* *et seq.*—interim admission of foreign grain, 304—heat and drought in 1826, 306—dissolution of parliament, and elections, 306—opening of the new one, *ib.*—temporary relaxation of the corn laws, 307—king's message regarding Portugal, *ib.*—causes of the difference, *ib.*—debates on the subject, *ib.* *et seq.*—sailing of expedition for Lisbon, 309—improved state of the country in 1827, 310—death of the Duke of York, *ib.*—retirement of Lord Liverpool, 312—appointment of Mr Canning as his successor, 313—composition of new cabinet, 314—importance of these events, *ib.*—reception of the change in parliament, 315—the Catholic bill rejected, 317—ministerial measure on the corn laws, 319—finances of 1826, 1827, 1828, 321—proceedings in parliament regarding silk-weavers and shipowners, 322—commencement of the reform question, *ib.*—death of Canning, 323—sensation caused by it, 324 *et seq.*—reconstruction of the cabinet, 325—reduction of the yeomanry, 326—dissolution of the Goderich ministry, 327—Wellington becomes premier, *ib.*—resignation of Huskisson and his friends, *ib.*—reconstruction of cabinet by Wellington, 328—notice of Navarino in king's speech, *ib.*—grant to Canning's family, 329—finance committee and Catholic question, *ib.*—corn law bill, 330—bill for suppression of small notes, *ib.*—repeal of test and corporation acts, 331—increase of disturbances in Ireland, 334—influence of the Catholic Association there, 335—election of O'Connell for Clare, 336—results of this triumph, *ib.*—proclamation against the meetings, 338—Protestant meeting at Penenden Heath, 339—the king urges proceedings against the Catholics, *ib.*—difficulties of the question, *ib.*—commencement of the yielding in the cabinet, 340—Mr Dawson's speech, *ib.*—letters of the Duke of Wellington and lord-lieutenant, 341—increased violence of the Catholic leaders, 342—difficulties with the king, 343—the king's speech, 344—sensation caused by it, *ib.*—Mr Peel's argument in favour of the Catholics, 345 *et seq.*—answer of the anti-Catholics, 348 *et seq.*—division, and resistance to the bill in the country, 351—speech of Wellington in the Lords, 352—bill carried in the Peers, *ib.*—reluctance of the king to it, *ib.*—bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, 353—decision against O'Connell's sitting, 354—his re-election, *ib.*—the results of Catholic emancipation, 357 *et seq.*—effects of emancipation on government of, 360—the reform bill induced by it, 361—effects of reform in inducing free trade, 362—effects of these changes on Ireland, *ib.*—and on the empire, 363—reaction against Catholicism, *ib.*—interval between emancipation and the reform bill occupied by reform, 365

Great Britain, *continued.*

—want of representation for the commercial towns, *ib.*—interests of boroughs now at variance with those of the country, 366—effects of the contraction of the currency on the desire for reform, *ib.*—effect of Catholic agitation in stimulating the desire for reform, 367—division among the Tories from the effects of the contraction of the currency, *ib.*—the desire for reform aided by Catholic emancipation, *ib.*—effect of the suppression of small notes, 368—motion on the distress of the silk-weavers, *ib.*—the budget for 1829, *ib.*—Attwood on the causes of Irish distress and agitation, 370—effect of the monetary system on manufactures, 371—refusal of government to interfere in Portugal, 371—the expedition to Terseira, 372—distress during 1829, *ib.*—riots, 373—agitation for repeal of the union in Ireland, 374—riots there, 375—meeting of parliament, 1830, *ib.*—debate on the public distress in the Peers, 376—declared changes in Parliament, 377—position of Wellington, *ib.*—motion for reducing the salaries of public officers, 379—for reduction of the army and navy, 380—for a revision of the system of taxation, *ib.*—defeat of ministers, 381—Mr Attwood's motion on the currency, *ib.*—financial measures; and great reductions by government, 382—taxes remitted, *ib.*—failure of the budget to relieve the distress, 383—Mr Baring on the abandonment of the sinking fund, *ib.*—reflections on this, 384—it arose from the repeal of indirect taxes, 385—and this from contraction of the currency, 386—which caused the cry for reform, *ib.*—disinclination of the Whigs to reform, *ib.*—various motions on it during session of 1830, 387—rise of the political unions, and their influence, 388—illness and death of George IV., *ib.*—the events of his reign, 389—accession of William IV., and his character, 390—position of ministers after his accession, 391—debate on a regency, 392—prosecutions of the press, and West India question, *ib.*—dissolution of parliament, *ib.*—result of the elections, 393—state of Ireland, 394—the elections there, *ib.*—opening of Manchester and Liverpool Railway, 395—death of Huskisson, *ib.*—reflections on the railway system, and its rapid growth, *ib.* *et seq.*—disturbances and incendiarism in the south, 399—the king's speech, *ib.*—Lord Grey's declaration on reform, 400—Wellington's against it, *ib.*—effect produced by it, 401—Brougham's plan of reform, *ib.*—postponement of king's visit to the city, 402—ministers in a minority, and their resignation, 403—reflections on the fall of the Wellington ministry, *ib.* 1.—causes which rendered the change so decisive, *ib.*—origin of these, 2.—importance of the Duke's declaration against reform, *ib.*—difficulty in fixing the ministry, and Mr Brougham's claims, 3.—character of the leading members of the ministry, 4 *et seq.*—distracted state of the country during the winter, 12—agitation, &c., in Ireland, *ib.*—agitation for repeal of the Union, and illusive prosecution of O'Connell, 13—the budget,

Great Britain, *continued*.

and its defeat, 14—description of taxes to be taken off and laid on, *ib.*—committee on the reform bill, 15—feeling in the country, and petitions, 16—introduction of the bill, *ib. et seq.*—exposition of the ministerial plan, 20 *et seq.*—its reception in the House, 22—arguments against it, 23 *et seq.*—leave granted to bring in the bill, and division of Conservatives and Reformers in the country, 26—agitation in the country, 27—petition from the merchants and bankers of London against the bill, 28—division on the second reading, *ib.*—General Gascoigne's motion against ministers, 29—dangers on both sides in ulterior measures, *ib.*—settlement on royal family, 30—efforts of the ministry to win the king, *ib.*—means by which he is induced to dissolve parliament, *ib.*—violent scene in the House, 32—and in the House of Lords on the dissolution, *ib.*—violence at the elections, *ib.*—riots in Scotland, 33—results of the elections, 34—preparations for insurrection by the political unions, *ib.*—delusions among the people, 35—parties opposed to the reform bill, *ib.*—king's speech on opening parliament, 36—majority for the bill, *ib.*—discussion on particular boroughs, *ib.*—motion to give members to the colonies, 37—motion on £50 tenants, 38—third reading of the bill, *ib.*—efforts to intimidate the Peers, 39—Earl Grey's speech in the House of Lords, *ib.*—bill thrown out in the House of Lords, 40—vote of confidence carried in the Commons, *ib.*—disorders in London and the country, 41—meeting of political unions at Birmingham, *ib.*—riots at Derby and Nottingham, 42—and at Bristol, *ib. et seq.*—effects of these scenes, 44—disturbances in other quarters, *ib.*—proclamation against the unions, 45—introduction of the new reform bill, *ib.*—its increased democratic character, 46—division on it, *ib.*—majority on third reading, 47—general distress, and motion regarding it, *ib.*—declining state of the revenue, *ib.*—state of Ireland, 48—resolution to create peers, 49—agitation and reluctance of the king, *ib.*—negotiations with the waverers, 50—revolutionary meetings to coerce the Peers, *ib.*—majority for second reading in Peers, 51—and for Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, 51—ministers resign, *ib.*—Wellington sent for, *ib.*—excitement in the country, 52—Wellington fails in forming a ministry, 53—Lord Ebrington's motion carried, *ib.*—the king gives authority to create peers, 54—his circular to the opposition peers, *ib.*—the bill passed, and receives the royal assent, 55—the Scotch and Irish bills passed, 56—vast effects of them, *ib.*—lasting and important effects of the bill, *ib.*—its results on the imperial parliament, 57—effects of this change on our external relations, *ib.*—and on internal and social state, 58—the great emigration due to changes caused by it, *ib.*—principle of the old constitution, 59—this proved by the acts of the House of Commons, 60—equal distribution of public burdens, *ib.*—causes of difficulties of representative system, 61—what

Great Britain, *continued*.

first broke up the old constitution, *ib.*—the reform bill an effect of the increase of realied wealth, 62—and of fall of prices caused by contraction of currency, *ib.*—how this fall caused the passion for reform, *ib.*—prices in, from 1824-32, 63 note—cause of the hostility to the close boroughs, *ib.*—this increased by the talent which got in through them, 64—changes of opinion during the reform movement, *ib.*—the new constituencies some time of discovering their power, 65—mistake in the estimates as to the reform bill, *ib.*—command of the Commons given by the bill to the shopkeepers, 66—errors on both sides during the contest, *ib.*—great and early fault of the Conservatives, 67—what they should have done, *ib.*—their error in throwing out the Wellington ministry, 68—the Duke's declaration against reform, *ib.*—error of the liberals in forcing on reform at this time, 69—error in the uniform representation of the boroughs, *ib.*—mistake of the Whigs as to the influence in the boroughs, 70—practical disfranchisement of the colonial and shipping interests, *ib.*—subjection of these to adverse interests, 71—consequent exemption of the urban interests from direct taxation, *ib.*—prospective abandonment of the colonies, *ib.*—this defended by the government and Free-traders, 72—labour was unrepresented, *ib.*—want of representation of intelligence and education, 73—danger from this, *ib.*—talent driven to the press, 74—increase of corruption, *ib.*—the ballot and extended suffrage would further increase this, *ib.*—fault of the liberals in the way the bill was carried, 75—danger of coercing the House of Peers, *ib.*—wisdom of the withdrawal of the peers, 76—summary of the faults on both sides, *ib.*—the producing classes still a majority in number and value, *ib.*—the bill has strengthened government, 77—where the risk now lies, *ib.*—way in which the moneyed classes had got the command of the producing, 78—sums spent by working classes on drink, *ib.*—political truth evolved by the bill, 79—effects of uniform representation in, *ib.*—recognition of Louis Philippe, by the government of, 101—reception of the Duke of Brunswick in, 117—jealousy in, as to the revolution in Belgium, 120—a party to convention for separation of Belgium and Holland, 129, 130—feeling on Louis Philippe's refusal of the crown of Belgium for his son, 130—views regarding Holland and Belgium, 149—reasons which led her to support the Belgians, 150—change in her policy toward Belgium, 151—change in her language regarding Luxembourg, *ib.*—progress of negotiation, and secret treaty with, 152—concurs in the French intervention in Belgium, 154—sailing of her fleet for the Scheldt, *ib.*—acquiescence of the northern powers in her interference, *ib.*—assents to the French intervention in Portugal, 155—experience as to the advantages of a hereditary peerage, 169—causes of the superiority of the aristocracy as statesmen, *ib.*—importance of

Great Britain, *continued*.

their interests being identified with those of production, 169—declines to intervene with France in Poland, 184—imports of grain from Germany into, 220—effect of the liberal movement on Germany, 226—effect in Germany of her alliance with France, 238—feeling in, on the arbitrary measures of the Germanic Diet, 240—commercial treaty of Prussia with, 1841, 250—opposes the Austrian intervention in Italy, 315—preparations with France for war with Holland, 342—convention between them for ceding Antwerp to Belgium, *ib.*—want of preparation in, 344—preparations for the siege, *ib.*—feeling on the capture of Antwerp, 347—influence of these events on her power, 350—danger of, on the passing of the reform bill, v. 1—assaults on the Duke of Wellington and the king, 2—power at the disposal of ministers, *ib.*—influence of the practical turn of the English mind at this crisis, 3—the nobility were at the head of the movement, *ib.*—effect of the Conservatives remaining at their posts, *ib.*—moderation of government, 4—beneficial influence in Ireland of the See of Rome at this time, *ib.*—influence of the cholera in checking the reform mania, 5—distressed state of the finances, 6—the Russo-Belgian loan, *ib.*—state of Ireland, and resistance to tithes, 7—declaration of government on the subject, and recommendations of the committee, *ib.*—facts brought out in the evidence and the debate, 8—government plan, which is opposed by O'Connell, 9—increased agitation and violence in Ireland, *ib.*—murders and burnings there, 10—in effectual efforts of the government, *ib.*—renewed efforts of the agitators, and their falsehoods, 11—small amount of the individual arrears, *ib.*—king's speech on proroguing parliament, *ib.*—success of the registration of electors law, 12—system of requiring pledges from candidates, *ib.*—result of the new elections, 13—opening of parliament, 14—wordiness of the new House, and regulations in consequence, 15—regulations for forenoon hours in it, *ib.*—coercion bill for Ireland, *ib.*—its wisdom and necessity, 22—bill for reduction of Irish church establishment, 23—new ministerial project regarding tithes, 26—general distress in the country, 28—Mr Attwood's picture of state of country, 29—answer of ministers, 30—the budget for 1833, *ib.*—ministers defeated on malt tax, 31—and this vote rescinded, *ib.*—results of these votes on public opinion, 32—decline in popularity of ministers, *ib.*—patriotic conduct of government and the Conservatives, 33—renewal of the bank charter, *ib.*—feeling of the country on the East India question, 35—government plan on it, 36—injustice done to India by it, 38—the West India question, 39—sketch of its history, *ib. et seq.*—what government should have done, 42—progressive emancipation rejected by the planters, 43—refusal of the colonies to act on the resolutions of parliament, *ib.*—Orders in Council on slavery, slave insurrection, and its sup-

Great Britain, *continued*.

pression, 44—resistance of the colonists to Orders in Council, 45—feeling in favour of immediate emancipation, *ib.*—result of debate, 48—counter resolution of the West India proprietors, 49—grant of £20,000,000 to them, *ib.*—reasons which induced them to acquiesce in the arrangement, 50, 51—large and unjust taxes to which their produce was exposed, 50—causes which rendered these bearable during the war, 51—ultimate effects of the measure on the West India Islands, 52—its effects to the negroes, *ib.*—effects of emancipation on the slave trade, 53—causes of its failure, &c., and abandonment of the apprenticeship system, 54—bill regarding shortening infant labour in factories, 55—close of session, and review of its proceedings, *ib.*—improved state of commercial interests, and continued depression of land, 56—effect of changes in currency in stimulating industry, *ib.*—difficulties of ministers from the Irish members and Radicals, 57—commencement of agitation for repeal of the union, *ib.*—attack on Baron Smith, *ib.*—O'Connell's argument for repeal, 58 *et seq.*—answer of government, 60 *et seq.*—result of debate, 61—increased agitation, 63—its chances of success, *ib.*—divisions of government on Irish church question, 64—resignation of Stanley, Graham, &c., *ib.*—effect of this secession on the government, *ib.*—king's declaration on Irish church, 65—effect of this speech, *ib.*—the movement party resolve to force on Mr Ward's motion, 66—question brought before House of Lords, *ib.*—effect of these declarations on the part of government, 67—tithe bill, *ib.*—it opposed by all parties, 68—division in cabinet on Irish coercion bill, *ib.*—negotiation of Lyttleton with O'Connell, 69—resignation of Lyttleton, Althorpe, and Grey, *ib.*—Lord Melbourne premier, and changes in cabinet, 70—modified coercion bill, 71—fate of Irish church bill, 72—poor-law amendment bill, *ib.*—effect of the contraction of the currency on this matter, 73—report of poor-law commissioners recommending a change, 74—debate on the bill, *ib. et seq.*—it is carried, 75—its further progress, 76—its ultimate effect, 77—prorogation of parliament, 78—financial state, *ib.*—weakness of government, and disturbances in Ireland, *ib.*—riot at Rathcormack, 79—hostility of the press to the ministry, *ib.*—their dismissal, and Wellington applied to, 80—recognition of the reactionist government in Portugal by, 90—her position toward that kingdom, *ib.*—effect of her sympathy with the liberals in the Peninsula, 91, 94, *et seq.*—sympathy with the Spanish liberals in, 100—support given the queen's party by, 108—recognises Queen Isabella, 109—reasons for doing so, 110—expedition to Portugal in 1828, 115—reception of Don Miguel in, 116—conduct of, on Don Miguel's usurpation, 119—changed position of, toward Don Miguel, 126—hostility of the latter toward her subjects, 127—reception of Donna Maria de Gloria in, 129—a party to the quadruple

Great Britain, *continued.*

alliance, 133, 134—her policy in it, 136—effects of her support to the liberals in Spain, 141—further interventions in Spain, 160—conduct of, in the case of the Isabella Ann, 171—the Elliot convention in Spain, 175—formation of the auxiliary legion, 184—feeling excited by the Durango decree in, 186—application of Turkey to, after battle of Kossow, and its rejection, 251—acquiescence in the Russian intervention, 254—mission of Lord Durham to St Petersburg, *ib.*—remonstrance against treaty of Unklar-Skelessi, 257—views and policy regarding Greece, 258—jealousy regarding Egypt, 262—divergence of view on the Eastern question between her and France, *ib.*—causes of the coldness between them, *ib.*—commercial treaty with Turkey, 263—and with Austria, *ib.*—efforts to avert hostilities between Turkey and Mehemet Ali, 264—views of, regarding Russia, &c., 265 note—a party to treaty for settlement of the East, 269—military preparations to enforce it, 270—irritation of France against her, 271—danger of a rupture between them, *ib.*—naval forces for the operations in Syria, 272—violence of the French press against, 274—anxiety of, for accommodation with Mehemet Ali, 278—a party to the treaty of March 1841 regarding the Dardanelles, &c., 279—rejoicings on it, 280—and on the successes at Acro, &c., *ib.*—the advantage to her more apparent than real, *ib.*—fatal effects of her refusal of aid to Turkey, 281—this arose from the reform bill and the contraction of the currency, *ib.*—danger in 1841 from the mania for reduction, 282—remonstrance against occupation of Cracow, 312— inadequacy of military force, 1838, 350—Louis Napoleon takes refuge in, 353—views of government on the Belgian question, 1838, 356—application from France to, for the remains of Napoleon, 379—Guizot's account of her policy on the Eastern question, 385—Thiers on this, &c., *ib.*—memorandum of Guizot to, on the Eastern question, 388—position of, on the Eastern crisis, 389—great effect of the changes in the currency laws during the peace, 399—their leading evils, *ib.*—error from which they sprang, *ib.*—danger of a currency based on retention of bullion, 400—partial recognition of these principles, *ib.*—double danger of currency based on retention of gold, *ib.*—remedy for these evils, 402—cause of rise of interest, *ib.*—argument of the bullionists for their system, 403—answer to it, *ib.*—currency to be based on the national security, 404—effect of the monetary laws in inducing the prosperity of 1835, *ib.*—growing prosperity of 1835 and 1836, 405—joint-stock mania, *ib.*—burning of the two Houses of Parliament, 406—Sir R. Peel's cabinet, *ib.*—peaceable manner in which the change of ministry was received, 408—result of elections in England, *ib.*—in Scotland, 409—the Irish elections, and junction of Liberals and Catholics there, *ib.*—division on choice of a Speaker, 410—division on the address, 411—the king's reception of it, 412—indig-

Great Britain, *continued.*

nation of the Whigs at Peel's not resigning, *ib.*—motion for repeal of malt tax, *ib.*—diminution in consumption of beer, 413—debate on Lord Londonderry's appointment as ambassador to St Petersburg, *ib.*—Sir R. Peel's remedial measures, *ib.*—debate on Irish church question, 415 *et seq.*—division on it, and resignation of ministers, 420—new ministry, *ib.*—importance of Sir R. Peel's administration, 421—it averted the danger of revolution, *ib.*—restoration of House of Peers to its functions, 422—its effects on Ireland, *ib.*—liberal measures forced on government, 423—Lord Melbourne's announcement of his principles of government, vi. 1—defeats of ministers at new elections, 2—ministerial measures of reform, 3—Scotch burgh reform bill, *ib.*—government report on the English corporations, 4—the ministerial corporate reform bill, *ib.*—political features of the bill, 5—debate on the bill, *ib.*—its fate in the Commons and Peers, 8—ministerial bill for church reform, 10—motions on the currency, agricultural distress, and Orange lodges, 11—the budget, and extinction of the surplus, 12—O'Connell's crusade against the Peers, *ib.*—spread of these views, 13—apprehensions of the minsterialists, 14—creation of Whig peers, *ib.*—state of West India, 15—commencement of troubles in Canada, 16 *et seq.*—opening of parliament, and king's speech, 1836, 18—state of Irish corporations, *ib.*—government plan, and abuses complained of, 19—debate on the bill, 20 *et seq.*—it is altered in the Lords and finally rejected, 22—Irish church bill again carried in the Commons and rejected in the Lords, 23—perils of these collisions, *ib.*—increased agitation against the House of Lords, *ib.*—effects of this in Ireland, 24—re-establishment of Catholic Association, 25—recommendation of poor law for Ireland, *ib.*—Mr Nicholl's report on it, 26—English tithe bill, and bill for registration of births &c., 27—Agricultural Distress Committee, and refusal of currency investigation, 28—the budget, *ib.*—weakness of army and navy, 29—Lord D. Stuart on the Russian power in the East, *ib.*—increasing discontent in Canada, and settlement of the upper province, 30—violence of the Assembly in the lower province, *ib.*—public meetings on both sides, 31—the Glasgow banquet to Sir R. Peel, *ib.*—opening of parliament, 32—Irish corporations bill, *ib.*—Irish poor-law bill, 33—statistics of Irish destitution, 34—establishment of poor-law there, 35—ministerial plan for abolishing church rates, 36—Lord Normanby's administration in Ireland, *ib.*—compromise on the appropriation clause and the municipal bill, 37—settlement of Irish municipal bill, 38—affair of the Vixen, 39 *et seq.*—proceedings in parliament on it, 40—death of the king, 41—accession of Queen Victoria, *ib.*—her speech to the privy council, *ib.*—separation of Hanover from, 42—character of William IV., 43 *et seq.*—beneficial effect of the change of ministry and disco-

Great Britain, *continued.*

lution, 44—extent and prosperity of empire on accession of Victoria, 45—its sources of weakness, *ib.*—general discontent in, 46—exports to the United States, 51, 61, note—effect of the banking crisis in the United States, 61—excess of imports over exports, 62—bad seasons from 1836 to 1841, *ib.*—calamitous harvests of 1838 and 1839, 63—bad crop of 1839, *ib.*—those of 1840 and 1841, 64—distress during these years, 65—effect of these changes on the currency, *ib.*—contraction of currency, rise of interest, and stoppage of credit, 66—general terror at export of gold from, 67—effects of it, 68—panic in Belgium and France from it, *ib.*—distress in the country, 69—decline of prices the cause of this suffering, 70—effects of these disasters on new poor-law act, 71—dissatisfaction with it, and its practical abrogation by the distress of 1839, *ib.*—debate on it in the House of Commons, 72—trades unions and strikes, chartism and ribbonism, 73—origin of trades unions, *ib.*—increase of strikes from 1834 to 1837, *ib.*—great cotton-spinners' strike in 1837, and its break up, 74—trial of the leaders for conspiracy and murder, *ib.*—its results, 76—beneficial results of the trial, *ib.*—importance of subject of strikes, and reflections on it, 77 *et seq.*—remedy against them, 79—rise of chartism, 80—its popularity, *ib.*—real objects of it, 81—progress of the movement, *ib.*—Chartist riot at Birmingham, 82—moral effect of this outbreak, *ib.*—the Newport riots, 83—origin of the Anti-corn-law League, 84—causes of its success, *ib.*—first proceedings in parliament on the subject, 85—Free Kirk movement in Scotland, *ib. et seq.*—effects of the schism, 86—the affairs of Canada, 88 *et seq.*—the insurrection there, 90—that in Upper Canada, 92 *et seq.*—excitement on the outbreak in Canada, and measures of government, 96—course followed by government regarding the Canadian prisoners, 99—state of parties, and weakness of government, *ib.*—resignation of Lord Durham, 100—fresh outbreak of the rebellion in Canada, 101 *et seq.*—exports from, to Canada, 105—clamour for the abolition of the apprenticeship system in the West Indies, 111—its abolition, *ib.*—falling off in exports to West Indies, 112, note—position of the ministry, 113—debate on measure suspending constitution of Jamaica, 114 *et seq.*—small majority for ministers, and their resignation, 116—Sir R. Peel is sent for, 117—difficulty regarding the household appointments, and failure of the negotiation, *ib.*—observations of Peel, Melbourne, and Wellington on this, 118—election of speaker and second Jamaica bill, *ib.*—popularity of the queen after her accession, 119—her coronation, *ib.*—her marriage, 120—reforms in criminal law, 122—reflections on this, and the neglect of secondary punishments, *ib.*—mode in which this was brought about, *ib.*—resolution of parliament regarding colonisation, 123—facts brought out in this debate, 124—maladministration of her colonial

Great Britain, *continued.*

lands, 124—new colonial system, 125—first settlement in New Zealand, *ib.*—post-office reform, Mr Hill's plan, 127—its results, 128—causes of its failure as a source of revenue, 130—Stockdale's case, and the privilege of parliament, *ib.*—committal of the sheriffs, 131—murder of Lord Norbury, and statistics of crime in Ireland, 132—alliance of government with O'Connell, 133—Lord Normanby's liberation of prisoners, 134—inadequacy of remedies applied to Irish misery, *ib.*—it the battlefield of parties, 135—state of the finances, *ib.*—increased perils of the country in various quarters, 136—injustice of general opinion on this, *ib.*—increase of army in 1839, 137—weakness of navy, *ib.*—cry for abolition of corn-laws, 138—motion for it lost, 139—increased agitation on it, *ib.*—Oxford's attack on the queen, 140—difficulties of ministers, *ib.*—new reform bill for Ireland and its fate, 141—budget, 1841, *ib.*—vote of want of confidence, 146—dissolution of parliament, 147—excitement in the country, *ib.*—result of the elections in favour of the Tories, *ib.*—defeats of ministers, and their resignation, 149—reflections on their fall, *ib.*—her supremacy destroyed by the reform bill, 150—causes to which this was owing, 151—the empire of, in India, 152—advantages of her government there, 153—and its evils, *ib.*—extent of its empire there, 154—great payments drawn to, *ib.*—injury to industry from the connection with, 155—difficulties as regards public works in India, 159—drain of precious metals to India, 171—energetic preparations against the Burmese, 186—treaty with Persia, 1814, 212—jealousy of Russia in the East, *ib.*—effect of the political changes with regard to Russia, 214—effect of her interference at Herat on her influence in the East, 224—honours conferred on the leaders of the Afghanistan expedition, 237—injustice of the Afghanistan expedition, 267—character of Sir R. Peel, and its influence on the destinies of the country, 272 *et seq.*—formation of Peel ministry, 279—difficulties in foreign affairs, 280—aspect of internal affairs, 281—statistical details showing general distress, 282—difficulties in finance, and from inadequate national armaments, 283—distress in manufacturing districts, 284—riots in England, 1842, *ib.*—and in Scotland, 285—measures of repression, *ib.*—their effects, 286—use made of the general distress against the Peel ministry, *ib.*—agitation by the Anti-corn-law League, and real causes of the distress, 287—session of 1841, *ib.*—opening of parliament of 1842, 288—Sir R. Peel's plan, *ib. et seq.*—proposed sliding scale, 290—answer of opposition, *ib. et seq.*—bill carried, 293—reception of it, 294—financial difficulties of the ministry, *ib.*—financial measures proposed, *ib.*—reception of the plan by the opposition and the country, 297—argument against the income tax, *ib.*—passing of the bill, 299—reflections on the tariff, and reasons for it, 300—advantages which would have

Great Britain, *continued.*

ensued from extension of the currency, 800 — the income tax, *ib.* — its partiality, *ib.*, 801 — reasons of its injustice, *ib.* — intelligence of Afghanistan disaster, 802 — copy-right act, *ib.* — extension of dangers of literature, *ib.* — the temperance movement in Ireland, 804 — its progress and decline, 805 — commencement of the repeal agitation, *ib.* — monster meetings, 806 — their character, and language used, *ib.* — measures of government, and arms bill, 807 — arrest, trial, &c., of O'Connell, *ib.* — effect of these proceedings, 809 — fine harvest of 1842, and improvement in the country in 1843, 810 — Lord Ashley's bill for infant labour, 812 — Sir James Graham's factory and education bill, *ib.* — new factory bill, and ten hours amendment, 813 — Rebecca riots, 814 — bill removing their cause, 815 — the Chartist and anti-corn-law movements, 816 — differences with America, 817 — question of right of search, *ib.* — its settlement, 818 — dispute about the Maine boundary, 819 *et seq.* — treaty for its settlement, 820 — the Oregon question, 821 — its settlement, 822 — reflections on these treaties, 823 — the Tahiti dispute with France, *ib.* *et seq.* — adjustment of it, 825 — negotiations with France on the Spanish marriages, 826 — reduction of the three-and-a-half per cents, *ib.* — favourable financial statement of 1844, 827 — reduction of taxes, *ib.* — and of sugar duties, *ib.* — bank charter act, 828 — similar bills for Scotland and Ireland, 832 — population, commerce, &c., 1815 and 1845, 833 note — visit of Louis Philippe to, 838 — and of the Emperor Nicholas, 834 — its political objects, *ib.* — proposed share of, in partition of Turkey, *ib.* — public prosperity, and the railway mania, 835 — its effect on society, 836 — its immediate benefits to some classes, 837 — great effect of these speculations, 838 — division in the landed interest occasioned by it, 839 — its good effects on the labouring classes, *ib.* — effect of railway system on commerce and manufactures, 840 — beneficial effect of railways on working classes, 841 — bill reducing deposits to a half, 842 — effect of this, *ib.* — flourishing state of trade and revenue, *ib.* — financial statement, 843 — income tax continued, and indirect taxes repealed, *ib.* — increase in Irish crime, 846 — grant to secular colleges, 847 — enlarged grant to Maynooth, *ib.* — its failure, and causes of this, 848 — Scotch poor-law bill, 849 *et seq.* — charge of opening letters against Sir James Graham, 852 — the alien act, 854 — progress of Anti-corn-law League, *ib.* — division on Mr Miles' motion, 855 — further divisions on corn laws, and close of session, *ib.* — extension of free trade unavoidable, 856 — first appearance of the potato disease in, 857 — increased efforts of Anti-corn-law League, 858 — general alarm, and symptoms of change, *ib.* — Lord John Russell's letter, 859 — approach to repeal of corn laws, and resignation of Sir R. Peel, 860 — failure of Russell to form a ministry, and restoration of Peel, *ib.* — announcement of the repeal in the

Great Britain, *continued.*

Times, 861 — Queen's speech, 862 — the debate on repeal of the corn laws, *ib.* *et seq.* — reception of the measure in the country, 863 — Mr Disraeli's attack on Peel, *ib.* — budget for 1846, 871 — determination of the Protectionists to drive Peel from power, 872 — increased agrarian outrages in Ireland, *ib.* — act for their suppression, 873 — coalition against government, *ib.* — debate on bill, *ib.* *et seq.* — defeat of ministers on, *ib.* 877 — Sir R. Peel resolves to resign, 878 — his concluding address, 379 *et seq.* — reflections on his free-trade measures, 880 — was a return to the corn laws practicable? *ib.* — the danger of scarcity past before the bill was brought forward, *ib.* — durable reasons for repeal of the corn laws, 882 — real free-trade not introduced, but protection taken from agriculture, *ib.* — conduct of the Irish members on the question, 883 — adoption of free trade inevitable, 886 — first brought into collision with China, *vil.* 1 — origin and history of the war with China, 7 *et seq.* — treaty concluded with China, 19 — danger of, in India after the Afghanistan retreat, 21 — retirement from Afghanistan, 48 — her conduct in the war, 49 — the conquest and annexation of Scinde, 50 *et seq.* — honours conferred, &c., on conquest of Scinde, 64 — the war with Gwalior, 67 *et seq.* — recall of Lord Ellenborough, 72 — appointment of Sir H. Hardinge, 73 — the Sikh war, 76 *et seq.* — alliance of Runjeet Singh, 77 — treaty with the Sikhs, 95 — joy on the successes in the Punjab, 96 — second Sikh war, 98 *et seq.* — excitement on the battle of Chillianwallah, 103 — contrast between national character of, and that of France, 127 — feeling in France on the subservience to, *ib.* — jealousy of, in France, 1840, 137 — efforts of, for suppression of the slave trade, *ib.* — treaties of 1831 and 1833 with France regarding it, *ib.* — and that of 1841, 138 — its provisions, *ib.* — parallel between her position in India and the French in Algeria, 190 — the early alliance with Louis Philippe and its causes, *ib.* — excitement caused by the Tahiti affair, 191 — treaty with France regarding right of search for slaves, 196 — excitement on annexation of Cracow, 208 — embarrassment of the government on the Polish question, 204 — danger to, from alliance of France and Spain, 208 — effects on her interests of the abrogation of the Salic law, 209 — views of government on the Spanish marriages, 211 — conferences on the subject at the Chateau d'Eu and Windsor, 212 — further history of the marriages, *ib.* *et seq.* — coldness between France and, 216 — effects of this, 217 — vast effects of introduction of free trade, 219 — the Whigs and Tories destroyed by their own leaders, *ib.* — causes which led to these changes, 220 — formation of new cabinet, *ib.* — meeting of parliament, and government plan for sugar duties, 221 *et seq.* — its results to the West Indies, 227 — explanation of the feeling of the country on the slave sugar bill, *ib.* — proof of the disfranchisement of the colonies by the reform bill, 230 — discussion on flogging in the army, 231 — composition of the army,

Great Britain, *continued*.

233—necessity of corporal punishment in the field, *ib*—Lord Palmerston's minute on the defences of the country, 234—enrolment of pensioners, 235—details of army, 236—note—arms bill for Ireland, 236—measures for relief of the suffering in Ireland, 237—commencement of the famine, 238—deplorable state of the country, 239—government plans, *ib*—extent of the distress, 240—woeful scenes in the country, 241—queen's speech, *ib*—ministerial plan for relief of Ireland, 242—Lord Brougham's picture of the country, *ib*—amended poor and temporary relief act, 243—its results, 244 *et seq*—mortality of the period, 245—pecuniary efforts made, 246—great extent of emigration, 247—effects of this exodus, 248—this due to free trade, 249—small amount of voluntary relief, 250—reflections on the famine, *ib*—potato famine in Scotland, 251—means taken to combat it, *ib*—Lord George Bentinck's project for Irish railways, 252—his railway scheme, 253—Sir R. Peel's speech against it, 255—division on it, *ib*—budget of 1847, 259—causes which led to the monetary crisis, 260—effect of the Irish famine, 261—progress of the panic, *ib*—difference between this and former crises, 262—debates on it in parliament, *ib et seq*—debate on navigation laws, 267—Mr. Fielden's bill to limit factory labour, *ib*—difference of mortality in manufacturing towns and in the country, 271—introduction of limited service system, 272—public education, 273—Irish coercion bill, 274—prorogation and dissolution of parliament, 275—commercial embarrassments, *ib*—increased monetary pressure, 276—bankruptcies, *ib*—suspension of bank charter act, 277—its great and immediate effect, 280—meeting of parliament and queen's speech, *ib*—Peel's statement on bank charter act, 281 *et seq*—answer of Lord George Bentinck, *ib*, 282 *et seq*—result of the debate, and reports of the committees on the bank charter act, 284—distress from the monetary crisis, 285—details of the railway and commercial losses, *ib*—rise in cotton, 286—great variation in the price of provisions, *ib*—effect of the French revolution of 1848, 287—influx of destitute Irish, *ib*—pressure on middle classes, 289—immediate benefits of the railway expenditure, 289—magnitude and perfection of the system, 290—fall in the exports and revenue, *ib*—increase of paupers and criminals, 291—emigration and decline of population, 292—extreme suffering in Glasgow and the manufacturing districts, 293—outbreak in Glasgow, 294—effects of the suppression of the Glasgow outbreak, 295—commencement of the Chartist outbreak, 296—their preparations, *ib*—and those of the government, *ib*—defeat of the Chartists, 297—attempt at insurrection in Glasgow, 298—detection of the frauds in the Chartist petition, 299—renewed agitation by them, its suppression, and their trials, 300—rebellion in Ireland, *ib*—trial of O'Brien, and revealing of the

Great Britain, *continued*

designs of the conspirators, 302—effects of monetary crisis of 1847, 303—lesson it taught, 304—its due to free trade and a fettered currency, *ib*—details of these, 305—they keep the action constantly on the verge of a monetary crisis, *ib*—effects of increased supply of gold, 306—argument as to export of gold, 307—arguments of the bullionists, 308—to what the crisis was due, 309—Peel's object in the act of 1844, *ib*—the opposite effects have followed, 310—how the monetary laws obtained speciality, *ib*—ultimate effects of free trade, 311—capital facilitates manufactures more than agriculture, *ib*—greater mortality in cities than in the country, 312—how these circumstances affect population, 314—effect of these laws combined, 315—effects of free trade on prices, 316—its forced on Sir R. Peel, 321—effects of it on national progress and independence, 322—its effects to be judged of before 1852, 323—necessity of maritime superiority, *ib*—effects of the disunion of France and, on Poland, 331—differences regarding treaty of Utrecht, 332—cordiality between them before the marriages, 339—disunion regarding Greece, *ib*—increasing coldness between them on it, 335—disunion regarding Portugal and La Plata, 336—policy of the government of, in Italy, 1847, 344—the Swiss Radicals supported by, 355—policy pursued toward Switzerland, and its results, 356 *et seq*—alarm excited by her support of the revolutionists, 359—formation of league against her, *ib*—her weakness at sea and land, 360—disproportion of the danger and her means of resistance, *ib*—causes of her policy, 361—the incompleteness of the revolution the cause of it, *ib*—the Prince de Joinville on the assassination of, 363—escape of Louis Philippe to, 402—financial and commercial state, 1858, *vim* 15 note—Lamartine's answer to the Irish revolutionists 21—acknowledgment of the French republic, 25—probable results of universal suffrage, 68—mediation between Sardinia and Austria, 106—her ambassador opposes resumption of hostilities by Sardinia, 111—negotiates the armistice, 120—assistance to the Sicilians from, 124—urges the separation of Lombardy, 132—her conduct during the crisis in Italy, 133—Zollverein directed against, 144—error in dealing with the commercial crisis of 1848, 147—mediates on the Schleswig question, 161, 192—flight of Metternich to, 202—position of, with regard to Hungarian war, 283—extension of free trade, 284—importance of period from 1845 to 1852, *ib*—loyal temper of the people, 285—and real sufferings, 286—prices of grain, 287—cry for repeal of navigation laws, *ib*—debates on it, 288 *et seq*—results of repeal of navigation laws, 291 *et seq*—motion for relief to agriculturists, 298—circumstances which weakened the cause of protection, *ib*—rise in foreign grain, 294—improvements in agriculture, *ib*—effect of the railway system, 295 *et seq*—outcry among agricultural classes, 299—attitude of the Free traders,

Great Britain, *continued*.

ib.—their arguments, 297 *et seq.*—reflections on finances from 1849 to 1852, 300—census for 1851, 301—mortality of town and country districts, 302—increase in violent crimes, 303—relinquishment of transportation system, and its effects, 304 *et seq.*—measures of government regarding criminals, and introduction of the ticket-of-leave system, 307—concession of self-government to the colonies, 308—difficulties of their direct representation, 309—discontent produced in them by the reform bill, *ib.*—new colonial system, 310—affairs of the Cape, 311—the Caffre war, *ib.*—subsequent transactions, 313—renewed predial outrages in Ireland, 314—the Irish encumbered estates bill, 315—differences with Russia regarding the Hungarian refugees, 317—quarrel with the Greek government, 318—danger of war with France, 319—proceedings in parliament on the subject, *ib.*—naval and military strength at the time, 320—death of Sir R. Peel, *ib.*—bill lowering the franchise in Ireland, *ib.*—removal of Palmerston from office, 321—defeat of ministers on the militia bill, their resignation, and accession of Lord Derby, *ib. et seq.*—militia embodied, and increase of the army, 323—dissolution of parliament, 324—defeat of Lord Derby, and return of the Whigs to office, 325—loss of the Amazon and Birkenhead steamers, *ib.*—effects of the gold discoveries on, 327—death of the Duke of Wellington, and his funeral, 328 *et seq.*—final results of the French Revolution to, 359—emigration from, 361.

Great Fish River, the British frontier withdrawn to, viii 311.

Great towns, influence of the railway system on, iii 397.

Great Trunk Road, the, in India, vii 108.

Great Western Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note—fall in, 1846-52, vii 289 note.

Greece, discussion at the Congress of Verona on the state of, ii 259—the conquest of, by the Turks, 332—statistics of, 354—defensible nature of the country, *ib.*—Clarke's description of, *ib.*—elements remaining of insurrection in, 355—recent favourable circumstances in her condition, 356—spread of information, and passion for independence, *ib.*—society of the Hetaïrists, 357—dependence on Russia, 358—effects of the Spanish revolution on, 360—commencement of the insurrection, 365—it spreads over the whole country, *ib.* 368—formation of a constitution, and independence proclaimed, 381—increasing interest in, 402—arrival and efforts of Lord Byron, 403—continued dissensions in, *ib.*—loan contracted on behalf of, in London, *ib.*—devastations of the war to 1824, 408—renewed dissensions, 409—prospects of, in the opening of 1825, 410—influence of the defence of Missolonghi, 421—deplorable condition of, 1826, *ib.* 423—commencement of the negotiations for her independence, 421—first protocol in favour of, 422—the treaty between France, England, and Russia regarding, 425—its provisions, *ib.*—reply of

the Turkish government, *ib. et seq.*—Capo d'Istria appointed president, 430—rejoicings in, on the battle of Navarino, 431—the war one of religion and race, 432—prosperity of, since the revolution, 434—affairs of, 1828, iii 63—convention fixing limits, &c., of, 64—errors in this convention, 65 *et seq.*—what should have been the limits of, *ib.*—France a party to treaty of 6th July regarding, 97—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—justification of Canning's interference on behalf of, 324—the affairs of, after treaty of 1829, v. 257—first settlement under presidency of Capo d'Istria, 258—it is overturned, and his assassination, *ib.*—Otho elected king, 259—successes of the popular opposition, and overthrow of the government, 260—arrival of Otho, and joy of the inhabitants, *ib.*—institutions, and military forces, 261—cause of the decay of the colonies of, vi. 107—affairs of, and disunion between France and England regarding, vii. 333—the constitutionalists disowned by Russia, 334—increasing coldness between France and England regarding, 335—civil war in, *ib.*—the affairs of Don Pacifico, &c., viii. 318—part taken by France and Russia, *ib.*—proceedings in parliament, and settlement, 319.

Greek church, clergy of the, in Russia, ii. 12 note—synod of the, v. 261—number belonging to the, in Austria, viii 140 note.

Greek committee in London, their address, ii. 402 note—mismanagement of the loan by them, 410.

Greek insurrection, commencement of the, in Wallachia, ii. 362—spreads to Moldavia, and its progress there, *ib. et seq.*—See Greece.

Greek islands, prosperity, &c., of the, before the revolution, ii. 356.

Greek loan, the first, ii. 403—mismanagement of it in London, 410—new, guaranteed by the allies, v. 259—payment of her share of, by France, 312.

Greek war, superiority of the Egyptian troops in, v. 243.

Greeks, the, support refused by Alexander to, ii 45—race of, 319—position of, in the civil administration of Turkey, 321—of the Fanar, 335—number of, in Constantinople, 336 note—value of, as sailors to Turkey, 336—repeated insurrections of, 351—exasperation between, and the Turks before the revolt, 352—massacres of, at Constantinople, 366—naval successes of, 371—defeats of, in the Morea, 1821, 372—defeats of, at Napoli de Romania, &c., 376—naval successes of, in 1823, 392—results of campaign of 1823, 393—application of, to the Congress of Verona, 394—divisions among, 396—plans and preparations of, for campaign of 1823, 397—increasing divisions, 399, 401—preparations of, for campaign of 1825, 410—successes of, 1829, iii. 64.

Green crops, failure of, in Great Britain, 1826, iii. 305—increased produce of, in Ireland, 1849-53, vii. 360 note—increased production of, vii. 295.

Greenock, ratio of mortality in, vii. 271 note—intended rising in, 1848, 295.

Greenwich, members given to, iv. 21 note.

Grégoire, the abbé, returned to the Deputies in 1819, ii. 84—sketch of his previous career, *ib.*—on the accession of Louis Philippe, iv. 93.

Gregory XVI., Pope, accession of, iv. 118—death and character of, vii. 337.

Gregory, the patriarch, murder of, ii. 366.

Gregory, bishop of Modon, cruel treatment and death of, ii. 412.

Greig, admiral, iii. 21, 61—operations against Varna, 25—fleet under, 1820, 52—repulse of the Turkish fleet by, *ib.*—naval force under, offered by Russia to Turkey against Egypt, v. 252.

Grejalva, Spanish minister, v. 102, 105.

Grenada, reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note.

Grenoble, the outbreak of Didier at, and its repression, i. 150—reception of Lafayette in, iii. 112—outbreak at, 1832, iv. 313—insurrection at, 1834, 376—reform banquet at, vii. 131—resistance to the new valuation in, 146.

Grenville, lord, accessions to the ministry from friends of, ii. 191.

Greppe, M., arrested, viii. 355.

Greuben, count, vii. 86 note.

Grey, earl, on the distress, &c., in 1817, i. 164—at the trial of the queen, ii. 177—motion by, on the Congress of Laybach, &c., 181—attack on Canning by, iii. 314—reception of it, 315—motion by, on the regency, 1830, 392—declaration of, on reform, 1830, 400—Wellington's answer, *ib.*—called to form a ministry, and difficulties regarding Brougham, iv. 3—premier, *ib.* note—character of, 4 *et seq.*—announcement of his principles of government by, 11—and the prosecution of O'Connell, 13 note—franchise first proposed by, 15—first intention of, regarding reform, 16 note—means by which he induces the king to dissolve parliament, 31—his speech on the reform bill in the Peers, 39—deputations from the political unions to, 45—on the new reform bill, 46—opposed to the creation of peers, 49—induces the king to consent to it, *ib.*—on Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, 51—resigns, *ib.*—receives permission to create peers, 54—closing speech of, in the peers on the bill, 56—one of the commission for giving it the royal assent, 56—views of, as to the borough members under the bill, 57 and note—his course compared with Pitt's, 60—error of, as to predominating influence in the boroughs, 70—views of, on tithes in Ireland, v. 7—brings in Irish coercion bill, 16—arguments for it, *ib. et seq.*—arguments of, for Irish church bill, 24—the Ebrington address to, and his answer, 64—declaration of, on Irish church, 66—views of, on the Irish coercion bill, 69—resigns, *ib.*—his parting address as minister, *ib.*—banquet to, at Edinburgh, 80—reflections on his fall, 81—his merit in resisting the movement after the bill was passed, *ib.*—review of his administration, *ib.*—error of, as to the effects of the reform bill, vi. 150—effect of his coercion bill in Ireland, 375.

Grey ministry, the, iv. 3 note—defeat of, on General Gascoigne's motion, 29—measures of, to conciliate the king, 80—means by which they induce him to dissolve parlia-

ment, *ib. et seq.*—vote of confidence in, 40—proclamation by, against the political unions, 45—resolution of, to create peers, 49—induce the king to consent to it, *ib.*—resign on Lyndhurst's amendment being carried, 51—return to office, and permission given them for creation of peers, 54—oppose the restoration of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, 56—power at their disposal, v. 2—their moderation after the passing of the bill, and its effects, 4—defeat of, on the malt tax, 31—rapid decline in their popularity, 32—their patriotic conduct, 33—embarrassment of, on factory question, and bill regarding it, 55—their conduct of the session, *ib.*—divided state of, on the Irish church, 64—resignation of Stanley, Graham, &c., *ib.*—effect of this secession on, *ib.*—motion by, on the Irish church, 66—division in, on the renewal of the Irish coercion bill, 68—resignation of Althorpe, Grey, &c., 69—poor-law reform begun by, 72—appointment of committee of inquiry by, and their report, 74.

Grey, earl (son of above), refuses to take office along with Palmerston, vi. 361—colonial secretary, 1846, vii. 220—on the limited service system, 272 note—the new colonial system due to, viii. 310—*See also* Howick, lord.

Grey, earl de, first lord of the Admiralty, 1835, vi. 407 note—lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1841, 280 note.

Grey, Sir George, arguments of, for the Jamaica bill, v. 114—home secretary, 1846, vii. 220—Irish coercion bill introduced by, 274—moves continued suspension of habeas corpus act in Ireland, viii. 314.

Grey, general, invasion of Gwalior by, vii. 69—victory of, at Mangore, 70.

Grey, lieutenant, during the Chartist rising at Newport, vi. 83.

Griffin, captain, defeat of Akhtar Khan by, vi. 247.

Griffiths, major, moved up from Coord-Cabal to Cabul, vi. 250.

Grillparzer, the works of, iv. 276.

Grimsby, partially disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Grimstead, partially disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Grochow, position and forces of parties at, iv. 192—battle of, 193.

Grogan, colonel, seizure of, as hostage for Mr M'Leod, vi. 317.

Gronville, Laure, an accomplice of Hubert's, v. 352.

Gros, M., a partisan of Louis Napoleon, v. 322.

Grosbois, M., character of, i. 115.

Grossochen, defeat of the Baden insurgents at, viii. 184.

Grote, the history of Greece by, i. 247—motion by, in favour of the ballot, vi. 14—radical views of, at the Hume banquet, 81.

Grottenhelm, general, operations of, against Bem, viii. 272.

Grouchy, marshal, proscribed in 1815, i. 93—reception of, by Charles X., ii. 73—dismissed from active service, 76.

Grudzinska, Jeanne, wife of the Grand-duke Constantine, ii. 57.

Guard, fidelity of the, during the Three Days, iii. 162—parting between Charles X. and the, 156, 157.

Guards, National, *see* National Guard.

Guardanino, surrender of, to the Christinos, v. 229.

Guastalla, treaty regarding duchy of, i. 340.

Guebours, mademoiselle de, iv. 328.

Guerque, general, invasion of Catalonia by, v. 191, 192—defeats the French legion, 194—execution of, 230.

Guera, Don Alphonso, a leader of the republican conspiracy at Cadiz, ii. 249.

Guerilla life, natural tendency of the Spaniard to, i. 325.

Guerilla warfare, system of, in Spain, and adopted by Zumalacarrgui, v. 145.

Guerillas, ravages of, in Spain, 1821, ii. 235.

Guernica, the Tree of, v. 150—defeats of the Christinos at, 154, 178.

Guernon de Ranville, M., joins the Polignac ministry, iii. 113—opposes all concession by the king, 150—arrest of, iv. 107—demeanour of, before trial, 122—sentence of, 126, v. 296 note—liberation of, 318.

Guerrazzi, movement of, at Leghorn, viii. 70, 107—defeat of, at Florence, 123.

Guerre aux Chateaux, secret society called, iv. 373 note.

Guerrea, a Christino general, v. 214.

Guetaria, stormed by the Carlists, v. 194.

Guevara, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 193.

Guibert, the military history of, iii. 197.

Guicciardini, the prose of, iv. 282.

Guiche, the duke de, made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 94, ii. 302—fidelity of, to Charles X., iii. 157.

Guildhall, Soult at the banquet at, vi. 120.

Gulds, the, in Russia, ii. 14—want of representation of, under municipal reform bill, vi. 5.

Guildford, partially disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Guilleminot, general, on the capitulation of Paris as regarded Ney, i. 128—chief of the Staff in Spain, ii. 287.

Guinard, M., v. 292.

Guissona, combat at, v. 215.

Guizot, M., appointed minister of justice, i. 91—retirement of, from the Richelieu ministry, 149—made a councillor of state, 309—as a leader of the Doctrinaires, ii. 82—supports the Decazes ministry, 87—new electoral law agreed to by, 88—course followed by, after the fall of Decazes, 98—dismissed from the council of state, 115—pamphlet by, against the Richelieu ministry, 124—joins the royalists against Martignac, iii. 107—attacks of, on the Polignac ministry, 112—biography of, 113—his character as a writer and statesman, *ib.*—efforts of, against the Polignac ministry, 118—course counselled by, 144—140, 145 notes—at the meeting at Lafitte's, 147—efforts of, to arrest the revolution, 151—early rise of, 187—his character and works, *ib. et seq.*—a writer for the daily press, 211—employment of corruption by, in France, iv. 83—supports the Orleansists, 84—proclamation drawn up by, of the principles of the Orleans government, 92—efforts of, to popularise the new dynasty, 94—secretary for the interior under Louis Philippe, 99—favours the attempt to revolutionise Spain, 108, 109—party and views of, in the ministry, 121—

Guizot, M., *continued.*

his resignation, 124—defence of the foreign policy of ministers by, 158 *et seq.*—arguments of, against the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 164—on the system of government under Louis Philippe, 352—becomes minister of public instruction, 342, 355—formerly opposed the law against associations, 369—arguments for it, 371—his jealousy of Thiers, 372—views of, on the crisis of 1840, v. 274 note—conference with Louis Philippe at the Chateau d'Eu, and its results, 275—succeeds Thiers as premier, 276—arranges treaty between Mehmet Ali and Turkey, 279—resignation of, 285—resumes office, *ib.*—answer of, on the address, 286—divergence of views between, and Thiers, 288—intrigues of, against de Broglie, 305—declaration of, in the Deputies after the accession of Thiers, 309—becomes minister of public instruction under Molé, 316 note—removed from ministry of public instruction, 326—articles by, on the state of society in France, 1838, 348—defence of the system of corruption in France by, 349—negotiations between, and Thiers, 1839, 360—excluded from the Soult ministry, 362—party headed by, 363—appointed ambassador to London, 377—account of the policy of England on the Eastern question, 385—Thiers's reply to, *ib.*—memorandum to the British government on the Eastern question, 388—his views on it, 399—conference with the king at the Chateau d'Eu, *ib.*—communication from Thiers to, 390 note—becomes minister of foreign affairs, 391 and note—speech of, on the address, 393—majority for him, 394—anecdote of Sir R. Peel by, vi. 277 note—account of Peel by him, 279 note—on the tendencies of democracy, 303—settlement of the Tahiti affair by, 325—blindness of, to the prevalent socialism, vii. 124—his principles of government, *ib.*—unpopularity of his ministry from its subservience to England, 127—its untoward commencement, 137—efforts of, for suppression of the slave trade, *ib.*—treaty with the allies concluded by, regarding the slave trade, 138—interdicts the Polish banquet, 140—arguments of, against reform, 1841, 143—views of, on reform, 149—arguments against it, 150 *et seq.*—his error in these, 153—extension of railway system, 154—losses of his ministry by elections of 1842, *ib.*—arguments of, for the regency bill, 156 *et seq.*—position taken up by, 158—as a statesman, 159—as an orator, *ib.*—inadequate parliamentary support of, 164—difficulties of, from the character of the Chambers, &c., *ib.*—answer of, on the case of the Jesuits, 194—treaty with England regarding right of search for slaves, 196—speech of, on the Polish question, 204—increased majority for, 1846, 208—arrangements regarding the Spanish marriages, 212—subsequent negotiations, &c., 213 *et seq.*—the double marriage arranged, 215—announcement of the double marriage by, 216—his breach of faith on it, 218—measures and policy of, in the Papal States, 342, 343—on the Swiss constitution, 351 note—policy of, towards Switzer-

Guizot, M., *continued*.

land, 355, 356—note on Switzerland, 357—negotiations for league against England, 360—causes of the conservative policy of, 361—charges against his ministry, 367—dissatisfaction caused by his foreign policy, 370—answer on the address, 1848, 379—compromise regarding the reform banquet, 383—prohibits the procession, 384—forces and preparations, 387—resignation of, 389—catastrophe before his house, 391—advises the sending for Molé, 391.
Gulina, combat at, v. 155.
Gulistan, treaty of, ii. 949.
Gumpst Rao, mutiny against, vi. 181.
Gundamuck, arrival of the Cabul fugitives at, vi. 266—advance of Pollock to, vii. 39—retirement of the British by, 47.
Gunpowder, early knowledge of, in China, vii. 7.

Guriel, province of, submits to the Russians, iii. 37—combats in, 1829, 47.
Gurney, Mr., arguments of, against the resumption of cash payments, i. 196 *et seq.*—arguments of, against the suppression of small notes, iii. 291, 292.
Gurney, baron, trial of the Rebecca rioters before, vi. 315.
Gurwood, colonel, and the Elliot convention, v. 176.
Guyon, count, at Schwechat, viii. 235—movements of, 245—successes of, near Komorn, 258.
Gwallior, surrender of, to Scindia, vi. 172—affairs of, vii. 67—its condition, *ib.*—rupture with Britain, 68—its invasion, 69—victories of the British, *ib. et seq.*—treaty concluded, 71—reflections on the war in, 113.
Gypsies, numbers of, in Austrian empire, viii. 138 note.

II

Habeas Corpus Act, suspension of the, 1817, i. 164—extension of this, 166—advantages and principle of the suspension of the, 170—suspension expires, 179—its suspension in Ireland, 1823, ii. 196—its suspension in Ireland in 1828 urged by the king, iii. 339—difficulties in the way of this, 340—suspended in Ireland, 1848, vii. 301—this continued, viii. 314.
Habez, the baron d', agent of Don Carlos, v. 225.
Habitans, the Canadian, views, &c., of, vi. 89—stationary condition of the, 323.
Hachems, defeat of the, by the French, vii. 180.
Haddington, earl of, supports Peel against the reform bill, v. 26—lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1835, v. 407 note—first lord of the Admiralty, vi. 279.
Haddington, violence of cholera in, v. 5.
Hadi Hassan-lar, defeat of Turks at, iii. 26.
Hadi Pacha, forces, &c., under, 1829, iii. 41—position of, in the Saganlugh, *ib.*—operations against him, 42—at battle of Kainly, 43—defeated at Milli-Duz, 44—taken prisoner, 45.
Hadi-Saleh, Pacha of Maidan, iii. 38.
Hadjee Khan, betrayal of Dost Mohammed by, vi. 237.
Hadjoutes, hostility of the, in Algeria, iv. 367.
Haeling, defence of Chin-Kiang-foo by, vii. 19—his death, *ib.*
Hafiz Pacha, defeat of, at Nezib, v. 265.
Haft-Kotul, *see* Huft Kotul.
Hagkhi Pacha of Siraz, iii. 38.
Hahu-Hahu, the countess, the novels of, iv. 289.
Haklander, the works of, iv. 289.
Halal-Effendi, execution of, demanded, ii. 380—overthrow and execution of, 395.
Half-batta question, the, vi. 201.
Halib, population of, ii. 331 note.
Halifax, member given to, iv. 21 note—elections of 1835 in, v. 408.
Halil Pacha, di-graced, iii. 38—terms agreed to toward Mehemet Ali, v. 253.

Hallam, the historical works of, i. 240.
Halyburton, Mr Justice, on the neglect of the colonies, vii. 231 note.
Hann, imprisonment of the ex-ministers of Charles X. in, iv. 126—condition of Prince Polignac, &c., in, and his release, v. 317—imprisonment of Louis Napoleon at, 382—his life there, *ib.*—his escape, vii. 205 *et seq.*
Hamburg, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—progress of, since the peace, 220—railway to, 251—railways extended to Trieste from, 252—population of, 258—statistics of, viii. 140 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, 181.
Hammer, order of the, instituted at Madrid, ii. 233.
Hamelin, madame, i. 93 note.
Hamelin, admiral, fleet under, 1829, iii. 52.
Hamilton, colonel, at Maharajpore, vii. 70.
Hamilton, Sir George, ambassador at Florence, vii. 350.
Hamilton, Sir William, the works of, i. 229.
Hamilton, Lady Anne, accompanies the queen to the coronation, ii. 189.
Hamilton, intended rising in, 1848, vii. 295.
Hampden clubs of 1817, the, i. 164.
Hampshire, disturbances in, 1830, iii. 399—additional members for, iv. 21 note—elections of 1835 in, v. 409.
Hans, imported, proposed new tariff on, vi. 296 note.
Handel as a composer, iv. 300.
Hannchen, defeat of the Baden insurgents at, viii. 184.
Hannover, position of the forces of, in France, i. 98—contributions from France to, 109 note—visit of George IV to, ii. 190—designs of France on, iii. 131—intended spoliation of, 167—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—revolutionary movements in, 1831, iv. 136—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—establishment of representative

Hanover, continued.

assembly in, 224—the king of, abrogation of the constitution by, 245—refusal of the Diet to restore it, *ib.*—reciprocity treaty of, with Holland, 248—separation of, from Great Britain, vi. 42—statistics of, viii. 140 note—the king protests against the proceedings of the National Assembly at Frankfurt, 164—rejects the Germanic constitution of 1848, 180—revolutionary outbreak in, 1848, 183—Germanic constitution agreed to by, 185.

Hansard, Messrs, and the Stockdale case, vi. 130.

Hanse Towns, treaty with, regarding the slave trade, vii. 138.

Hardenberg, prince, at Aix-la Chapelle, i. 36—represents Prussia at the Congress of Verona, 258—the memoirs of, iii. 200—character of, as a statesman, iv. 236.

Hardinge, Sir Henry, afterwards lord, becomes secretary-at-war, iii. 328—Wellington's second in his duel with Lord Winchester, 368 note—challenge to O'Connell from, 394 note—Irish secretary, 1835, v. 407 note—secretary at-war, 1841, vi. 280 note—on the defencelessness of London, 1841, 284—re-establishment of flogging in the Indian army by, vii. 234—results of his limited-service system, 272 note—appointed governor-general of India, and his character, 73, 78—policy recommended to him, 73—his arrival, and early pacific measures, 74—measures for establishing railways, 75—position of the troops, &c., 79—resists their concentration, 80—his views, *ib.* note—hostile movements, 83—battle of Moodkee, *ib.*—serves as second in command, 84—battle of Ferozeshah, 85—heroic conduct of, 87—renewed battle, *ib.*—farther preparations, 89—battle of Aliwal, 91—positions, *ib.*—battle of Sobraon, 92 *et seq.*—conduct, &c., of, at Sobraon, 94—advance to Lahore, 95—treaty concluded, *ib.*—reception of the Maharajah, and proclamation, *ib.*—honours bestowed on him, 96—his resignation, 97—the pacific policy of, 113—master-general of ordnance, 1852, 322 note—measures of, for increasing the artillery, 324—at Wellington's funeral, 330.

Hardinge, Mr, vii. 87.

Hardwicke, the earl of, proceedings of, at Genoa, viii. 122 and note—postmaster-general, 1852, viii. 322 note.

Hardware, increased export of, from England, 1832, iii. 222.

Harewood, lord, motion by, on behalf of the West India proprietors, v. 45.

Harrispe, general, dismissed from service, iii. 76—v. 163.

Harris, Mr, defence of the monetary system by, iii. 332 note.

Harrowby, earl of, plan for the murder of the ministers while assembled at house of, ii. 158—lord president, iii. 314—resignation of, 326—speech of, against the reform bill, iv. 40—negotiations with, to withdraw his opposition to the bill, 50—amendment by, on free trade, viii. 299.

Hart, Sir A., vice-chancellor, iii. 814 note—becomes chancellor of Ireland, 826.

Harting, general, defeat of, near Varna, iii. 26. Hartmann, takes part with the Viennese insurgents, viii. 232.

Harvest, deficient, in France in 1816, i. 274—the early, of 1826, iii. 305—the British, from 1836 to 1841, vi. 62—the bad, of 1838 and 1839, 63—those of 1840 and 1841, 64—that of 1842 in England, 816—of 1845, character of, 354—1847 to 1856, 362—deficiency of, in France, 1845, vii. 364.

Harvey, Sir John, on the state of the Irish clergy in 1832, v. 9.

Harvey, brigadier, at Goojerat, vii. 105.

Harwich, embarkation of the body of the queen from, ii. 190.

Hasford, general, defeated at Hermanstadt, viii. 273.

Haslemere, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Haspinger, Joseph, viii. 83.

Hassan-Kale, preparations of the Turks at, iii. 38—position of the Turks at, 40—capture of, by the Russians, 45.

Hassan Khan, defeat of, on the Araxes, iii. 10.

Hassan Pacha, defeat of, near Arta, ii. 376—at attempt to arrest Ali Pacha by, 382.

Hassel, classification of the population of Turkey by, ii. 324 note.

Hasselt, defeat of the Belgians at, iv. 153.

Hassonpflug, M., viii. 188.

Hastings, marquess of, governor-general of India, vi. 174—the Ghooika war, *ib.*—further operations against the Ghooikas, 176—the Pindjarree war, 178 *et seq.*—victory of, and termination of the war, 181—close of his administration, 182—refuses to expel the Mughls from Arracan, 183.

Hastings, Warren, death of, i. 185.

Hastings, Captain Frank Abney, ii. 386.

Hatz, proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 363.

Hatherton, lord, Mr Lyttleton created, vi. 2.

Hatzen Plotz, cession of, to Prussia, vii. 332.

Haughton, lieutenant, escape of, from Charekar, vi. 255.

Haureau, M., trial and sentence of, vii. 148.

Haussey, M. d', minister of marine, iii. 109—character of, 112.

Haute Vente, the, at Paris, iv. 376—instigate the revolt of 1831, 377.

Hautpoul, general, dismissal of, viii. 347.

Havannah, embarkation of part of the army at Cadiz for the, i. 344—slavers belonging to, &c., vi. 110.

Havelock, captain, at Jellalabad, vii. 28—wounded at Rannuggur, 101.

Havre, preparations at, for the expedition to Algiers, iii. 127—Louis Philippe at, iv. 146—proposed railway from Paris to, v. 846—line of steamers from, to New York, vii. 136—suspension of cash payments by bank of, viii. 13.

Hawes, Mr, arguments of, against the bank charter act, vi. 331.

Hawick, reform riots at, iv. 33—election riots, 1835, v. 409.

Hawkins, lieutenant, at Khelat-i-Ghilzye, vi. 246.

Haxo, general, views of, in 1815, i. 95—suppression of a revolt in Saragossa by, 853.

Haxthausen, M., on the Russian serfs and their enfranchisement, ii. 17.

- Hay, lord John, v. 171—aids in defence of Bilbao, 180—ordered to co-operate with the Christians, 193, 199.
- Hay, general, monument to, i. 69.
- Hay, Mr Drummond, consul at Tangiers, vii. 184.
- Hay harvest, failure of the, in Great Britain, 1826, iii. 305.
- Haydn, as a composer, iv. 300.
- Hayes, commodore, operations under, in Burmah, vi. 189.
- Haynan, marshal, viii. 101—the regiment of, at the Somma Campagna, 102—besieges Peschiera, 104—at Brescia, 121—siege and capture of Venice by, 131—appointed to chief command, 262—sketch of his career, 268—addition to forces of, 264—battle of Pered, 265—operations on the Waag, 266—battle of Acz, *ib.*—and of Komorn, 267—advances to Szegedin, 274—victory there, *ib.*—relief of Temesvar, 275 *et seq.*—battle of Temesvar, *ib.*—proclamation to his troops after the close of the war, 282.
- Hazlitt, William, the works of, i. 255.
- Head, Sir Francis, proceedings of, in Upper Canada, 1836, vi. 30—governor of Upper Canada, 89—his confidence with regard to it, 90—measures of, on the insurrection, 92—resignation of, 96—account of the armies of Europe by, 1846, vii. 236 note.
- Healy, trial and sentence of, for sedition, ii. 149.
- Hearsay, major, defeated by the Ghooraks, vi. 176.
- Heat, excessive, in Great Britain, 1826, iii. 305.
- Heber on the increase of British manufactures in India, v. 38.
- Hoecker, revolt under, viii. 161.
- Hedemann, general, defeat of, viii. 159—battle of Duppeln, 160.
- Hedon disfranchised, iv. 29 note.
- Heera Singh, vii. 67.
- Heeren, the works of, iv. 283.
- Heidelberg, the students of, at Sand's execution, iv. 229—revolutionary proceedings at, 1848, viii. 149—great meeting of liberals at, 154.
- Heiden, admiral, iii. 61, 62—naval force under, ii. 426—forces under, at Navarino, 428—the battle, *ib. et seq.*
- Heine, Theodore, iv. 363.
- Helen-Louise, the princess, marriage of the Duke of Orleans to, v. 326—her reception in France, and catastrophe at the marriage, 327.
- Helicon, mount, victory of the Greeks at, ii. 398.
- Hellas frigate, the, ii. 424.
- Helston, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Hennans, Mrs, the poems of, i. 226.
- Hemp, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 257 note—imports of, 1839-44, vi. 311 note—abolition of duty on, 344.
- Henderson, captain, at Meanee, vii. 57—at Hyderabad, 62.
- Henley, Mr, president of board of trade, 1852, viii. 322 note.
- Henningsen, captain, anecdotes of Zumalacarrregui and the Carlists by, v. 144, 145.
- Henry II., the conquest of Ireland by, iii. 268 note.
- Henry VIII., debasement of the coin under, i. 195.
- Hentzi, general, garrisons Buda, viii. 259—siege and capture of it, 260—his death, 261.
- Herat, route to India from the north by, vi. 208—importance of fortress of, 215—treacherous seizure of, by Dost Mahomed, 216—recaptured by Kamram, *ib.* Russian designs on, 217—treaty for the surrender of, to Russia and Persia, 220—description of it, 221—the siege, *ib. et seq.*—distress of the besieged, 223—interference of the English, and raising of the siege, 224—effects of this, *ib.*—treachery of the vizier of, 241—junction of vizier with the Persians, 246.
- Herbert, captain, capture of Howqua fort by, vii. 13—at the storming of Chinghae, 16.
- Herbert, Hon. Sidney, secretary to Admiralty, 1841, vi. 280 note—introduction of limited-service system by, vii. 272 note—motion by, on the army and navy, viii. 320.
- Herder, the works of, iv. 284.
- Hereditary peerage, views of Louis Philippe on the, iv. 94—question of the abolition of the, in France, 162—arguments for the abolition, *ib. et seq.*—and against it, 164 *et seq.*—it carried in the Deputies, 166—and forced through the upper house by a creation of peers, 167—reflections on this, *ib.*—its previous degradation, 168—experience of England in regard to a, *ib.*—increase of the power of the crown in France by its abolition, 302—effect of its destruction, vii. 122.
- Hereditary right, not recognised in Turkey, ii. 326.
- Heritable property, insecurity of tenure of, in Turkey, ii. 326.
- Heritors, the, and the old Scotch poor-law, vi. 349—under the new, 350.
- Hermann, M., becomes minister of finance, iv. 342, 355—resignation of, v. 285—proposes reduction of interest on debt, and resigns, 305—finance minister under Soult, 1840, 301 note—on the state of the finances, 395.
- Hermanstadt, combats at, viii. 249—defeat of the Russians at, 250—taken by the Hungarians, *ib.*—taken by the Russians, 272—final defeat of Bem at, 273.
- Hermes, Dr, dispute between Prussia and the Pope regarding, iv. 246.
- Hermopolis, the bishop of, defence of the Jesuits by, iii. 93.
- Hernani, defeats of the Christians at, v. 192, 212.
- Herrera, Don Manuel, minister of the interior, v. 190.
- Herreras, Señor Garcia, arbitrary punishment of, i. 337—minister of justice in 1820, 351.
- Hermes, Mr, becomes chancellor of the exchequer, iii. 326—tenders his resignation, 327—at first retains office under Wellington, *ib.*—a member of the finance committee, 329—motion by, on the Russo-Belgian loan, v. 7—war secretary, 1855, 407 note—a member of the committee on the bank charter act, vii. 284—arguments of,

Herries, Mr. *continued*.

against repeal of navigation laws, viii. 289 *et seq.*—president of board of control, 1852, 322 note.

Herrings, imported, proposed new tariff on, vi. 296 note.

Herschel, the discoveries of, i. 234.

Hertford prison, education among criminals in, vii. 274 note.

Hertwitz, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 83.

Hesse, general, character of, viii. 72—plans of, 114.

Hesse, general, forces under, 1828, iii. 31.

Hesse, army of, iv. 365 note—a member of the Zollverein, iv. 242—viii. 44.

Hesse-Cassel, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—character of the elector of, and revolutionary disturbances in, 1830, iv. 116—revolutionary movement in, 1831, 136—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—dissolution of the Chamber in, 240—statistics of, viii. 140 note—affairs in, and dissensions between Austria and Prussia regarding, 188—intervention of Russia, 189—final settlement of affairs, 190.

Hesse-Darmstadt, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—statistics of, viii. 140 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, 181.

Hesse Oldenburg, accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.

Hetaïrists, formation of the society of the, in Greece, ii. 357—its organisation, *ib.*—secrecy maintained regarding its affairs, 358—begin the insurrection in Wallachia, 362—headed by Alexander Ipsilanti, *ib.* note.

Hewgate, alderman, arguments of, against the resumption of cash payments, i. 196 *et seq.*—speech of, on the budget, 1820, ii. 163—arguments of, against the suppression of small notes, iii. 291.

Heymes, colonel, iv. 90.

Heytesbury, lord, vi. 207.

Heytesbury, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Hicks, brigadier, at Aliwal, vii. 91.

Hides, proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 363.

Higgins, Dr, declaration of, for repeal, vi. 307.

High Church party, indignation of the, at Catholic emancipation, in 368—objects of the, in desiring reform, 401.

High treason, punishment of death abolished for, in France, viii. 19.

Higham Ferrers, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Higher classes, spread of liberalism among the, in England, i. 267—civilisation confined to the, in Russia, ii. 21—proportion of taxation paid by the, iv. 71.

Highlands, the, the potato disease and famine in, 1846, vii. 238, 251—means taken for their relief, 252.

Hill, major, defence of Pegu by, vii. 110.

Hill, Rowland, his plan of post-office reform, vi. 127.

Hindia, surrender of, to the British, vi. 173.

Hindon, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Hindoo Coosh, advance of the British to the, vi. 239.

Hindustan, non-progressive state of, i. 37—proposed opening of trade to, v. 37—neglect of manufactures of, by act of 1833, 38—repeated conquests of, vi. 153.—*See* India.

Hirchova, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 20—passage of the Danube by the Russians at, 53.

Histoire Naturelle, Museum d', grant for, iv. 360 note.

History, special character of present, i. 42.

Hoang-ho river, the, vii. 8.

Hobet, a guerilla leader, v. 97.

Hobhouse, Mr, afterwards Sir John Cam, iii. 404—resignation of, and thrown out for Westminster, v. 32—appointed to woods and forests, 71—president of board of control, 1835, 420 note—arguments of, for corporate reform bill, vi. 5—on the British interference at Herat, 225—president of board of control, 1846, vii. 221 note.

Hodde, Lucien de la, on the republican forces in 1848, vii. 386.

Hodorynski, a Gallician noble, death of, vii. 201.

Hoffman, denunciations of the ultramontane party by, iii. 75.

Hoffman, general, defeat of Struve by, viii. 175.

Hohenlohe, prince, created a peer, iii. 99—corps under, for invasion of Spain, ii. 287.

Hohenzollern, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.

Hohenzollern-Hechingen, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note.

Holbeck, rates of mortality in, 1841, vi. 283 note.

Holkar, the treaty with, vi. 172—its discreditable terms, *ib.*—defeat and final submission of, 181.

Holland, lord, on the bill for detaining Napoleon at St Helena, i. 68—arguments of, against the foreign enlistment bill, 209 *et seq.*—on the treatment of Napoleon at St Helena, ii. 128—chancellor of duchy of Lancaster, 1830, iv. 3 note—one of the commission for giving the royal assent to the reform bill, 56—chancellor of duchy of Lancaster, 1835, v. 420 note.

Holland House, social influence of, i. 268.

Holland, number of children receiving education in, ii. 165—designs of France regarding, iii. 131—the navigation laws directed against, 228—Mr Wallace's act regarding, *ib.*—dissensions between, and Belgium, iv. 110—final separation of Belgium from, 129—protocol fixing its limits, 130—warlike preparations of, 131—the king of, application of, to the Germanic Diet, 134—warlike preparations in, 148—what the London congress should have done regarding, 149—views of France and England, *ib.*—reason which led them to support the Belgians, *ib.*—change the election of Prince Leopold made on views of, 150—change in policy of Great Britain, *ib.*—change in language of France and England regarding Luxembourg, 161—further nego-

Holland, *continued*.

- tiations, and secret treaty between France and England, 152—the five powers deviate from act of separation, and she declares war, *ib.*—commencement of hostilities, and forces on both sides, 153—defeat of the Belgians, *ib.*—intervention of the French, 151—armistice, and withdrawal of the French, *ib.*—acquiescence of the northern powers in the intervention of France and England, *ib.*—advantages gained by her by the hostilities, 155—final terms proposed by the five powers, *ib.*—reciprocity treaty of Prussia, &c., with, 248—preparations of England and France for war with, 342—convention regarding Antwerp, *ib.*—negotiations on the subject, 343—military preparations of, 345—siege and capture of Antwerp, *ib. et seq.*—reasons of, for desiring accommodation, 348—treaty with Belgium, *ib.*—resolution of the Congress of Muntz-Graetz regarding, 364—Limbourg and Luxembourg assigned by the treaty to, v. 354—fresh protocol regarding Belgium accepted by, 356—the Indian possessions of, ceded to the English, vi. 199—increase of exports to, 1837-40, 289—award by king of, on the Maine boundary, 319—changes in constitution of, 1848, viii. 143—system of prison labour in, 335.
- Holmes, Mr, at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, iii. 395.
- Holstein, votes of, in the Germanic Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—refusal of the Diet to sanction a constitution in, 234—statistics of, viii. 140 note—*See also* Schleswig-Holstein.
- Holy Alliance, the, motion regarding, i. 68—causes which led to, 110—its terms, 111—and the Congress of Troppau, ii. 36—share of, in the congresses of Troppau and Laybach, 39.
- Holy coat of Treves, the, and religious movement caused by it, iv. 253.
- Holy Cross, mountain of the, i. 345.
- Holy Trinity, storming of convent of, Missolonghi, ii. 418.
- Holyrood, arrival of Charles X. at, iii. 158—his court at, iv. 321—his departure, v. 318.
- Hone and foreign markets, comparative value of, in England, iii. 240.
- Hone trade, value of, as compared with foreign, ii. 172—the total value of British, 173 note—importance of, iii. 172.
- Hons, battle of, v. 247.
- Hondia, Don Narcisso de, minister of justice, ii. 300 note.
- Hone, trials and acquittal of, for libel, i. 169.
- Hong Kong, proposed cession of, to the British, viii. 12—its cession, 20.
- Honton, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Hood, lord and lady, accompany the queen to the coronation, ii. 189.
- Hooker, the prose of, iv. 282.
- Hope, G. W., colonial under-secretary, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Hope, the banker, at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298.
- Hop and Baring, Messrs, i. 300.
- Hopetoun House, embarkation of George IV. from, ii. 208.
- Hops, foreign, proposed reduction of duty on, vi. 363.
- Hornbostl, M., viii. 229.
- Horne, Sir W., solicitor general, 1830, iv. 4 note.
- Horner, Mr, arguments of, 1816, for the resumption of cash payments, i. 64—reflections on his views, 66—death of, 172—sketch of his career and character, *ib.*—his character as an orator and political philosopher, *ib.*—Peel a follower of, vi. 274.
- Hornmuck, surrender of the Sikhs at, vii. 106.
- Horses, importation of, into France, iii. 174.
- Hort, defeat of the Austrians at, viii. 251.
- Hortense, queen, influence of, with Labedoyère, i. 124.
- Horticulture, improvement of, in France, ii. 78.
- Horton, Mr Wilmoit, his proposals on emigration, and how received, ii. 193—on the emigration question, iii. 298.
- Hospitals, deaths in, in Paris, iii. 176—the Parisian, statistics of admissions to, &c., iv. 141—decree for establishing, in the Papal States, vii. 339.
- Hospitality, prevalence of, in Afghanistan, vi. 209.
- Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, the, ii. 350.
- Hotel de Ville, the, capture of, by the insurgents, 1830, iii. 141—recaptured, 142—provisional government at, their reception of the concessions of the king, 151—importance of its capture, 161—scene at, between the Orleansists and Republicans, iv. 89—visit of the Duke of Orleans to, 92—his reception, 93—capture of, by the insurgents of 12th May 1839, v. 362—appointment of provisional government at, 1848, vii. 400—first proceedings of the provisional government, viii. 3—confusion, &c., at, *ib.*—demonstration of March 17 at, 28—preparations for defence at, 30—insurrectionary provisional government at, 39.
- Hotel Bourbon, meeting of the Orleansist deputies and peers at the, iv. 87.
- Hottentots, effects of the emancipation of the, at the Cape, viii. 311—their desertion, 312.
- Houdetot, general d', at the Col de Mouzaia, vii. 177.
- Houses, increased value of, in France, iii. 124.
- House tax, the, its inequality, iv. 71—motion for repeal of it, v. 32—proposals of Mr Disraeli regarding it, viii. 325.
- Household suffrage, Brougham's proposal of, iii. 401 note—established in Prussia, 1848, viii. 153.
- Howard, monument erected by Alexander to, ii. 33.
- Howick, lord, declaration by, on reform, 1829, iii. 387 note—motion by, on it, 1830, 387—arguments of, on the Irish church, v. 416—secretary at war, 1835, 420 note—on the emigration from Ireland, 1837, vi. 34—new system of land sales introduced by, in South Australia, 124—votes against Mr Villiers' motion on the corn laws, 139—motion by, on the Irish franchise, 141—thrown out for Northumberland, 1841, 148.—*See afterwards* Grey, earl.

- Howlett, major, in battle before Prome, vi 190.
- Ilowqua fort, capture of, by the British, vii. 13.
- Hrabovski, commandant of Buda, viii. 224.
- Huber, liberation of, viii. 6—a leader of the revolt of May 15, 38.
- Hubert, the conspiracy of, his trial and sentence, v. 352.
- Huckscher, M., viii. 163, 173.
- Huddersfield, seditious assemblage at, ii. 160—manufacturing distress in, 1829, iii. 373—member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Hudson's Bay Company, terms of Oregon treaty regarding, vi 323.
- Huesca, defeat of the Christians at, v. 215.
- Huff Kotul, the retreat down the, vi 265—forcing of it by the British, vii. 41.
- Hugo, Victor, the romances of, iii. 209—*a* writer for the daily press, 211—*La Tour du Nesle* by, iv. 354—elected for National Assembly, viii. 41—speech of, against the *Ateliers Nationaux*, 42—opposes the constitution of 1848, 60.
- Huish, captain, at Chilianwallah, vii. 103.
- Hulks, prisoners in the, viii. 307 note.
- Hull, mercantile losses in, on the peace, i. 45—election of 1835 in, v. 409—non-registration of foreigners at, vi. 354.
- Hullin, general, indemnity to, *ib.* 122 note.
- Hulot, general, suppression of outbreak at Grenoble by, iv. 314.
- Humann, M., report on the finances by, 1841, vii. 145—new valuation proposed by, 146.
- Humboldt, Alexander de, at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298—the works of, iii. 205—his energy, 206—character of, as a statesman, iv. 236.
- Hume, David, the autobiography of, iv. 287—religious influence of, in Germany, 294—on colonial government, v. 50.
- Hume, lord, on the right of the able-bodied poor to relief, vi. 352 note.
- Hume, Dr, murder of, by the American sympathisers, vi. 102.
- Hume, Joseph, discussion on the queen originated by, ii. 157—motion by, for reduction of taxation, 1821, 185—moves the repeal of the combination laws, iii. 214—motion by, on the Irish church, 277—on the emigration question, 299—opposes the expedition to Portugal, 309—opposes the grant to Canning's family, 329—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—motion by, for reduction of the army and navy, 380—motion by, for giving members to the colonies, iv. 37—on the opposition to the Peers to the bill, 52 note—motion by, on the address, v. 14—arguments of, against the coercion act, 19 *et seq.*—on the reductions of taxation, 1833, 31—coalition of, with the Irish members, 67—motion by, against the Lords, vi. 13—opposes the addition to the navy, 1836, 28—and moves the reduction of the army, *ib.*—banquet to, in Drury Lane Theatre, 31—moves the stoppage of the supplies, 1837, 33—motion by, on the allowance to Prince Albert, 120—opposes addition to the army, 1839, 137—urges reduction of the army and navy, 327—arguments of, against Mr Fielden's factory bill, vii. 269—opposes increase of the army, viii. 325.
- Hun, persistent character of the, i. 33.
- Hungarians, the struggle of the, against the Turks, iv. 172—fidelity of the, in Italy, viii. 113.
- Hungarian refugees, differences between Great Britain and Russia regarding, viii. 317.
- Hungary, the revolt of, in 1848, i. 10—its suppression, 11—the conquest of, by the Turks, ii. 832—excitement in, 1830, and measures of the government, iv. 134—enthusiasm in, in favour of the Poles, 203—the insurrection in, viii. 99—its effects in Italy, 111—successive invasions of, 138—the constitution of, 143—exclusive privileges in, *ib.*—commencement of troubles in, 203—demands of the liberals, *ib.*—constitution for, 204—commencement of the revolt, 206—constitution granted, *ib.*—hostility in, to the Austrian rule, 208—conciliatory measures of Austria, 209—preparations of Jellachich against, 212—meeting of the Deputies, *ib.*—first acts of the parliament, and internal reforms, 213—first differences between, and Austria, 215—state of parties in, 216—the democrats, 217—character of the leaders, *ib. et seq.*—revolt of the Rázen, 220—preparations for war, 221—plan of the campaign by the Austrians, 222—by the Hungarians, *ib.*—efforts of the latter, 223—proclamation of the Diet, *ib.*—murder of Lamberg, 224—Diet dissolved, and declared in a state of siege, 225—reception of constitution of 1849 in, 240—military description of, *ib.*—forces and plans of Austrians, 241—their advance to Komorn, &c., 242—movements of Georgey, 243—and of Bem, *ib.*—difficulties, &c., of Georgey, 245—efforts of Kossuth, &c., *ib.*—execution of Bathiany, 246—discord among the chiefs, and displacement of Dembinski, 249—operations in Transylvania, *ib. et seq.*—renewed advance of the insurgents toward Pesth, 251—battle of Tapio-Bisce, 252—and of Iaszeg, *ib. et seq.*—further successes of Georgey, 254 *et seq.*—division among the leaders, 255 *et seq.*—declaration of independence, 256—preparations, and government declared revolutionary, 257—retreat of the Austrians from, 259—divided opinion as to the course to be followed, *ib.*—storm of Buda, 260—further successes, 261—plan of Austrians and Russians, 262—forces of Hungarians, *ib.* 264—and of their opponents, 264—causes of delay in opening the campaign, 265—entry of the Russians, 266—operations on the Waag, *ib.*—battle of Acz, 267—and of Komorn, *ib.*—proposals for capitulation, 270—results of campaign hitherto, *ib.*—battle of Dobreczin, 271—disasters in Transylvania, 272—suppression of the insurrection there, 273—continued disasters, 274 *et seq.*—capitulation of Georgey, and close of the war, 279 *et seq.*—executions of leaders, 281—interest of the war in, 282—the insurrection unjustifiable, *ib.*—results to freedom had it succeeded, 283.
- Hunningen, terms of the treaty of Paris regarding, i. 108.
- Huns, the conquests of the, ii. 317.
- Hunt, Henry, and the Spafield riots, i. 72—insurrectionary efforts of, 1817, 163—at the

Hunt, Henry, *continued*.

Peterloo meeting, *ii*. 148—his arrest, *ib.*—trial and sentence of, 149—pusillanimity of, 154—motion by, on the general distress, *iv*. 47.
Huntingdonshire, the election of 1826 for, *iii*. 306.
Huntington, partially disfranchised, *iv*. 21 note.
Husband and wife, proposed separation of, under new poor-law, *v*. 76.
Huskisson, Mr, on the resumption of cash payments in 1818, *i*. 177, 178 note—speech of, on the agricultural distress question, *ii*. 171 note—resolutions on the agricultural distress proposed by, 199—speech of, 1822, on the currency question, 200 *et seq.*—becomes president of board of trade, *iii*. 225—heads the liberal section of the cabinet, 226—his character, *ib.*—sketch of his career, *ib.* note—arguments of, for the reciprocity system, 229 *et seq.*—errors of, in his reciprocity system, 236—the silk bill brought in by, 243—reduction of the duties on foreign wool, *ib.*—bill for regulating strikes brought in by, 245—renewed free-trade measures, 1825, 260—new laws regarding colonial shipping, *ib.*—arguments of, for suppression of small notes, 288—assents to the retention of small notes in Scotland, 297—first brought into the cabinet by Lord Liverpool, 313—misunderstanding between Wellington and, on the corn bill, 320 note—reply of, to the complaints of the silk-weavers, &c., 322—becomes colonial secretary, 326—tenders his resignation, 327—at first retains office under Wellington, *ib.*—resigns on the East Retford question, *ib.*—a member of the finance committee, 329—arguments of, against repeal of the test and corporation laws, 333—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—defence of the monetary system by, 382 note—declaration by, on reform, 1839, 387 note—returned for Liverpool, 1830, 393—at the opening of the Manchester

and Liverpool Railway, 395—his death, *ib.*
Hussein Pacha, measures of, against the Janizaries, *iii*. 5—operations of, 1828, 20—forces for relief of Acre under, *v*. 246—defeated, and abandons Aleppo, 247—again defeated at Beylau, 248—removed from the command, *ib.*
Hutchinson, Mr, aids in the escape of Laval-ette, *i*. 139—his trial, &c., *ib.*
Hutt, Mr, new alien act brought in by, *vi*. 354.
Hutton, the geologist, *i*. 234.
Hutton, Mr, at the Peterloo meeting, *ii*. 148.
Huys, terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, *i*. 301.
Hayacinth, the, combat between, and Chinese junks, *vii*. 11.
Hyde de Neuville, M., supports Fouché, *i*. 86—his character, 115—motion by, regarding the inferior judges, 120—and the royalist journals, *ii*. 82—on the Spanish question, 269—sketch of his career, 270 note—minister of marine, *iii*. 101—resignation of, 109—after the fall of Charles X., *iv*. 87—opposes the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, 224—arrest of, 338.
Hyder Khan, forces under, for defence of Ghuznee, *vi*. 234—taken prisoner, 236.
Hyderabad, contribution levied by Shah Soojah on, *vi*. 230—town of (Scinde), *vii*. 51—admission of British agent to, *ib.*—treacherous attack on the Residency at, 56—capture of, 59—battle of, 62.
Hydra, maritime importance of, *ii*. 336—prosperity of, 356—revolt of, 365—organisation of the insurrection at, 369—attack on, proposed by the Turks, 404—energetic conduct of, after the fall of Ipsara, 406—opposition government to Capo d'Istria at, *v*. 258—blockaded by Russia, 259.
Hydriotes, naval successes of the, *ii*. 371—attack on the Turkish fleet at Chios by the, 386 *et seq.*
Hykulzie, defeat of England at, *vii*. 84.
Hythe, partially disfranchised, *iv*. 21 note.

I

Ibanez, a Carlist leader, execution of, *v*. 230.
Ibrahim, a Carlist leader, *v*. 149.
Ibrahim Pacha, offers of the Sultan to, regarding Greece, *ii*. 404—his plans for campaign of 1824, *ib.*—subjugation of Casas by, *ib.*—disasters of, at sea, 407—forces and plans of, for campaign of 1825, 411—his landing in the Morea, *ib.*—victory of, near Modon, *ib.*—captures Sphacteria, 412—captures Navarino, *ib.*—losses of his fleet, 413—defeat of his fleet off Modon, *ib.*—successes of, on land, 414—losses of, his further successes, and capture of Tripolizza, *ib.*—defeat of the Greeks at Tricorpha, &c., by, 415—operations of, after the fall of Missolonghi, 423—state of his forces, *ib.*—reinforcements received by, 426—war of extermination by him in the Morea, 427—account of the battle of Navarino by, 429 note—his proceedings after it, 430—evacu-

ates Greece, *ib.*—operations of, after the battle of Navarino, *ii*. 63—evacuation of Greece by, 64—forces under, against Pacha of Acre, *v*. 244—lays siege to Acre, 246—skilful operations of, and its capture, *ib.*—victory at Homs, 247—captures Aleppo, *ib.*—victory of Beylau, 248—results of the campaign to, *ib.*—advance of, to Konieh, *ib.*—successes, and preparations for decisive battle, 249—forces of, *ib.*—battle of Konieh, *ib.* *et seq.*—its results, and his further successes, 251—interference of Russia, 262 *et seq.*—terms offered by Turkey to, 253—withdraws on treaty to Syria, 253—forces, &c., of, for campaign of 1838, 265—victory of Nezib, 266—dispersion of his troops, 276—his defeat by Napier, *ib.*—bombardment and fall of Acre, 277—losses of, and his position after fall of Acre, 278—probable results of his advancing to Constantinople, 398.

- Ida, Mount, defeat of the Cretans on, ii. 401.
 Istedt, battle of, vii. 193 *et seq.*
 Igauie, victory of the Poles at, iv. 200.
 Ilchester disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
 Illegal meetings, uncertainty of the law regarding, ii. 150.
 Illegitimate children, proportion of, in France, iii. 169—political effects of this, 170—proportion of, to legitimate, in Paris, iv. 140—regulations of new poor-law regarding, v. 75—arguments against this, 76—amendment carried, *ib.*—proportion of, in Paris, 1838, 350.
 Illicit distillation, suppression of, iii. 259.
 Illinois, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—miles of railway in, vii. 290 note.
 Imagination, modern French works of, their pernicious character, iii. 181.
 Immigration, amount of Irish, into Great Britain during the famine, vii. 246.
 Immoral publications, law against the criers of, in Paris, iv. 860.
 Immorality, prevalence of, in the great towns of France, and its effects, iii. 169 *et seq.*—prevalence of, in France under Louis Philippe, iv. 140—statistics showing, in Paris, 141—prevalence of, among the working classes in France, 304.
 Imperial Canal of China, the, vii. 3.
 Imperial donatories, law for indemnity to the, in France, ii. 122.
 Imports, Algeria, vii. 170—1850-5, 189 and note.
 Imports, Canada, increase of, since 1841, vi. 106.
 Imports, France, increase of, 1816 to 1821, ii. 78—1825-6, iii. 92—1822-30, 125 note—fall in, after the revolution, iv. 139—1834-6, v. 304—1837-41, 349 note—increase of, 1841 to 1847, vii. 118 and note—1845-50, viii. 15 note—falling off in, 1848, 68.
 Imports, Germany, viii. 140 note.
 Imports, Great Britain, ratio of, to shipping, 1820-51, i. 15 note—1792 and 1815, 44—falling off in, 1817, 163—increased amount of, 1818, 175—amount of, 1818, *ib.*—falling off in, 1819, 183—increase of, 1816-18, ii. 143 and note—fall in, 1818 to 1821, 145—1820-25, iii. 221 note—1838-53, 241 note—excess of, over exports, 1825, 253—excessive, 1825, 261—1818-32, as compared with currency, &c., 294 note—diminution of, 1829, 373—1830 to 1833, v. 29 note—1845-9, 401 note—1834-6, 405 note—excess of, over exports, 1837-42, and its effects, vi. 62—comparison of navy with, 1792 and 1838, 138 note—1839-43, 282 and note—improvement in, 1839-44, 311 note—1816 and 1845, 333 note—increase in, 1842 to 1847, 342 and note—great increase of, over exports, 1847, vii. 260—increase of, 1847, &c., 291—1845 to 1850, *ib.* note—great excess of, over exports, its causes and consequences, 305—effects of the gold discoveries on, 325 and note—1846 to 1852, viii. 286 and note—effect of the gold discoveries on, 328 and note.
 Imports, India, vi. 155 and note—1849-54, 171 note.
 Imports, Irish, 1793-1823, iii. 267—before and since the Union, v. 62 note.
 Imports, United States, 1824-36, vi. 48 note.
 Imports, West Indies, before and after emancipation, vi. 113 note.
 Import duties, proposed reductions of, by Peel, vi. 296.
 Importation, duties on, in Turkey, and injury done by it, ii. 327.
 Imprisonment, arbitrary power of, under Louis Philippe, iv. 340—frequency of, in Paris under Louis Philippe, 367—sentences of, in the army, 1839 to 1843, vii. 231—increase of, in England, viii. 306.
 Imprisonment for debt, re-enactment of, in France, viii. 55.
 Incendiarism, prevalence of, 1830, iii. 399—continued prevalence of, in England, iv. 12.
 Income, see Finances.
 Incomes, proposed taxation of, in France, viii. 55—estimated total amount of, in 1816, i. 63.
 Income tax, inequality and injustice of the, i. 54, iv. 71—amounts of paid by the agricultural and the manufacturing interests, iii. 239—class by which paid, iv. 60—proportion of, paid by land, &c., 66, 77—proposed, on the Irish clergy, v. 23—threatened imposition of, 412—Peel's scheme of, vi. 296—alarm excited by, 297—arguments against it, *ib.*—it is passed, 299—it was justifiable, 301—its injustice on perishable incomes, *ib.*—now levied in Denmark, *ib.* note—produce of, 311, 327—continuance of it, 1845, 343—arguments against it, 344 *et seq.*—reflections on it, 345—1849, &c., viii. 301.—See also Property tax.
 Incorporated trades, unrepresented under municipal reform bill, vi. 5.
 Incorporations, value of, in Turkey, ii. 330.
 Indemnities, final arrangement between France and the allies regarding the, i. 297.
 Indemnity, bill of, 1818, i. 179—the law of the, passed, iii. 82—its results, *ib.*—its distribution, 83.
 Independence, passion for, in Greece, ii. 356—increasing passion for, in Poland, iv. 175—universal passion for, vi. 152—causes of this, *ib.*
 India, vast increase of the British power in, i. 8—vast recent growth of the British empire in, ii. 1—petition against the restrictions on the trade to, 168—British exports to, 173 note—the recent wars of England in, against Mohammedans, iii. 1—members proposed to be given to, iv. 37 note—state of, under the East India Company compared with its former state, v. 36—increase of trade with, since abolition of the monopoly, 37 and note—injustice done by new act to inhabitants of, 38—the British system of government in, 243—importance of Egypt with regard to, 282—peculiarities of the British empire, vi. 152—advantage of the English government, 153—and its evils, *ib.*—extent of the British empire, 154—great payments drawn to England, *ib.*—exclusion of natives from situations of trust, *ib.*—injury to industry from the connection with Great Britain, 155—causes of the poverty of the inhabitants, 156—means of irrigation furnished by nature, 157—great extent of sea-coast, 158—public works which formerly existed, *ib.*—difficulties of the British government as regards public

India, *continued*.

works, 159—results of the Zemindar system, 160—the village system, 161—general increase of produce in, *ib.*—effect of a real reciprocity if established, 162—neglect of, as a cotton-producing country, *ib.*—impossibility of augmenting indirect taxes, 163—revenues of the Company, *ib.*—decline of industry under former British administrations, 164—items of revenue, 165—monopolies of opium and salt, and other sources of revenue, *ib.*—military establishment, 166—this not excessive, 167—the Sepoy troops, 168—true policy to be pursued by the government, 169—judicial establishment. *ib.*—the protected States, and their rapid decline, 170—great want of a paper-circulation, *ib.*—drain of the precious metals from England to, 171—splendour of recent history, 172—Lord Cornwallis's second administration, 173—discreditable treaty with Scindia, &c., *ib.*—accession of Sir George Barlow, and conclusion of Mahratta peace, 173—mutiny at Vellore, *ib.*—Lord Minto's administration, 174—Earl Moira's administration, the Ghoorika war, *ib.*—early disasters, 175—successes of Ochterlony, 176—further successes, and conclusion of peace, *ib.*—causes of the Pindaree war, and their outrages, 177—commencement of it, 178—battle of Kirkee, &c., 179—second check of the Peishwah, *ib.*—further successes of the British, 180—ravages of cholera in the army, *ib.*—further successes, 181—end of the war, and of Lord Hastings's administration, 182—reflections on it, *ib.*—Amherst administration, and war with Burmah, 183—causes which led to it, *ib.*—resources of the Burmese, and difficulties of the war, 184—first operations of it, *ib.*—its slow progress, and sickness among the troops, 185—their successes, *ib.*—reverses in Burmah, 186—sufferings of the troops in Rangoon, *ib.*—reverses on Arracan frontier, *ib.*—fresh efforts of the British, and their success, 187—victories before Rangoon, 188—actions during advance on Prome, *ib.*—capture of Prome, *ib.*—storming of Arracan, 189—renewed difficulties from sickness, *ib.*—decisive victories, 190—advance toward Ava, and submission of Burmese, *ib.*—renewed hostilities, and final victory, 191—peace concluded, 192—reflections on the war, *ib.*—it was unavoidable, 193—treaty with King of Siam, *ib.*—mutiny at Barrackpore, *ib.*—its suppression, 194—reflections on it, *ib.*—difference with Rajah of Bhurt-pore, 195—increased disturbances and interference of the British, 196—commencement of the war, and forces, *ib.*—siege and capture of Bhurtpore, 197 *et seq.*—its results, 198—acquisition of Singapore, 199—consequences of these triumphs in causing undue reduction of army, *ib.*—embarrassed state of finances, 200—probable effects of relaxing the commercial code, *ib.*—Lord William Bentinck, governor-general, and his character, 201—his first measures, *ib.*—further economical reforms, 202—large reductions in the army, *ib.*—abstraction of officers to fill diplomatic situations, 203—

India, *continued*.

abolition of the Sutte, *ib.*—destruction of the Thugs, 204—removal of civil forfeitures consequent on conversion to Christianity, *ib.*—political transactions, deposition of Rajah of Coorg, &c., 205—restoration of passage by Red Sea, *ib.*—Metcalfe's interim government, and liberation of the press, 206—reflections on this, *ib.*—character of Lord Auckland, 207—deposition of Rajah of Sattara, *ib.*—the north the quarter of danger to, 208—Persia the chief barrier, *ib.*—description of Afghanistan, *ib.*—character of its population, 209—threatened invasion of Zemann Shah, &c., 210—treaty with Persia in 1801, 210—rupture with Persia, and alliance with Afghanistan, *ib.*—renewed alliance with Persia, 212—jealousy of Russia regarding, *ib.*—her progress, and views, 213—chances of invasion by her, 214—Afghanistan the barrier against her, 215—means by which it might have been retained in interest of England, *ib.*—its state, *ib.*—advantages from supporting Dost Mahommed, 216—Russian designs on Herat, 217—kingdom of the Sikhs, *ib.*—jealousy between them and the Afghans, 218—Russian intrigues at Cabul, *ib.*—policy pursued toward Dost Mahommed, 219—siege of Herat, 221 *et seq.*—interference of the English, and raising of it, 224—effects of this, *ib.*—policy toward Afghanistan resolved on, 225—treaty for restoration of Shah Soojah, 226 *et seq.*—preparations for the expedition, 227—forces for it, 228—displays in the Punjab, *ib.*—the march into Afghanistan, 229 *et seq.*—reception of Shah Soojah, 232—sensation caused by these events, 233—further movements and successes, *ib. et seq.*—capture of Ghuznee, 235 *et seq.*—flight of Dost Mahommed, 236—entry into Cabul, 237—honours conferred on the leaders, *ib.*—flattering appearances in Afghanistan, *ib.*—real causes of embarrassment, 238—plans for the future in Afghanistan, *ib.*—attack on Kelat, 239—growing difficulties of the troops, 240, 241—disquieting intelligence from Herat, 241—death of Runjeet Singh, and hostile disposition of the Sikhs, *ib.*—progress, &c., of the insurrection in Afghanistan, 242—checks in the Bamiun Pass, *ib.* 243—defeat of Dost Mahommed, 243—his fresh attempts, *ib.*—and victory, 244—his surrender, *ib.*—increased tranquillity, 245—renewed insurrection, and victory of Nott, 246—victory of Wymer, *ib.*—progress of the insurrection in Afghanistan, *ib. et seq.*—proceedings at Cabul, 248 *et seq.*—death of Burnes, 249—losses of the British, &c., 251—terms of the capitulation in Afghanistan, 259—the retreat from Afghanistan, 263 *et seq.*—recall of Auckland and appointment of Ellenborough, 267—injustice of the Afghanistan expedition, *ib.*—errors in it, 268—the conferring of civil offices on military officers, *ib.*—difficulties regarding, 1841, 281—reinforcements sent to, after the Afghanistan disaster, 302—estimated supply of sugar from, 1847, vii. 321 note—capabilities of, for production of sugar, 224—alleged ef-

India, continued.

fect of admission of slave-grown sugars on, 224—the abolition and resumption of flogging in, 234—the British empire in, and the French in Algeria, 190—exports of opium from, 9—disastrous state of, after the Afghanistan retreat, 21—collection of troops at Peshawur, *ib.*—views of government regarding Afghanistan, 23—general despondence, *ib.*—agitation and incipient conspiracy, *ib.*—depressed state of troops, 24—rejoicings in, on the relief of Jellalabad, &c., 29—final retirement of the British from Afghanistan, 47—joy on these successes, *ib.*—the conquest and annexation of Scinde, 50 *et seq.*—the war with Gwalior, 67 *et seq.*—Results of Lord Ellenborough's administration, 71—his recall, 72—appointment of Sir H. Hardinge, 73—discontent among the Sepoys, *ib.*—arrival of Hardinge, and his first measures, 74—importance of railways, 75—measures for constructing them, *ib.*—history of the Sikh war, 76 *et seq.*—treaty with the Sikhs, 95—joy on these successes, 96—second Sikh war, 98 *et seq.*—annexation of the Punjab, 106—peace, 107—pacific improvements of the Company, *ib.*—great works undertaken, *ib.*—second Burmese war, 108 *et seq.*—peace, 110—annexation of Oude, 111—picture of the British empire in, 1857, 113—causes of its prosperity, 114—reflections on the fall of the Company, 115—danger of direct government, 116

Indian corn, proposed abolition of duty on, vi. 363—importations, &c., of, 1847, vii. 244—meal, government sales of, in Ireland, 237.

Indian press, liberation of the, vi. 206.

Indiana, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—increase of banks in, 1837, 56—miles of railway in, vii. 290 note.

Indigo, prices of, 1824 5, iii. 251 note—and sugar, joint stock companies for, 1825, 253 note—fall in, 1825-6, 262 note—prices of, 1824-32, iv. 63 note—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note

Indirect representation, the system of, in England, iii. 365.

Indirect taxation, progressive abandonment of, vi. 346.

Indirect taxes, advantages of, i. 53—produce of, France, iii. 124—the repeal of, the cause of the abandonment of the sinking fund, 385—amount repealed, *ib.* note—their repeal due to the contraction of the currency, 386—impossibility of augmenting, in India, vi. 163—repeal of, in France, 1848, viii. 15—falling off in them there, 1848, 53.

Individual liberty, law suspending, passed by the French Chambers, i. 119 *et seq.*

Indoor and outdoor paupers, comparison of, 1840-8, v. 76 note.

Indus river, the, vii. 77—probable route of Russia toward, vi. 314—army of, 228—violation of treaty with Ameers of Scinde regarding, 229—passage of it by the Afghanistan expedition, 230—course, &c., of, vii. 50—efforts of the British to obtain possession of it, 61—treaties regarding it, *ib.*—measures for improvement of, 66.

Industrial Association of Vienna, commence-

ment of liberal movement in the, viii. 199.

Industrial capabilities, effects of machinery on, iv. 82.

Industrial exhibition in the Louvre, the, 1819, ii. 83.

Industrial interests, growth of the, in England, iv. 2.

Industrial classes, alienation of the, from the Wellington ministry, iv. 2.

Industry, effects of the currency bill of 1819 on, i. 3, 20—progress of, in Poland under Russia, ii. 5—how stimulated by paper currency, iii. 216—revival of, in Great Britain in 1822, 217—progress of, Ireland, 267—effects of the railway system on, 396—depression of, by the reform passion, iv. 47—interests of, and those of capital at variance, 64—depressed state of, in France, 1831, 137—improved condition of, in France, 1832, 341—stagnation of, in England, 1832, v. 5—prosperous state of, 1834, from the new bank act, 56—revival of, in Greece under Otho, 260—chartism directed to reorganisation of, vi. 81—injury to, in India, from connection with Great Britain, 155, 164—obstacles to, in Algeria, vii. 169.

Industry, House of, Dublin, grant to the, iii. 267 note.

Infant labour, act regulating, in factories, v. 55—bill for regulating in France, 378—Lord Ashley's bills for regulating, 1843, vi. 312—Sir James Graham's, *ib.*—necessity for regulating, in manufacturing and mining districts, 313.

Infant mortality, ratios of, in large towns of Great Britain, iv. 304—high rate of, in great cities, vii. 313.

Infantado, the duke del, measures of, against Murat, i. 137—joins Ferdinand VII., 331—receives the Portuguese princesses, 338—appointed president of the Council of Castile, 358—exiled from Madrid, ii. 249—placed at the head of the royal household, 298—dismissal of, from office, 300—heads the absolutist Junta, v. 95—becomes premier, 97.

Infanticide, prevalence of, in France, iv. 304—alleged encouragement to, by the new poor-law, v. 75.

Infernal machine, the explosion of the, v. 297—its discovery, *ib.*

Inglby, Sir W., motion by, on the malt tax, v. 31.

Inglis, Sir R., returned in opposition to Peel at Oxford, iii. 344—arguments of, against Catholic emancipation, 348—arguments of, against the reform bill, iv. 23—arguments of, against the Irish church bill, v. 23 *et seq.*—opposition of, to the tithe bill, 68.

Ings, one of the Cato Street conspirators, ii. 158—execution of, 159.

Inkerman, General Bosquet at, vii. 174

Innovation, extinction of passion for, in France, iii. 179.

Innsbruck, flight of the emperor to, viii. 210—measures there, 211.

Inquisition, the, re-establishment of, in Spain, i. 334—proclamation by, against the secret societies, 336—effects of, in Spain, 341—again abolished in Spain in 1820, 352.

- Insurance companies, English, 1825, iii. 253
note—public companies for, in France, v. 346 note.
- Insurrection, threatened, in England, 1817, i. 183—sympathy in England with, ii. 254—urban, how to be combated, iii. 164—preparations of the political unions for, 1831, iv. 34—inauguration of pillar to, in Paris, v. 380—frequency of, in China, vii. 6.
- Insurrection act of 1817 for Ireland, the, i. 167—passing of it, 1823, and its provisions, ii. 196—renewal of it, 1824, iii. 275—its effects, 276.
- Intellect, relations of the cultivation of, to morality, i. 25—increasing influence of, in governments, ii. 211.
- Intemperance, prevalence of, in Galicia, vii. 199.
- Interest, low rate of, in the opening of 1825, iii. 250, 292—and 1829, 373—rise of, during a monetary crisis, to what due, v. 402—rise in, 1840, vi. 66—low rate of, 1844 to 1846, vi. 335, 336 note—rates of, during the crisis of 1847, vii. 261, 276—rates of, Oct. 1847 to Nov. 1848, 280 note—high rate of, 1856, 306—variations in, under the bank charter act, 310.
- Interest of debt, votes of Chambers on reduction of, 1837, v. 345.
- Interests, representation as based on, i. 35—separation of, caused by fall of prices, and its effects, iii. 386—danger to representative system from diversity of, iv. 61.
- Internal communication, obstacles to, in Spain, i. 321.
- Internal navigation, public companies for, in France, v. 346 note.
- Intervention, limits of the right of, i. 38—the Russian policy of, ii. 347—as pursued by Peter the Great, *ib.*—true principles of, in 309.
- Intimidation, employment of, during strikes, iii. 246—means of preventing it, vi. 79.
- Intoxicating liquors, annual expenditure by the working classes on, iv. 78.
- Inundations, destruction by, in France, 1841, vii. 140.
- Invalides, Hotel des, at Paris, iii. 214—capture of the, by the insurgents, 149—reintroduction of Napoleon in, v. 383—attempt of the mob on, 1848, vii. 4.
- Inverness, Lord Brougham at, v. 80.
- Inverness-shire, election of 1835 for, vi. 2.
- Ionian Islands, treaty regarding the, i. 112.
- Ipsateka, crossing of the Pruth by the Russians at, iii. 15.
- Ipsara, maritime importance of, ii. 396—prosperity of, 356—revolt of, 365—attack on, proposed by the Turks, 404—its means of defence, *ib.*—its capture and destruction, 406 *et seq.*—effects of the fall of, *ib.*—recaptured but abandoned, *ib.*—excluded from Kingdom of Greece, iii. 65.
- Ipsilanti, Alexander, career of, ii. 362 note—begins the insurrection in Moldavia, 45, 362—his proclamation to the Greeks, 362 note—his first measures, 363—disowned by the Russian government, 364—measures of the Turks against him, *ib.*—official declaration of Russia against, 369—operations of, *ib.*—successive disasters of, 370—totally defeated and retires into Austria, 371.
- Ipsilanti, Demetrius, ii. 373—besieges Tripolizza, 374—failure of, before Napoli di Romania, 377—operations of, in the Morva, 380, 390—dissensions between, and Mavrocordato, 397—dispersion of corps of, 415.
- Irati, establishment of Quesada at, ii. 251.
- Ireland, effects of the free-trade policy on the agricultural population of, i. 5—emigration from, 1843 to 1852, 6 note—reduced produce of wheat in, *ib.*—the rebellion of 1848 in, 10—proportion of educated and uneducated criminals in, 26—the debt, revenue, &c., of, 67—consolidation of its exchequer with that of England, *ib.*—lightness of taxation in, 68—state of, 1817, and insurrection act, 167—statistics of criminals in, 205 note—policy of the Roman church in, 325—Ribbionism in, 363—visit of George IV. to, ii. 189—Marquess Wellesley appointed lord-lieutenant of, and new system of government there, 191—causes of its wretchedness, 192—what would have relieved it, *ib.*—effects of the contraction of the currency on, 198—progress of agrarian disturbances in, *ib.*—government of Lord Wellesley in, 194—examples made in the disturbed districts, *ib.*—famine in 1823 in the south and west, 196—suspension of habeas corpus, and insurrection act, 196—newspapers published in, 1782, 1790, and 1821, 198 note—the change of system in, due to the resumption of cash payments, 210—the union with, Canning's speeches in favour of, 214 note—assessed taxes of, repealed, iii. 222—exports of grain to England from, 1838-53, 242 note—gloomy aspect of affairs in, 1825, 249—reduction of duties on spirits in, and its effects, 258—crime in, 1822-30, *ib.* note—temperance league in, and its results, 259—O'Connell's account of the peasantry, 265—statistics of condition of poor, *ib.*—effect of power of landlord, 266—large and redundant population, *ib.*—large grants from England to, 267—increase of industry and production, *ib.*—causes of the wretched situation of, 268—effects of the Roman Catholic religion, 269—splitting of farms for political purposes, *ib.*—effects of the potato, 270—want of poor laws, *ib.*—absentee proprietors, 271—Ribbionmen and secret societies, *ib.*—Orange lodges, *ib.*—irregularities in administration of justice, 272—intimidation of juries and witnesses, *ib.*—commitments for crime, 1822-34, 273 note—Catholic emancipation the remedy proposed by the liberals, 273—its effects, 274—disturbed state in 1823, 275—renewal of insurrection act, and composition for tithes, *ib.*—debates on Irish corruption and Catholic emancipation, 276—improvement in 1824, *ib.*—Mr North's picture of its state, 277—working of tithe composition bill, *ib.*—rise of Catholic Association, 278—its real objects, *ib.*—bill for its suppression, 281—the banking system of, 296—opposition in, to the repeal of small notes, 297—emigration the remedy for the evils of, 299—the elections of 1826 in, and interference of the priests in them, 306—

Ireland, *continued.*

Peel on the relations of the Catholic question to the state of, 318—rapid increase of disturbances in, 334—facilities given to the agitators by the forty-shilling freeholders, 335—command of them obtained by the Catholic Association, *ib.*—election of O'Connell for Clare, 336—results of this, *ib.*—Lawless's progress to the north, 337—Mr Sheil's description of, *ib.*—proceedings of the Association, 338—government puts down the meetings, *ib.*—mission of Mr Dawson, 340—his speech at Londonderry, *ib.*—letter of the lord-lieutenant, and his recall, 341—increased violence of the Catholics, 342—Peel on the state of, in connection with the Catholic question, 346 *et seq.*—on the danger of rebellion in, 348—effects of agricultural distress, and the power of the Catholic clergy in bringing about emancipation, 357—difference between its predicted and its real results, 358—spirit in which it was received in, 359—effects of reform in, 361—and of free trade, 362—effects of these changes on the Catholics and population of, *ib.*—its population, 1805-51, 363 note—Mr Attwood's speech on the causes of distress in, 370—distress in, 1829, and commencement of agitation for repeal of the Union, 374—riots between Catholics and Protestants, 375—distracted state of, and failure of emancipation to pacify it, 394—the elections of 1830 in, *ib.*—increased agitation and misery in, 1830, *iv.* 12—agitation for repeal of the Union, and prosecution of O'Connell, 13—proposed scheme of reform for, 22—the reform bill carried by the members for, 29 note—majority returned for, in favour of the reform bill, 34—royal speech on the disturbances in, 1831, 36—the reform bill for, *ib.*—state of, 1831, 48—tithe outrages, *ib.*—passing of the reform bill for, 56—effects of it, *ib.*—county and borough members of, under the reform bill, 57—emigration from, 1849-53, 58—effects of the reform bill in, *v.* 1—beneficial effects of Romish influence in, after the reform bill, 4—distracted state of, 1832, and resistance to tithes, 7—declaration of government on the subject, and recommendation of the committee, *ib.*—the evidence brought before the committee, 8—government plan, and O'Connell's opposition to it, 9—increased agitation and violence, *ib.*—murders and burnings, 10—efforts of government, *ib.*—increased agitation against tithes, and falsehoods of their opponents, 11—small amount of them individually due, *ib.*—coercion bill for, 1833, 15—increase of crime in, 16 note—debate on the bill, 16 *et seq.*—it is carried, 21—its wisdom and necessity shown by its results, 22—bill for reducing church establishment, 22 *et seq.*—new ministerial project regarding tithes in, 26—true causes of the evil of, *ib.*—emigration from, 1851-4, 27 note—effects of the measures of 1833 in, 55—commencement of agitation for repeal of the Union, 57—attack on Baron Smith, *ib.*—debate on motion for repeal, 58 *et seq.*—statistics connect-

Ireland, *continued.*

ed with, before and since the Union, 61 note—increased agitation for repeal, 63—modified coercion bill for, 71—increased agitation and disorders in, 78—predial outrages, and riot at Rathcormack, 79—the elections of 1835 in, 409—alleged falling off in Protestantism in, 416—effect of the administration of Peel in 1835 with regard to, 422—effects of the agitation against the Lords in, *vi.* 24—the Catholic Association revived in, 25—report recommending poor-law, *ib.*—history of the measure, and causes of its long abeyance, *ib.*—Mr Nicholl's report on the subject, 26—poor-law bill for, introduced, 33—statistics of destitution in, 34—difference in its statistics and those of Great Britain, *ib.*—final establishment of poor laws in, 35—Lord Normanby's administration in, 36—effects of agitation in, 46—importations of wheat from, 1838-41, 65—from 1834 to 1844, 64 note—agricultural wages in, 1839, 69—paupers in, 1840, *ib.*—murder of Lord Norbury, and increase of crime, 132—statistics of it, 1837, 1838, and 1839, *ib.*—committees for it, 1825-40, *ib.* note—alliance of government with O'Connell, 133—wholesale liberation of prisoners, 134—inadequacy of the remedies applied, *ib.*—it the battle-field of parties, 135—new reform bill for, 1841, and its fate, 141—the elections of 1841 for, 148 note—liberal majority returned by, 151—this due to Catholic ascendancy in, *ib.*—proposed exemption of, from income tax, and increase of duties on spirits, 296—the temperance movement in, 304—its progress and decline, 305—crime in, 1839-49, *ib.* note—commencement of the repeal agitation in, 305—monster meetings, 306—their character, and language used, *ib.*—measures of government, and arms bill, 307—suppression of the Clontarf meeting, and trial of O'Connell, *ib.* 308—sensation on his conviction, 308—destruction of O'Connell's influence in, 309—banking act of 1845 for, 339—miles of railway completed in, to 1850, 338 note—diminution of crime in, during railway mania, 340 note—effects of railway system on emigration from, *ib.*—increase of agrarian crime in, 1845, 346—grants to secular colleges in, 847—extensive culture of the potato in, and first appearance of the disease, 357—the potato failure in, 1845, 359—the Protectionists on the danger of famine in, 368, 369—increased agrarian outrages in, 372—life preservation bill for, *ib.*—anticipated effects of free trade in, 883—exports of grain from, 1845-49, *ib.* note—troops required for, 1846, *vii.* 234—arms bill for, 236—measures for relief of the suffering in, 237—commencement of the famine, 238—deplorable state of the country, 239—government plans, *ib.*—extent of the distress, 240—woeful scenes which occurred, 241—the queen's speech on it, *ib.*—ministerial plans of relief, 242, 243—Lord Brougham's picture of the country, 242—amended poor and temporary relief act, 243—relief afforded under it, 244—ratio of indigent relieved, 245—great mortality, *ib.*—immense pecuniary efforts in Great

Ireland, *continued.*

Britain, 246—vast extent of emigration, 247—*that to foreign parts, ib.*—effects of this exodus on the population, 248—free-trade mainly the cause of it, 249—small amount of voluntary relief, 250—reflections on the famine, *ib.*—Lord George Bentinck's views on, 252—his railway scheme for it, and arguments for it, 253—answer of government and Sir R. Peel, 254—division on the subject, and reflections on it, 256—the advances to, 1847, 259—relative amount of poor-rate in, 260—new coercion bill for, 274—the queen's speech on, 1847, 281—miles of railway in, 290 note—pauperism, and expenditure on it, 1847-48, 291 and note—commitments for crime in, 1844-49, 292 note—preparations for a rebellion in, 300—its defeat, 301—effects of the monetary crisis on, 303—commissioners' report on emigration from, 316 and note—statistics of crops in, since free trade, 317 note—paupers relieved in, 1848-56, 322 note—Lamartine's answer to revolutionary deputation from, viii. 21—probable results of universal suffrage in, 69—pauperism in, 1848, &c., 286 and note—effects of free trade on agriculture of, 295—diminution in population of, 1851, 301—renewed predial outrages in, 1849, 314—bill for sale of encumbered estates, *ib.*—working of it, 315—bill lowering the franchise in, 320—effects of the gold discoveries on, 327.

Iriarte, general, v. 166—defeat of, 177, 178—defeat of Count Negri by, 225.

Irish, probable effects of the increasing numbers of, in America, i. 35—characteristics of the, ii. 268—destitution among the, in Scotland, vi. 350—effects of the vast influx into Great Britain of, vii. 287.

Irish Association, agitation by the, 1832, v. 9

Irish charities, imperial grants to, iii. 267 note.

Irish church, discussion on the, 1824, iii. 277.—the attacks of the Roman Catholics on, and their effect, v. 4—revenues of, 27—divided state of the ministry on, 64—Mr Ward's motion on it, *ib.*—resignation of Stanley, &c., on the question, *ib.*—declaration of the king on it, 65—commission of inquiry appointed, *ib.*—discussion in House of Lords on, 64—fate of bill, 72—alleged wealth and inefficiency of, 416—moits of Lord John Russell's motion on, 424—bill for reform of, vi. 10—details of its revenues, &c., 20 note—bill again passed by the Commons and thrown out by the Lords, 23—bill is passed without the appropriation clause, 38.

Irish church commission, the, v. 66—views of parties on the, 67.

Irish church establishment, bill for reduction of the, v. 22—arguments against it, 23 *et seq.*—O'Connell's speech on it, 24—arguments for it, *ib.*—its progress through both Houses, 25.

Irish church question, attack on Peel's ministry by the Whigs on the, v. 415—Lord John Russell's motion on the, *ib.*—arguments for motion, 416—and against it, *ib.*—division on it, 420.

Irish clergy, state of the, from non-payment of tithes, v. 8.

Irish coercion bill, division in the cabinet on its renewal, v. 68—modified one, 71.—See Coercion bill.

Irish constabulary, transference of maintenance of, to government, vi. 363.

Irish corporations, the state of the, vi. 18—government plan, and abuses complained of, 19—debate on the bill, 20—bill carried in Commons, 22—altered in Lords and finally rejected, *ib.*—again brought forward, 1867, 32.

Irish corporation commissioners, the report of the, vi. 19.

Irish emigrants, number of, 1837, vi. 34—remittances from, 1848-54, vii. 250 and note.

Irish famine, the, effect of, in inducing the monetary crisis of 1847, vii. 261—relations of, to the monetary crisis, 304.

Irish Felon newspaper, the, vii. 300.

Irish five per cents, the reduction of the, ii. 205.

Irish hearth tax, abolishment of the, ii. 204.

Irish manufactures, joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.

Irish members, the, difficulties of the Grey ministry from, v. 57—predominance of, in the Commons, 422—conduct of, on the corn-law question, vi. 883

Irish municipal bill, settlement of, 1838, vi. 38 *et seq.*

Irish party, Sir Robert Peel on the, vi. 379 note

Irish peasantry, the, account of, by O'Connell, iii. 265—estrangement of, from their landlords, 271—their association in secret societies, *ib.*—Mr North's picture of, 277—their improvidence, &c., 360

Irish police, the, supported by Great Britain, iii. 267.

Irish poor, wretched condition of the, iii. 265—Mr Nicholl's report on the state of the, vi. 26.

Irish poor-law bill, passing of the, vi. 33 *et seq.*

Irish prelates, the address of the, to the king, and his answer, v. 66.

Irish priesthood, effects of education at Maynooth on, vi. 343

Irish spirits, increase of duties on, 1830, iii. 383.

Irish tithe bill, progress of the, v. 67—opposition of all parties to it, 68

Irish volunteers, association of, iii. 304—new association of, 1833, v. 16.

Iron, reduction in price of, on the peace, i. 47—increased manufacture of, in Great Britain, 216—fall in, 1818-22, ii. 145 note, 204—prices of, in England, 1822-25, iii. 220 note—prices of, 1824-25, 251 note—reduction of duties on, 1825, 200—prices of, 1827-29, 373 note—and 1824-32, iv. 63 note—public companies for works in France, v. 346 note—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—rise in price during the railway mania, 839—prices of, 1845-51, vii. 286 note

Iron Gate of the Caucasus, the, ii. 345.

Iron Gates, pass of the, in the Atlas, passed by the French, v. 371.

- Iron miners, strikes among the, vi. 77—institution of the Darg among, 79—low wages of, in England, 1841, 281—riots of, in England, 1842, 284—strike of, in Lanarkshire, 1842—and their violence, 285—rise in wages of, during railway mania, 339
- Irrawaddy, the, the valley of, &c., vi. 184—command of, obtained by the British, vii. 110
- Irreligion, prevalence of, in the French towns, iii. 109.
- Irribaren, general, forces under, v. 213—movements of, against Don Carlos, 215—his death, *ib.*
- Irrigation, great importance of works of, in India, vi. 156—great means of it furnished by nature, 157—canals of, in China, vii. 3.
- Irun, capture and massacre of, v. 214.
- Isabella of Spain, birth of, iv. 119—accession of, v. 109—position of the European powers toward her, *ib. et seq.*—parties in favour of, 138—history of the war in favour of, 141 *et seq.*—her government responsible for its cruelties, 147—proposed marriage of the Duc d'Aumale to, vii. 210—marriage of, to the Duke de Cadiz, 216—alienation of, from her husband, 336.
- Isabella, the Infanta, of Portugal, regency conferred on, v. 112—her abdication, 116 *et seq.*
- Isabella-Ann, case of the Carlists captured in the, v. 171.
- Isaktschi, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 17.
- Iwaszeg, battle of, viii. 252
- Izly, battle of, vii. 185 *et seq.*
- Issue department of the Bank, the, as arranged by act of 1844, v. 329.
- Istalliff, expedition to, vii. 44.
- Isturitz, M., a member of the Spanish committee in France, iv. 108, v. 189—dismissed from office, 209—note from English ambassador to, on the Spanish marriages, vii. 216.
- Itabayna, the viscount d', v. 121.
- Italian drama, character of, iv. 296.
- Italian republic, efforts of the liberals for, vii. 310.
- Italy, violence of the revolution of 1848 in, i. 9—commencement of the revolutionary movements in, 362—origin and secret history of secret societies in, 363—the revolution in Naples, 364 *et seq.*—and in Piedmont, 369 *et seq.*—character of the revolution of 1820, 371—causes of its failure, 372—suppression of the revolutionary movements in, ii. 39—reaction in, and harsh measures of the royalists, 43—character of the revolutions of 1820 in, 212—Carbonarism introduced from, into France, 224—effect produced in Spain by the crushing of the revolution, 231—treaties at the Congress of Verona regarding, 259—effect of the French revolution in, iv. 117—perilous state of, 1830, 132—insurrections in Bologna, &c., *ib.*—intervention of Austria in, 133—suppression of the insurrection, *ib.*—the early prose writers of, 282—situation of affairs in, 1832, 314—intervention of the Austrians in Romagna, &c., 315—their entry into Bologna, *ib.*—occupation of Ancona by the French, *ib.*—sensation caused by this, 316—efforts of the French propagandists and Polish refugees in, 364—amnesty pro-
- claimed by the Austrians in, v. 353—exports to, 1846-9, vii. 287 note—death of the Pope, 337—election and character of Pius IX., 337, 338—state of Italian opinion, 338—general amnesty, and transports on it, 339—first acts of the Pope, *ib.*—difficulties which beset his government, *ib.*—these increased by concourse of liberals at Rome, 340—adoption of the same policy in Tuscany, *ib.*—movements in Sardinia, &c., 341—papal declaration against liberalism, *ib.*—revolutionary movement in Rome, 342—measures of Austrian and French cabinets, *ib.*—effects in Piedmont, 343—views of Metternich, *ib.*—Guizot's policy, *ib.*—policy of the English government, 344—the mission of Lord Minto to, and his instructions, *ib.* and note—reforms introduced into Piedmont, 346—revolution at Lucca, and its annexation to Tuscany, *ib.*—excitement on Lord Minto's arrival at Rome, *ib.*—riot there, 348—revolt in Sicily, *ib.*—publication of constitution at Naples, 349—convulsions in Sicily, *ib.*—credulity of Palmerston to the liberal agents, 350—Lamartine on the state of, 1848, 378—state of, in beginning of 1848, viii. 69—proximate causes of the revolution, 70—effects of that in France, *ib.*—forces of Austria, 71—feeling in Lombardy, 73—insurrection there, and retreat of the Austrians, *ib.*—spread of the insurrection, 74—forces, &c., of Charles Albert, 75—revolution in Sicily, 76 *et seq.*—affairs of Naples and Sicily, 77 *et seq.*—change of ministry in Rome, 79—Pope declares war against Austria, 80—the war between Sardinia and Austria, *ib. et seq.*—increased excitement after the fall of Milan, 106—events at Florence, &c., 107—new ministry at Rome, 108—revolution there, and flight of the Pope, 109—designs of the revolutionists after Rossi's death, *ib.*—republic proclaimed in Rome, 110—renewal of war between Austria and Piedmont, 111 *et seq.*—abdication of Charles Albert, 119—counter revolution in Tuscany, 123—affairs of Naples, 124 *et seq.*—general confluence of the insurgents at Rome, 126—intervention of the French there, and its fall, 127 *et seq.*—siege and capture of Venice, 131 *et seq.*—restoration of Grand-duke of Tuscany, and peace between Sardinia and Austria, 132—repeated interventions of France and England in, 133—conduct of the military commanders, *ib.*—to what her defeat was owing, 184—her divisions, *ib.*—want of military organisation in southern, 135—unfit for freedom, *ib.*
- Italians, numbers of, in Austrian empire, viii. 138 note.
- Ituralde, general, the Carlist leader, v. 151—*at* Guevara, 193—movement into Aragon, 194.
- Iturrizza, execution of, v. 230.
- Itztein, M., vice-president of the Vor Parliament, viii. 155.
- Ivan III., extent of Russia under, ii. 20 note.
- Ivan IV., deliverance of Russia from the Tartars by, and his own tyranny, ii. 20—extent of Russia under, 29 note.

J

- Jabat, Don Juan, minister of marine in 1820, i. 351.
- Jablonsky, general, at Waitzen, viii. 254.
- Jara, repulse of the royalists at, ii. 251.
- Jackson, general, character of, and his measures against the banks, vi. 52—vetoes the renewal of the bank charter, 53—withdraws the public deposits from it, 54—his answer to the New York petition, 55—increased hostility against the banks, 56—account of the operations of the western banks by, 57—treasury order regarding cash payments for lands, *ib.*—retires from office, 58.
- Jackson, Mr., Irish solicitor-general, 1835, v. 407 note—and 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Jacob, Mr., his report on the corn laws, iii. 301.
- Jacobi, philosophical system and works of, iv. 292.
- Jacobins, Proudhon on the, viii. 54.
- Jacobs, major, successes of, against Sheer Mahammed, vii. 64.
- Jacqueminot, general, commander of the National Guard of Paris, vii. 388—proposals of, regarding the reform procession, 384—displaced, 391.
- Jadraque, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 201.
- Jaen, defeat of Riego at, ii. 296.
- Jaffa, position of, v. 273—evacuation of, by the Egyptians, 278.
- Jaimes, a royalist leader in Murcia, ii. 244.
- Jakonovitch, a Russian conspirator, ii. 61, 64—attempt on the emperor by, 65—his firmness and daring, 66.
- Jamaica, slave insurrection in, 1831, v. 44, 45—protest by parliament of, against the Orders in Council, 45—grant to meet the losses by the insurrection, *ib.*—increased production of sugar, and decline of population in, 47—average produce of, before and after emancipation, 52 note—address of House of Assembly, 1835, vi. 16—the Assembly abolish the apprenticeship system, 111—how received by the negroes in, *ib.*—refractoriness of, and its dissolution, 112—the bishop of, on the abolition of the apprenticeship system, 111—bill suspending the constitution of, 114—arguments for it, *ib. et seq.*—and against it, 115 *et seq.*—small majority for it, 116—second bill, 119.
- James I., Ireland during the reign of, v. 58—the Irish corporations founded by, vi. 19.
- James, G. P. R., the novels of, i. 250.
- Janina, population of, ii. 331 note—Ali Pacha's fortress at, 353 and note—operations of Chourchid Pacha against, and its fall, 376 *et seq.*
- Janizaries, the, organisation, &c., of, ii. 336—state of, in 1821, 362—measures of Sultan Mahmoud against, 367—revolution at Constantinople in favour of, 395—measures resolved on by the Turkish government against, iii. 3—new statute regarding them, 4—their insurrection, 5—their defeat and destruction, *ib. et seq.*—general massacre of them, 6—effect of their destruction, v. 267.
- Jankowski, attempt of, in Lithuania, iv. 202—murder of, 210.
- Janreguy, a Christino general, v. 214.
- Jara, a Carlist chief, defeat of, v. 224.
- Jardin Turc, explosion of the infernal machine at the, v. 297.
- Jarnac, count de, French ambassador at London, vii. 214.
- Jassy, terms of treaty of, regarding the Principalities, ii. 351 note—commencement of the insurrection of Moldavia at, 382—massacres of the Christians in, 394—occupied by the Russians, iii. 15.
- Jaucourt, M., minister of marine in 1815, i. 87—retires with Talleyrand, 105.
- Jauregui, general, dismissed from governorship of Cadiz, ii. 237—but retains it, 238.
- Java, reduction of duties on sugar from, vi. 328.
- Jeanne, trial, &c., of, iv. 339 note.
- Jedburgh, reform riots at, iv. 83.
- Jefferson, intimacy of Huskisson with, iii. 227 note.
- Jeffrey, lord, on the works of Sir Walter Scott, i. 218—the works of, 236—lord advocate in 1830, iv. 4 note—arguments of, in favour of the reform bill, 17—and the Edinburgh riots, 1831, 33—on emigration, &c., vi. 134.
- Jellachich, count, viii. 89—Ban of Croatia, 209—measures of, against the Hungarians, 212—disavowed by the government, but continues his preparations, *ib.*—restoration of, 215—crosses the Drave, *ib.* 221—conference with Bathany, 216—his character, 219—last negotiations of, 221—movements assigned to, 222—first defeats, 223—nominated commander-in-chief in Hungary, 225—defeated, *ib.*—movements of, against the insurrection in Vienna, 230—his approach, 231—attempts to gain him, *ib.*—during the assault of the city, 233—at the abdication of the emperor, 238—defeat of Georgey by, 242—at Tapio-Brucke, 252—operations assigned to, 259—losses of, 261—forces under, 264.
- Jellalabad, forces left to garrison, vi. 238—forces under Sale at, 248—arrival of the survivor of the Cabul retreat at, 266—conduct of Sale at, *ib.*—efforts of Sale, &c., at, vii. 25—earthquake at, 26—renewed efforts of garrison, *ib.*—continued blockade, *ib.*—arrival of Pollock at, 28—its previous heroic defence, *ib.*—defeat of the Afghans before, *ib.*—Ellenborough's proclamation to the garrison, 29—advance of Pollock from, 39—destruction of fortifications of, 47.
- Jenibazar, combat near, iii. 21—Wittgenstein retires to, 26—cavalry combat at, 55.
- Jersey, lord, lord chamberlain, v. 407 note.
- Jerusalem, pachalik of, conferred on Mehemet Ali, v. 255—submission of, to the sultan, 278.

- Jervis, Sir J., attorney-general, 1846, vii. 221 note.
- Jesuits, the, re-establishment of, in Spain, i. 838—decree abolishing, in Spain in 1820, 352—decree of the Cortes of 1820 regarding, 355—expulsion of, from Russia, i. 84—intrigues of, at the Congress of Verona, 259—increasing influence of, with Charles X., and their efforts in France, iii. 74—strength of their party in the legislature and ministry, 75—denunciations of, by the press, 85—continued efforts of, for supremacy, 92—denunciation of them, 93—their answer, *ib.*—re-establishment of the censorship by, *ib.*—urges the disbanding of the National Guard, 96—defeated in the Paris elections, 1817, 100—dissensions between, and the ministry, *ib.*—law against, 104—their indignation, 105—dangerous influence of, on the government of Charles X., 165—hatred of, in France, 169—the second French revolution directed against them, iv. 81—jealousy of them, in France, vii. 123—encroachments of, on the University in France, 193—argument of Thiers against them, *ib.*—answer of government, 194—decision of the Chamber, 195—ordonnance against them, *ib.*—invitation from Lucerne to, 353—decree for expelling them from Switzerland, 354.
- Jews, the, persistent character of, i. 32—absorption of the capital of Poland by, ii. 5—discovery of a paper currency by, 136—in Turkey, 319—number of, in European Turkey, 324 note—and in Constantinople, 336 note—atrocities of, in Greece, 388—first subjected to the conscription in Russia, iii. 13—number of, in Algiers, 130 note—provision in the Germanic constitution regarding, iv. 218—emancipation of, demanded by the estates of Prussia, 254—infurious influence of, in Poland, vii. 199—persecution of, in France, 1848, viii. 23—numbers of, in Austrian empire, 138, 140, notes.
- Jeyppoor, political arrangements with, 1834, vi. 205.
- Jezewski, count, negotiations of, with Nicholas, iv. 183.
- Jhelum river, the, vii. 77.
- John VI. of Portugal, v. 88—arbitrary proceedings in his name, 91—his escape from the hands of the Absolutist party, 92—subsequent measures, *ib. et seq.*—recognition of independence of Brazil, v. 111—his death, 112—*See* also Portugal.
- John, the archduke, vii. 86 at the General Diet, 155—elected regent, 162—his installation, 163—circular letter of, on Prussia, 171 and note—ministry appointed by, 173—further proceedings, *ib.*—resigns the regency, 179—withdraws his resignation, 181—collision with the Assembly, *ib.*—deposed by it, 182—finally resigns, 187.
- John Hunyadi, the, the struggle of, against the Turks, iv. 172.
- Johnson, the, essays of, i. 235—on primogeniture, iii. 91.
- Johnson, captain, attack on, at Cabul, vi. 250—at Cabul, 251—supplies procured by, 252—continued supplies procured by, 257—surrender of, 266—measures of, for liberating the captives, vii. 46.
- Johnson, trial and sentence of, for sedition, ii. 149.
- Joinville, the, prince de, his horse wounded by the infernal machine, v. 297—at St Juan d'Ulloa, 357—at the reinternment of Napoleon, 384—operations under, against the Moors, vii. 184—bombardment of Tangiers and Mogadore, *ib.*—on the treaty with Morocco, 187—his letter to the Duc de Nemours, 1847, 362.
- Joint-stock banks, proposed establishment of, iii. 292.
- Joint-stock companies, first benefits from the, 1825, iii. 250—high prices of shares in, 1824, 251—of 1825, classification of the, 252 and note—mania for, 1834, &c., v. 405—facilities, &c., for frauds in, vi. 338.
- Jomini, general, at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298—the writings of, iii. 198.
- Jones, Sir Harford, treaty negotiated with Persia by, vi. 212—on the weakness of Persia against Russia, *ib.*
- Jones, one of the leaders of the Newport Chartists, vi. 83—his trial and sentence, *ib.*
- Jones, Ernest, Chartist leader on the 10th April, vii. 298—trial and sentence of, 300.
- Joolgah, check of the British at, vi. 244.
- Jordan, M., vice-president of the Vor parliament, viii. 155.
- Jordan, Mrs, the mistress of William IV., iii. 391.
- Jordan, valley of the, v. 214.
- Jordao, general, defeat of, v. 131.
- Joubert, M., minister of public works under Thiers, v. 376 note.
- Jouffroy, M., exposition by, of the government system in the East, v. 370.
- Jourdan, marshal, made a peer, i. 314—made a chevalier of the Cordón Blen, iii. 85.
- Jourdan, Camille, *see* Camille-Jourdan.
- Journals, censorship continued to the, in France, i. 92—suppressions of, in Germany, iv. 227—prosecutions of, under Louis Philippe, 340—new law regarding, in France, v. 303—and periodicals, public companies for, in France, 346 note—measures of Cavaignac against the, viii. 51.
- Journal of Agriculture, the, on raising the potato from seed, vi. 357 note.
- Journal de Commerce, the, prosecution of, iii. 123—suppression of, iv. 334.
- Journal des Debats, the, denunciations of the ultramontane party by, iii. 75—attacks of, on the Polignac ministry, 112—on the Lyons insurrection, iv. 309—on the arrest of Chateaubrand, 339—alone of the, 1839, v. 364—opposed to Thiers, 1840, 378—violence of, on the Eastern question, 387—on the proposed banquet, vii. 383.
- Journal du Peuple, prosecution of editor of, vii. 149—violence, &c., of the, viii. 54.
- Journalists, influence of the, in France, iii. 117—their attacks on the Polignac ministry, *ib.*
- Jubilee, general, in France, iii. 92.
- Judges, proposal regarding the inferior, in France, i. 120—venality of, in Turkey, ii. 328—decision of the, on O'Connell's case, vi. 309—provisions of French constitution of 1848 regarding, viii. 60—principles of Prussian constitution of 1848 regarding, 172.

Judicial establishment, the, of India, vi. 169.
 Juddulluck, arrival of the fugitives from Cabul at, vi. 266—victory of Pollock at, vii. 40—the pass beyond, *ib.*
 Jukasinaky, a Pole, transported to Siberia, ii. 46.
 Julienne, the princess, of Saxe-Coburg, ii. 57.
 Jumilhac, the countess de, i. 106.
 Jumna Canal, the, vii. 108 note.
 Junge Deutschland, society of, denounced by the Diet, iv. 244.
 Junius, the Letters of, the authorship of, i. 185.
 Juramentados, measures of the government of 1820 toward the, i. 352.
 Juries, danger of, in times of excitement, and iniquities perpetrated by them, i. 157—offences of the press declared punishable by, in France, ii. 80—proposed withdrawal of offences of the press from, 223—unanimity of, impossible in Ireland, iii. 272—intimidation of, there, *ib.*—unanimity of, evils from law requiring, in Ireland, 275, 331, 340—intimidation, &c., of, in Ireland, v. 17—modification of the law regarding, in France, 303.
 Jury trial, introduction of, in civil cases, into Scotland, i. 168—its failure, *ib.*—demanded by the Polish Diet, ii. 35—failure of, in Ireland, iii. 272—change in law of, in France, 1848, viii. 55—proposed establishment of, in Austria, 207.

Jussuff Pacha, victory of, at Galatz, 370—operations against Ipsilanti, *ib.*—successes of, in the Morea, 372—defeats the Greeks at Patras, 376—forces under, at Corinth, 390—defeat of, in an attempt to relieve Napoli, 391—defence of Varna intrusted to, iii. 20—surrender of Varna by, 28—proof of his treachery, *ib.*
 Juste Milieu, the, in France, iv. 381.
 Justice, imperfect administration of, in Russia, ii. 19—its venality there, 26—measures for improving the administration in France in 1819, 79—venality and corruption of, in Turkey, 328—measures for reforming administration there, iii. 7—measures for reform of, in Russia, 10—irregular and uncertain administration of, in Ireland, 272—advantage which would have accrued to Ireland from right administration of, 273—in Ireland, debate on administration of, 276—administration of, in Chancery, measures for, 280—interference of the Catholic Association with the administration of, 281, 282—change in administration of, in West Indies, v. 47—administration of, under Otho in Greece, 260—reforms on administration of, in Turkey, 267—administration of, under municipal reform bill, vi. 5—administration of, in India, 169.
 Justinian, deficient and deteriorated currency under, ii. 135.
 Jutland, invasion of, by the Prussians, viii. 159, 191.

K

Kabyles, hostility of the, in Algeria, iv. 367—character, &c., of the, vii. 168—operations against the, and their subjugation, 187, 188.
 Kadi-laskar, the, in Turkey, ii. 328.
 Kaffir war, the, ii. 846—*See* Caffres.
 Kahun, siege of, by the insurgent Affghans, vi. 242.
 Kainardji, terms of treaty of, regarding the Principalities, ii. 351 note—treaty of, confirmed by that of Adrianople, iii. 62.
 Kaiserslautern, revolutionary outbreak at, viii. 184.
 Kakhofski, a Russian conspirator, ii. 61—assassination of Milaradowitch by, 64—slays Colonel Stosler, 65—condemned to death, 69—his execution, 70.
 Kalafat, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 29.
 Kalahi, siege of the Acropolis by, ii. 424.
 Kalavatsch, passage of the Danube by the Russians at, iii. 53.
 Kalchberg, captain, viii. 251.
 Kale, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 50.
 Kaluckzyn, advance of the Poles to, iv. 199—and of the Russians, 203.
 Kalunga, defeat of the British before, and its ultimate capture, vi. 175.
 Kaminsky, general, death of, at Ostrolenka, iv. 205.
 Kamran, prince, expulsion of Dost Mahomed from Herat by, vi. 216—inclination of, toward the British alliance, 217.
 Kamtjik, pass through the Balkan by the, iii. 58.

Kant, the works and system of, iv. 291.
 Kapolua, battle of, viii. 247.
 Kara river, scenery, &c., of the, ii. 345.
 Kara Ali, made Capitan Pasha, ii. 376—capture and massacre of Chios by, 384 *et seq.*—attack of the Greek fleet on, 386—destruction of his ship, and his death, 387.
 Kara Tasso, a Greek chief, murder of his wife, ii. 389.
 Karadjeinem, a Turkish chief, iii. 20.
 Karaiskaski, during the sortie from Missolonghi, ii. 420—efforts of, to raise the siege of the Acropolis, 424—various successes, *ib.*
 Karansehes, capitulation of Hungarians at, viii. 280.
 Karcezw, check of the Russians at, iv. 195.
 Karger, general, defeat of, viii. 249.
 Karkow, establishment of university at, ii. 34.
 Karlsburg, defeat of the Hungarians at, viii. 274.
 Karnabat, pass through the Balkan by, iii. 58.
 Karrack, landing of British expedition for relief of Herat at, vi. 224.
 Kara, siege of, by the Russians, iii. 31—description of it, 32—its fall, *ib.*
 Kartellan, a member of the national council of Poland, iv. 185.
 Kaschau, defeat of the Austrians at, viii. 245.
 Katakasy, M., Russian ambassador to Greece, viii. 334.

- Kaye, Mr, account of the proceedings of British officers at Cabul by, vi. 248 note—on the murder of Macnaghten, 262—his history of the Afghanistan war, vii. 21 note.
- Kazan, population of, ii. 11 note—conquest of, by Ivan the Terrible, 20—establishment of university at, 34—service in the cathedral of, on the departure of Alexander for Taganrog, 52.
- Kazimierz, defeat of the Poles at, iv. 201.
- Kean, Charles, the acting of, i. 265.
- Keane, Sir John, afterwards lord, appointed to command the Afghanistan expedition, vi. 228—march of the army, 229—operations of, during the march, 231—marches on Cabul, 232, 233—capture of Ghuznee, 235 *et seq.*—honours, &c., conferred on, 237—further operations of, *ib.*—withdrawal of, 238—general Nott superseded by, 246—his passage through Scinde, and discussion to which it gives rise, vii. 52.
- Kel river, withdrawal of the British frontier from the, viii. 311—it again advanced to, 313.
- Kell, fort of, at Antwerp, iv. 345.
- Kellerman, general, views of, in 1815, i. 95—votes for the capital punishment of Ney, 129.
- Kellett, lieutenant, defeat of the Burmese flotilla by, vi. 188.
- Kelly, Sir F., solicitor-general, 1852, viii. 322 note.
- Kemble, John, as an actor, i. 264.
- Kemble, Miss Fanny, as an actress, i. 264.
- Kemendine, capture of, by the British, vi. 184.
- Kempt, Sir James, master-general of ordnance, 1830, iv. 3 note.
- Kendal, member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Kenmare, reversal of attender of, iii. 280.
- Kennington Common, intended meeting of the Chartists at, vii. 296.
- Kent, the duke of, death of, ii. 154.
- Kent, disturbances in, 1830, iii. 399—additional members for, iv. 21 note—elections of 1831 for, 34.
- Kentucky, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Kephalas, captain, at the storming of Tripolizza, ii. 375.
- Kergolay, M. de, an adherent of the Duchess de Berri's, iv. 322—his arrest, 323.
- Kerratry, M., a leader of the Doctrinaires, ii. 82.
- Kerry, operation of insurrection act in, 1824, iii. 276 note—the election of 1835 for, v. 410—Protestants and Catholics in, 416—proclaimed in 1848, vii. 301.
- Kersal Moor, great Chartist meeting at, vi. 81.
- Kersovie, captain, iv. 377.
- Key, Sir John, motion by, for repeal of the house and window duties, v. 32.
- Khadeno, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 400.
- Khart, defeat of the Russians at, iii. 47—and of the Turks, *ib.*
- Khelat, supplies obtained from, for the Afghanistan expedition, vi. 251—capture of, by the British, 239—recapture of, by the insurgents, 242—recapture of, by the British, 245.
- Khelat-i Ghilzye, defeat of insurgent Affghans at, vi. 246—danger of, viii. 32—defence of, 34.
- Khiva, Russian expedition against, and its defeat, vi. 240.
- Khooloom, Wullea of, fidelity of, to Dost Mahommed, vi. 242—compelled to abandon him, 243.
- Khorassan, route to India by, vi. 208—included in the old Douranee empire, 210.
- Khyber Pass, the, vi. 209—passage of, by the Afghanistan expedition, 232—return of Keane through, 241—attempt of Wild to force, vii. 24—retirement of the British by, 47.
- Khyrporo, town of, vii. 51—entrance of the British into, 52—amercer of, refuses to sign the treaty, 56.
- Kicki, general, at battle of Praga, iv. 104—fall of, at Ostrolenka, 205.
- Kidderminster, member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Kiel, commencement of the Schleswig revolt at, viii. 157.
- Kiev, population of, ii. 11 note.
- Kihaya Hey, defeat of, at Vallezza, ii. 372.
- Kildare, operation of the insurrection act in, 1824, iii. 276 note—effects of the coercion act in, v. 22 note—bill abolishing bishopric of, 23 note—proclaimed in 1848, vii. 301.
- Kilkenny, the assizes for 1822 in, ii. 194—operation of insurrection act in, 1824, iii. 276 note—outrages in, 1832, v. 10—intimidation of juries in, 17—proclaimed under the coercion act, and diminution of crime in, 22 and note—increase of, since the Union, 62 note—falling off in Protestants in, 416—proposed reform of corporation of, vi. 20.
- Killala, bill abolishing bishopric of, v. 23 note.
- Killar, a shepherd, ascent of Elbruz by, ii. 344 note.
- Kilmarnock, intended rising in, 1848, vii. 295.
- Kilnoe, monster repeal meeting at, vi. 306.
- Kimburn, the capture of, as an instance of naval attack on land defences, v. 358.
- King, colonel, at Rammnggur, vii. 101.
- King's College, Lord Winchelsea's observations on Wellington's conduct regarding, iii. 368 note.
- King's County, effects of the coercion act in, v. 22 note.
- Kinglake, Mr, the writings of, i. 257.
- Kingston, attack of the American sympathisers on, vi. 95.
- Kinkel, the poems of, iv. 281.
- Kinnaird, lord, i. 172.
- Knoitel, defeat of the Russians at, iii. 24.
- Klossa Mahomet Pacha, defeat of, at Akhal-zikh, iii. 34 *et seq.*—disgraced, 58.
- Klow, defeat of the Podolian insurgents at, iv. 202.
- Kipamos, capture of, by the Candians, ii. 400.
- Kirk sessions, the, and the old Scotch poor-law, vi. 349—under the new, 351.
- Kirkee, battle of, vi. 179.
- Kisker, M., minister of justice, viii. 168.
- Kiss, Colonel Ernest, execution of, 281.
- Kiss, the works of, iv. 298.
- Kiselef, general, iii. 63.

- Klapka, colonel, junction of, with Georgey, viii. 245—dissatisfaction with Dembinski, 249—plans proposed by, 251—at Tapio-Biecke, 252—at Isaszeg, 253—subsequent movements, 254—captures Waitzen, *ib.*—battle of Komorn, 267 *et seq.*—garrisons *ib.*, 268—victory of, before Komorn, 276—capitulates at Komorn, 280.
- Kleber, his system of government in Egypt, v. 243.
- Klein, general, viii. 91.
- Klopstock, the Messiah of, iv. 274—as a lyric poet, *ib.*
- Klutzy, general, viii. 254.
- Knutchbull, Sir E., at the meeting on Penenden Heath, iii. 339—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—offered office under Earl Grey, 3—supports Peel against the reform bill, 26—thrown out for Kent, 34—pay-master of forces, 1835, v. 407 note—treasurer of navy, 1841, v. 280 note.
- Knezich, captain, execution of, viii. 281.
- Knocktopher, massacre of the police at, v. 9.
- Knout, punishment of the, in Russia, ii. 19—vii. 233.
- Knowledge, relations of, to mortality, i. 25.
- Kochanowski, a member of the provisional government of Poland, iv. 179, 180.
- Kochlin, a leader of the secret societies in France, ii. 228.
- Koglof, captain, loyalty of, ii. 68.
- Koh-i-Noor diamond, the, vi. 216.
- Kohistan, insurrection under Dost Mahomed in, vi. 243—operations of Sale in, 244—disaster of the Ghoorka regiment in, 256.
- Kojuk Pass, the, vi. 233—defeat of General England in, vii. 34—forcing of, by him, 38.
- Kolding, struggle at town of, viii. 191.
- Kollowrath, count, at Novara, viii. 117, 199, 200—ministry of, 202.
- Kolodno, defeat of Dwernicki at, iv. 202.
- Kolysko, insurrection in Podolia under, iv. 202.
- Komorn, fortress of, viii. 241—advance of the Austrians to, 242—blockaded, 243—raising of siege of, 258—battle of, 267—defeat of the Austrians before, 276—surrender of, to the Austrians, 280.
- Konieh, population of, ii. 331 note—advance of Ibrahim Pacha to, v. 248—preparations for battle of, 249—forces on both sides, *ib.*—battle of, *ib. et seq.*—its results, 251.
- Konigsberg, petitions for the States general from, iv. 252—religious excitement in, 1846, 254.
- Koolangloo, capture of, by the British, vii. 15.
- Kortlofan, assigned by treaty to Mehemet Ali, v. 279—treaty between Turkey and Mehemet Ali regarding, 306.
- Körner, the poems of, and their influence, iv. 223—the songs of, 278—as a dramatic poet, *ib.*
- Korolkoff, general, death of, iii. 35.
- Korsabice, Mademoiselle Eulalie de, iv. 327—taken with the Duchess de Berri, 328.
- Koshen, appointed viceroy at Canton, vii. 12—treaty concluded, *ib.*—its disavowal, and his recall, *ib.*—degraded, 14.
- Kosseir, defeat of the Turks near, v. 246.
- Kossuth, Louis, heads the liberals in Hungary, viii. 203—demands of, *ib.*—resignation of, 215—his character as leader of the democratic party, 218—efforts to raise forces, &c., 223—proclamation, *ib.*—declares Reizich and Jellachich traitors, 225—at battle of Schwechat, 235, 236—removes with the government to Debreczin, 243—proclamation, *ib.*—movements directed to Georgey by, 244—efforts to organise forces, 245—displaces Dembinski, 249—division between, and Georgey, and his views, 255 *et seq.*—declaration of independence, and he chosen governor, 256—energetic preparations, 257—dissensions between, and Georgey, &c., 259—his jealousy of Georgey, 265—entry of, into Pesth, 266—increasing jealousy between, and Georgey, 269—dismisses Georgey, but compelled to restore him, 270—resignation of, 277—takes refuge in Turkey, and evades turning Musaulman, 317, 318.
- Koste, general, wounded during insurrection of July, viii. 49.
- Köthen, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 210 note—railway from Berlin to, 250.
- Kotree, defeat of the Afghan insurgents at, vi. 245.
- Kotzebue, the dramas of, iv. 276—the assassination of, ii. 88, iv. 228—execution of his murderer, 229—injury done by the murder to the cause of freedom, *ib.*
- Koulefscha, battle of, iii. 56.
- Kouprianoff, general, operations under, 1827, iii. 53.
- Kouprikioi, preparations of the Turks at, iii. 59—their defeat at, *ib.*
- Kourehid Pacha, *see* Chourchid.
- Kragh, general von, victory of, at Idstedt, viii. 194.
- Krajowa, defeat of the Russians at, iii. 29.
- Krasinski, general, attack by the mob on, iv. 180.
- Krasowsky, general, iii. 60—operations of, in Persia, 11—left to conduct the siege of Silistria, 54—operations of, before Schumla, 61.
- Krasucki, general, operations of, against Dwernicki, iv. 202.
- Krauss, M., viii. 237.
- Kronlin, the architecture of the, ii. 22.
- Kreutz, general, cavalry combat under, iii. 55—operations under, iv. 195—defeats of, *ib.*—successes of, against Sierawicki, 201—at first defeated by Chrzanowski, and ultimately drives him back, 203—at assault of Warsaw, 212.
- Kronstadt, threatened by the Hungarians, and occupied by the Russians, viii. 250—taken by the Hungarians, *ib.*
- Krudener, madame, i. 298—and the Emperor Alexander, 110—her influence over him, ii. 56.
- Krukowiecki, general, at Praga, iv. 193—becomes president of the council, 200—attempts to negotiate, 201—surrenders, 212.
- Kuban river, scenery, &c., of the, ii. 345.
- Kuchelbecker, a Russian conspirator, ii. 65.
- Kühne, M., minister of finance, viii. 163.

Kumaon, expulsion of the Ghoorkas from, vi. 176.
 Kupfer, M., ascent of Elbruz by, ii. 344 note.
 Kurnatowski, general, attempt to assassinate, iv. 180.
 Kurov, defeat of the Russians at, iv. 195.
 Kurrachee, admission of English agent to, viii. 51—entrance of the British into, 52—construction of pier and harbour at, 63, 103.

Kurruck Singh, death of, viii. 60.
 Kurteppe, defeat of the Russians at, iii. 27.
 Kusanlik, pass through the Balkan by, iii. 58.
 Kustendji, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 18.
 Kutahieh, advance of Ibrahim Pacha to, v. 251.
 Kydloo, repulse of the British at, vi. 186—its capture, *ib.*

L

Labanoff-Rastowsky, prince, dismissed from office, iii. 10.
 Labbey de Pompières, M., iii. 140 note.
 Labedoyère, colonel, the arrest and trial of, ordered, i. 93—the treason of, 124—his arrest, *ib.*—his trial and condemnation, *ib.*—his death, 125—indemnity to, ii. 122 note.
 Labedoyère, a revolutionary leader, 1847, vii. 372.
 Laboussière, M., his arrest ordered, iv. 334—arrest of, 338.
 Laborde, count, indemnity to, ii. 122 note.
 Laborde, M. de, signs the protest against the ordinances, iii. 138—meeting of liberal chiefs at house of, 140.
 Labouche, Mr. Jamaica bill introduced by, vi. 114—arguments for it, *ib.*—on the colonisation resolutions, 123—secretary for Ireland, 1846, vii. 221 note—a member of the committee on the bank charter act, 112—motion by, for repeal of the navigation laws, viii. 283—arguments for it, *ib. et seq.*
 Labour, rural, no demand for, in France, iii. 173—necessity of combination in favour of, 246—redundance of, and its effect in Ireland, 206—practical representation of, under the old system, iv. 60—effect of the contraction of the currency on wages of, 63—want of representation of, under the reform bill, 72—high price of, in old communities, 80—the interests of the bourgeoisie opposed to those of, 82—the struggle between it and capital in France, *ib.*—principles of the St Simonians regarding, 110—effects of revolution of 1830 on, in France, 383—bill for regulating hours, &c., of, in factories, v. 55—high rates of, in the United States, vi. 46—low rates of, in Hindostan, 154—price of, reduced by the contraction of the currency, 300—wages of, injustice of income tax on, 301—demand for, caused by railways in England, vii. 252, 253—alleged influence of proposed factory bill on remuneration of, 269—price of, in rich and poor states, 313—effects of inadequate currency on, in France, 126—growing importance of state of, in France, 131—discussion in the Chamber, and speech of Arago on it, 132 *et seq.*—effects of the conscription on the demand for, in France, 134—the struggle between capital and, in France, 153—high price of, in Algeria, 160—attention to interests of, in revolution of 1848, viii. 11—decree fixing hours of, *ib.*—new law regulating hours of, in France, 55—prison system of, in France, &c., 334.

Labour rate act for Ireland, expenditure under the, vii. 246 note.
 Labourdonnaye, M., speech of, against the proposed amnesty, i. 141—elected president of the Deputies, iii. 103.
 Labourers, crowding of, into towns in France, iii. 175.
 Labouring classes, the, effects of variations of the currency on, ii. 138—discontent of, in Great Britain, vi. 46—position of, here and abroad, 290—effects of the railway mania on, 339—motion regarding, 1845, 355.
 Lacambre, a leader of the extreme party, viii. 29.
 Lachau, M. de, an adherent of the Duchess de Berri's, iv. 223.
 Lachasse de Verigny, general, killed by the explosion of the infernal machine, v. 297.
 La Chatre, reform banquet at, vii. 131.
 La Contemporaine, alleged connection of, with the Louis Philippe letters, vii. 142.
 Lacretelle, M., the works of, iii. 195—opposes the re-establishment of the censorship, and dismissed from office, 94.
 Lacrosse, M., viii. 332.
 Lacy, admiral, viii. 36 note.
 Lacy, general, conspiracy under, in Barcelona, and his death, i. 340.
 Lacy, colonel, v. 181.
 Ladenburg, M., vii. 168.
 Ladoga, lake, i. 47.
 Ladvoat, M., proposes to proclaim the empire in 1830, iv. 90.
 Laez, Don Victor, the king's confessor, dismissed, ii. 300.
 Lafayette, the marquis de, and the conspiracy of 1815, i. 149, 151—defeated in the elections for 1817, 289—returned as member to the Deputies, 305—heads the extreme liberals in 1819, ii. 88—arguments of, against the re-establishment of the censorship, 100—and against the new electoral law, 104—efforts of, in 1820, to corrupt the military, 111—expectations of, from the conspiracy in the army, 112—heads the secret societies of France, 225—named a member of Berton's provisional government, *ib.*—instigates the conspiracy at Rochelle, 226—plan of, for the escape of the condemned, 227—at the expulsion of Manuel, 281—protests against it, 282—share of the indemnity received by, iii. 83—denunciation of multiplication of government offices by, 103—preparations of, against the Polignac ministry, 112—his journey in the south, *ib.*—during the Three Days, 144—at the meeting of the liberals at Lafitte's, 147—accepts the com-

Lafayette, the marquis de, *continued*.

mand of Paris, *ib.*—established in the Hotel de Ville, 148—objects of the party of, 160—perplexity and irresolution of, *ib.* 86—reception of the republican deputation by, 89—his indecision, *ib.*—continued indecision of, and visit of the Duke of Orleans to, 94—yields, and recognises the latter, *ib.*—deputations of National Guards, &c., to, 105—attitude of, and its dangers, 106—opposes the dismissal of Odillon Barrot, 123—demands of, as commander of National Guard, 127—dismissed from the command, 128—arguments of, for the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 162—preparations for new insurrection by, 329—at Lamarque's funeral, 330—his indecision, 331—motion made by, at the meeting at Lafitte's, 332—his arrest urged, 333—propagandist committee headed by, 363—heads the republicans, 368—heads the committee of the secret societies, 373—insurrectionary movements organised by, 1834, 376—death of, 378—his character, 379 *et seq.*

Lafitte, M., in the Chamber of 1816, i. 275—returned to the Deputies in 1817, 289—motion by, with regard to the electoral law, 311—party of, in the Deputies, 1819, ii. 87—views of, in 1819, 88—violent language of, in the Deputies, 100—subscription by, for General Foy's family, *ib.* 86—returned for Paris in 1827, 100—during the Three Days, 144—meeting of liberals at house of, 146—their resolution, 147—efforts of, to arrest the revolution, 151—heads the Orleansists, *ib.* 84—arguments of, for the duke's being called to the crown, 85—meeting and proceedings of the Orleansists at the hotel of, 86—letter from, to the duke, *ib.*—further proceedings of, in his favour, 87—proceedings of the Orleansists against the Napoleonists at his hotel, 99—their panic on the irresolution of the Duke of Orleans, *ib.*—accompanies the duke to the Hotel de Ville, 93—member of Louis Philippe's first cabinet, 99—at the court of Louis Philippe, 105—chosen president of Chamber, 107—formation of ministry of, 121—his statement of its principles, *ib.*—changes in it, 128—fall of his ministry, 143—his character, and cause of his fall, *ib.*—opposition candidate for the presidency of the Chamber, 1831, 148—on the increase of the army, 312—meeting of opposition to organise new insurrection at his hotel, 329—at Lamarque's funeral, 330—meeting at his hotel during the insurrection, 332—his arrest urged, 333—meeting after suppression of the revolt, and their deputation to the king, 337—majority against, as president of Deputies, 357—and again, 1834, 381—votes for, as president, v. 233—republican views of, 1837, 345—views of, on the suffrage, 1839, 372—at reform banquet, 1840, vii. 128—heads the reform movement, 131.

Lafitte, general, a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 119.

Lafontaine, general, wounded during insurrection of July, viii. 46.

Lagarde, M. de, ambassador to Spain, ii. 265—withdrawal of, 267.

Lagarde, general, royalist attack on, at Nîmes, i. 101.

Lagos, liberal revolt in, v. 120—captured by Don Pedro, 130.

Lagrange, M., conduct of, on his trial, v. 203—declaration of, in favour of reform procession, vii. 385—an insurgent leader in 1848, 390—invades the Chamber of Deputies, 400—returned to Assembly, viii. 41—arrested, 355.

La Granja, the revolt of, v. 189, 209.

La Harpe, the preceptor of Alexander, ii. 56.

La Hitte, M. de, elected for Paris, viii. 343 note.

Lahner, major, execution of, viii. 281.

Lahore, city of, vii. 77—Sikh population of, 76—advance of the British toward, 95—treaty regarding subsidiary force at, 97.

Lainé, M. de, chosen president of the Chamber, i. 117—becomes minister of the interior, 149—views of, regarding the electoral law, 152—measures of, to relieve the distress of 1816, 274—in the Chamber of 1816, 275—bill regarding bequests to the church brought in by, 285—his arguments for it, 286—policy advocated by, in 1818, 306—tenders his resignation, 307—rupture of, with the Doctrinaires, ii. 115—resigns the ministry of public instruction, 120—intimacy of Martignac with, iii. 102.

Lang, lieutenant, death of, at Beh Mern, vi. 258.

Laut, lieutenant, a partisan of Louis Napoleon's, v. 322—pamphlet in favour of Louis Napoleon by, and his trial and sentence for it, 353.

Lake, lord, on the proportion of European and Asiatic troops, vi. 168—remonstrances of, against the treaty with Holkar, &c., 172—his resignation and death, 173.

Lake, lieutenant, at siege of Mooltan, vii. 104.

Lakes, number, &c., of, in China, vii. 3.

Lal Singh, vii. 80.

Lalande, admiral, and the treacherous surrender of the Turkish fleet, v. 266—recalled from the Levant, 275.

Lalla-Maghnia, dispute with Morocco regarding, vii. 182.

Lallemand, a student, death of, ii. 108—his funeral, and efforts to renew the disturbances at it, 110.

Lallemand, the brothers, the arrest and trial of, ordered, i. 93.

Lalli, marquis de, i. 308.

Lally, Tolland, arguments of, against change in the electoral law, i. 310.

La Malonia, defeat of Abd-el-Kader at, vii. 188.

La Marmora, general, vii. 86—suppression of the revolt at Genoa by, 122.

Lamarque, general, indemnity to, ii. 122 note—arguments of, on foreign affairs, 1831, iv. 157 *et seq.*—on Poland, 159—duel between, and Sebastiani, *ib.* note—death of, 329—his previous career and character, *ib.*—his funeral, and commencement of insurrection at it, *ib.* *et seq.*

Lamartine, M. de, on the national character of the French, i. 83—anecdote of, ii. 76 note—on the state of Paris in 1819, 88—on

Lamartine, M. de, *continued*.

the proceedings of the liberals in 1820, 111—account of Napoleon's exile at St Helena by, 129—on the danger to France from the Spanish revolution, 254—character of Louis XVIII. by, 311—picture of Serbia and the Servians by, 322—refuses office under Polignac, *ib.* 122—on the ordinances of Charles X., 134—on the foundings of Paris, &c., 171 note—the works of, 189—writer of memoirs, 201—a writer for the daily press, 211—the autobiography of, *iv.* 287—rise and character of, in public life, 379—his conduct during the revolution of 1848, 380—his qualities as a statesman and orator, *ib.*—arguments of, against the laws proposed against the press, 1835, *v.* 301 *et seq.*—opposes the new laws against the press, 1836, 303—on the trial of the confederates of Louis Napoleon, 323—arguments for the law for disjunction of trials, 325—speech of, against the suppression of founding hospitals, 350—speech of, on the Eastern question, 1839, 367—speech of, on literary property, *vii.* 144 note—arguments of, in favour of reform, 152—his error in these, 153—arguments of, in favour of the Duchesse d'Orleans as regent, 157 *et seq.*—effect of his joining the liberals, 159—his character as a statesman, 161—his excessive vanity and its results, 162—on the trial of Teste, &c., 369—speech of, at reform banquet at Magon, 374—his ulterior views, 375—speech of, on the address, 1848, 378—demands a republic, 398—his picture of the Duchesse d'Orleans, 399—his proceedings, *ib.*—appointed one of the provisional government, 400—picture of the revolutionists by, 401—account of the difficulties of the provisional government by, *viii.* 3—his conduct in regard to the *Drapeau rouge*, 4—opposition of, to free trade, 11—disclaims Ledru Rollin's circular, 19—appointed a member of College of France, *ib.*—efforts of, against the extreme party, *ib.*—pacific circular to foreign states, 20—answer to Irish deputation, 21—his secret views, 22—disclaims the attempt on Belgium, 23—declaration of, to the Poles, 24—communications between, and Lord Normanby, 25—reception of, by the *Compagnies d'Elite*, &c., 27—during the socialist demonstration, 29—attempts to conciliate Blanqui, &c., 30—preparations against the revolt, 31—dissensions between, and his colleagues, 32—popularity of, 33—votes for, 34 note—speech on foreign affairs, 35—a member of the executive commission, *ib.*—coalition with Ledru-Rollin, *ib.*—on republicanism in France, 36—during the revolt of May 15, 38, 39—efforts of, against Louis Napoleon, 40—urges resignation of executive commission, 41—on the revolt of June, 44—arguments of, for single Chamber in Assembly, 56 *et seq.*—views and arguments of, on election of president, 58, 59—votes for, as president, 66—the political fall of, 67

Lamb, Mr. secretary for Ireland, *iii.* 314 note.

Lamb, Mr. British minister in Portugal, *v.* 118.

Lamberg, count, appointed commander-in-chief in Hungary, *viii.* 223—his murder, 224.

Lambert, commodore, at Rangoon, *vii.* 108.

Lambrecht, M., a Jacobin, returned to the Deputies in 1819, *ii.* 84.

Lambruschini, Cardinal, papal legate to France, a member of the Camarilla, *iii.* 72—denounced by the liberals, *vii.* 342.

Lamenais, the abbé de, the writings of, *iii.* 202—demanded as counsel by the prisoners for treason in 1834, *v.* 292—prosecution of, 1841, *vii.* 140.

Lamoricière, general, at assault of Constantine, *v.* 341—wounded, *ib.*—character of, *vii.* 174—at the Col de Mouzaia, 177—operations of, against Ab-el-Kader, 180—defeat of the Moors by, 182—further operations, 183—surrender of Ab-el-Kader to, 188—appointed commander of the National Guard, 392—proceedings of, at the Tuileries, 394, 396—during the revolt of June, *viii.* 44 *et seq.*—war-minister under Cavaignac, 51 note—a member of the permanent commission, 345—votes for the motion of the questors, 353—arrested, 355.

LANARKSHIRE, trial in the Sheriff Court of, *i.* 109 note—insurrectionary movements in, 1820, and their suppression, *ii.* 161—statistics of voters registered in, *iv.* 66 note—cost of various strikes in, *vi.* 79 note—riots in, 1842, 285—their suppression, 286—pressure, &c., of tolls in, 316 note—ratio of mortality in, *vii.* 271—suffering and pauperism in, 1848, 293—results of establishment of police in, *viii.* 304 note—recommitments of ticket-of-leave convicts in, 307 note.

Lancashire, continuance of military training in, 1820, *ii.* 160—distress in, 1826, *iii.* 287—no small notes issued in, 291—additional members for, *iv.* 21 note—elections of 1835 in, *v.* 409—pauperism in, 1839, *vi.* 72—failures of banks in, 1847, *vii.* 277—the bankruptcies in, during 1847, 285.

Lancaster, intended rising at, 1817, *i.* 106.

Lancasterian schools, establishment of, in Russia, *ii.* 34.

Land, unequal pressure of the poor-rates on, *i.* 62—Brougham on the burdens imposed on, *ii.* 170—extent of, held in mortmain in Turkey, 326—effects of the subdivision of, in France, *iii.* 172—burdens on, in France, 174—necessity of, to the Irish peasantry, 205—competition for, and effects of this in Ireland, 207—great subdivision of, in Ireland, for political purposes, 269—dependence of the Irish poor on the possession of, 270—effects of subdivision of, in Ireland, 360—transference of, in Ireland under the Encumbered Estates Commission, 362—burdens on, *iv.* 60, 61 note—proportion of income tax paid by the, 66—predominance given to the shopkeeping interest over, 69—direct taxes on, 71—numbers dependent on, taxes paid by, &c., 77—continued depression of, 1834, *v.* 56—speculations in, in the United States, 1837, *vi.* 57—treasury order regarding cash payments for, *ib.*—system of sale of, in the United States, and in the British colonies, 124—high prices paid by railway compa-

Land, *continued*.

- nies for, 339—burdens on, Mr Ward's motion regarding, 1845, 355—Mr Goulburn on the burdens on, 382 note—mortgages on, in Ireland, vii 250—pressure of mortgages and taxes on, in France, 119—changes in laws regarding sale, &c., of, in Prussia Poland, 197—taxes paid by, in France, vii. 56—statistics regarding, in Prussia, 139 note—new system of sale of, in the colonies, 310.
- Lands, large purchases of, in the United States through the paper currency, vi. 49.
- Land defences, the attack of, by naval forces, v. 357 *et seq*.
- Land offices, the, of the United States, vi. 124.
- Land tax, the, pressure of, in France, iii. 174, iv. 81—additions to, 1831, in France, 138—proposed substitution of, for tithes in Ireland, v. 68—how levied under the Zemin-dar system, vi. 160—and under the village, 161—amount, &c., of, in India, 165—in China, vii 5.
- Land tenure, insecurity of, in Turkey, ii. 326.
- Land tenures, system of, in China, vii. 5.
- Landaburn, the murder of, ii. 246.
- Landaries, M., moves the trial of Louis Blanc, viii. 40.
- Landan, surrendered by France to the allies, i. 108—provision of the Diet regarding, iv. 218.
- Landed aristocracy, effects of the currency bill of 1819 on the, i. 3—effects of want of, in France, iii 178—transference of political power from the, iv. 1.
- Landed interest, the, continued depression of, in England, 1823, iii. 221—growth of, under the protective system, iv. 2—not predominant under the old constitution, 60—effects of the contraction of the currency on, 70—opposition to the sliding scale among, vi. 294—division of, by the railway mania, 339—burdens of, viii. 293.
- Landed property, distribution of, in Spain, i. 326—effects of the excessive subdivision of, in France, vii 134.
- Landed proprietors, Louis Blanc on the, in France, iv. 303—indifference of, to strikes, vi 78—want of, in China, vii. 3, 5.
- Landholders, the Irish extravagance, &c., of, iii. 360—representation of, under the old constitution of England, iv. 59—Mr Attwood on the position of, v. 29—political feeling of, in America, vi. 50—the Scotch, liberality of, during the famine, vii. 251.
- Landlord, absolute power of the, in Ireland, and its effects, iii. 266.
- Landlords, splitting up of farms for political purposes in Ireland by the, iii. 269—Irish, absenteeism among, 271—their association in Orange lodges, &c.—political influence of, over their tenantry in Ireland, 335—exorbitant powers conferred on, in Ireland, vi. 376.
- Landolphe, M., v. 202.
- Landon, Miss, the poems of, i. 257.
- Landon, captain, defeat of the American sympathisers by, vi 102.
- Landowners, the Irish, conduct of, during the famine, vii. 250—number of, in Prussia, viii. 139 note—representation of, in Germany, 142.
- Landseer, the paintings of, i. 261.
- Landwehr, the Prussian, iv. 237.
- Langerman, general, at Ostrolenka, iv. 205.
- Langeron, count, operations of, against the Turks, iii. 50.
- Langley, Mr, on the crisis of 1847, vii. 262.
- Languinan, M. de, arguments of, against change in the electoral law, i. 312.
- Lanjuinais, M., opposes the law of unlimited arrest, i. 121—amendment by, regarding dissolution of Assembly, viii 336.
- Lansdowne, marquess of, arguments of, against the foreign enlistment bill, i. 209 *et seq*—speech of, in favour of free trade, ii. 168—at the trial of the queen, 177—bill for enfranchising the English Catholics brought in by, iii. 279—becomes home secretary, 314—threatens resignation, 326—resignation of, 327—president of the council, iv. 3 note—one of the commission for giving the royal assent to the reform bill, 56—president of council, 1835, v. 420 note—supports the life-preservation bill for Ireland, vi 373—estimate by, of the agricultural loss in 1848, vii. 247—on the education question, 1847, 273—supports government on the Greek affair, viii. 319.
- Lansdowne House, social influence of, i. 268.
- Lansfeld, countess of (Lola Montes), viii. 149.
- Lanza, a Sardinian deputy, viii. 112—motion by, against the armistice, 121.
- Lao Kiun, system of, in China, vii. 6.
- Lapas, a Greek chief, at Thermopylae, ii. 374.
- La Penissière, defence of, by the Vendéans, iv 325.
- Lapidge, captain, v. 180.
- La Place, votes for re-establishing the censorship, iii 94.
- Laplaque, M., becomes minister of finance, v. 326.
- La Plata, affairs of, 1847, vii. 336.
- Lapoukhine, prince, ii. 58.
- Larcom, captain, his report on the diminished produce of wheat, i. 6, vi 383 notes.
- Lard, imported, proposed new tariff on, vi. 206 note.
- Lareche, an agent of Lafayette's, ii 226.
- Laréguy, supports the Orléanists, iv. 86.
- Larissa, pacha of, ii. 397.
- Larochejaquelein, Auguste de, fidelity of, to Charles X., iii. 157, 158.
- Larochejaquelein, M. de, at Oporto, v. 181—opposes the constitution of 1848, viii. 60.
- Larraza, repulse of the Carlists at, v. 173.
- Las Amarillas, the marquis, minister-at-war in 1820, i. 351.
- La Sancta, capture of, by the Sicilian revolutionists, i. 366—recaptured, *ib*.
- Las Cabezas, commencement of the revolt of the Spanish army at, i. 346.
- Las Casas, Napoleon's conversations as recorded by, iii. 197.
- Lascours, general, during the insurrection of 1834, iv. 378.
- Latakia, capture of, by the allies, v. 277.

- La Tafna, conference between Bugeaud and Abd-el-Kader at, v. 338—terms of treaty of, 339—indignation at treaty in France, *ib.*
- La Tentation, opera of, iv. 354.
- Latil, cardinal, head of the Camarilla in France, iii. 72—great influence of, 75, 105.
- Latour, count, defection of, viii. 110.
- Latour, count, war-minister, preparations of, for the Hungarian war, viii. 221—plans of, for the war, 232—measures of, to reinforce Jellachich, 225—during the insurrection at Vienna, 226—his murder, 228.
- Latour-Dupin, M., resignation of, iv. 99.
- Latour-Maubourg, general, votes for the capital punishment of Ney, i. 129—made a peer, 314—becomes minister-at-war, ii. 86—new organisation given to the army by, 117—appointed member of the privy council, and governor of the Invalides, 125—resigns under Louis Philippe, iv. 99.
- Latre, general, suppression of the revolt at Corunna by, ii. 233, v. 200—defeat of Count Negri by, 225.
- Lauderdale, lord, on the detention of Napoleon at St Helena, i. 68.
- Laudrin, M., elected to the Assembly, viii. 60.
- Lauenberg, the duchy of, viii. 156—statistics of, 140 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, 181.
- Launceston, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Lauriston, marshal, ii. 302—placed at the head of the household, 117—supports Villèle on the Spanish question, 266.
- Lauzet, M., on the position of the king toward the Chamber, 1834, v. 287.
- Laval, M., French missionary in Tahiti, vi. 324.
- Lavalette, M., proscribed in 1815, i. 93—the trial of, 131—condemned, 132—his escape, *ib. et seq.*
- Lavalette, madame, efforts of, on behalf of her husband, i. 132—takes his place in prison, and enables him to escape, 133—severity of the court to her, *ib.*
- La Vendée, *see* Vendée.
- Law, reforms in, introduced by Nicholas II., 73—powerlessness of, in Ireland, against the secret societies, iii. 275—alleged powerlessness of, in Ireland, v. 17—the administration of, in India, vi. 169.
- Law expenses, amount of, on land in France, iii. 174.
- Law proceedings, remission of duties in, 1824, iii. 223.
- Law reform, committee for, in Piedmont, i. 362.
- Lawless, Mr., progress of, in the north of Ireland, iii. 337—held to bail, 338.
- Lawrence, Sir Thomas, the portraits of, i. 258.
- Lawrence, escape of, on the murder of Macnaghten, v. 261—one of the Afghan captives, vii. 46.
- Lawrence, major, compelled to evacuate Peshawar, vii. 100.
- Lawtie, lieutenant, death of, vi. 177.
- Lawyers, the French, rancour of, against the Bourbons, iii. 126.
- Layard, Mr., motion by, regarding limited service in the army, vii. 231—supports the limited service system, 272.
- Laybach, the congress of, ii. 37—preparations at, against the Piedmontese insurgents, 41—discussion in parliament on it, 181.
- Laymen, admission of, to the papal council, vii. 347.
- Lazar, general, execution of, viii. 281.
- Lazes, defeat of the, at Khart. iii. 47.
- Leach, Sir John, Master of the Rolls, iii. 314 note.
- Lead, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 260.
- League newspaper, the, vi. 358.
- Leander, the, at the battle of Algiers, i. 76, 78, 79, 80.
- Learning, early progress of, in Germany, iv. 267—state, &c., of, in China, vii. 7.
- Leather, rise in the duty on, i. 62—abolishment of war tax on, ii. 204—remission of duties on, 1830, 383.
- Lebanon, valleys of, increase of population in, ii. 323—aspect of the villages, &c., of, 328—range of, v. 244—the mountaineers of, join the allies, 277.
- Lebeschau, mademoiselle, captured and mistaken for the Duchess de Berri, iv. 323.
- Leblond, M., arguments of, on election of president, viii. 68.
- Lebon, M., v. 292.
- Lebzelter, count, ii. 66—at the Congress of Verona, 258.
- Le Capitole, the organ of the Napoleonists, v. 366.
- Lechnowski, prince, murder of, viii. 175.
- Lecomte, attempt of, to assassinate Louis Philippe, vii. 205.
- Lecourbe, general, evidence of, against Ney, i. 127.
- Ledu-Rollin, election of, as member of the Deputies, vii. 148—prosecution and acquittal of, *ib.*—re-election of, 1842, 155—heads the opposition on the regency question, 156—refuses to attend the Chateau Rouge banquet, 373—violent speech of, at Lille, 375—opposes the compromise regarding the banquet, 384—declaration of, against the reform procession, 385—opposes insurrection, 390—opposes a regency, 399—nominated one of the provisional government, 400 note—circular of, to the electors, 1848, viii. 17 *et seq.*—further measures to sway the elections, 19—attempt of, to revolutionise Belgium, 23—new circular of, 25 *et seq.*—dissolution of the Compagnies d'Elite by, 27—a party to the socialist demonstration, 28—during it, 29—intrigues of, 30—conspiracy against, *ib.*—refuses to act with Blanqui, *ib.*—preparations against the revolt, 31—dissensions between, and Lamartine, 32—votes for, 1848, 34 note—coalition with Lamartine, 35—a member of the executive commission, 36 note—during the revolt of 15th May, 38—implicated in the revolt of June, 53—violent banquet speech of, 62—votes for, as president, 66—moves the accusation of Louis Napoleon, 337—elected to Legislative Assembly, 338—moves the accusation of ministers, 339—his flight, 340—avowal of socialist principles by, 343.
- Leeds, duke of, master of the horse, iii. 314 note.

- Leeds, Radical meeting at, 1819, ii. 151—first transference of the members of Grampound to, 167—Protestant meeting at, 1828, iii. 339—motion for giving representation to, 1830, 387—members given to, iv. 21 note—violent reform meeting at, 50—the elections for 1833 in, v. 14—election of 1835 in, 408—banquet to Lord Morpeth at, vi. 31—anti-corn-law association formed at, 84—ratio of mortality in, 1841, 283 note—distress in, 1841, 284—small proportion of children at school at, 314 note.
- Lefebvre, M., iii. 140 note.
- Lefebvre-Desnonettes, general, selected for punishment after Waterloo, i. 93—indemnity to, ii. 122 note.
- Lelevre, Mr Shaw, elected Speaker, vi. 118—re-election of, as Speaker, 149.
- Le Flo, general, arrested, viii. 355.
- Legal tender clause, the, in the bank charter act, vi. 339.
- Legaza, capture of, by the Carlists, v. 174.
- Legendre, general, death of, iv. 173.
- Legge, sergeant, at the arrest of the Cato Street conspirators, ii. 159.
- Leghorn, insurrectionary movement at, 1848, viii. 70—revolt at, 107—declares for a republic, 111—suppression of the revolution in, 124.
- Legion of Honour, reconstitution of the, i. 153.
- Legislative Assembly, the elections for the, vii. 338—meeting of it, *ib.*—first proceedings, *ib.*—reject the accusation of the president, 339—change of ministry, 341—feeling on it, *ib.*—various measures by president, 342—new law of electoral rights, 344—vote on the civil list, &c., 345—coalition against the president, 346—opening of new session, 347—rupture with president, 348—violent proceedings, *ib.*—hostile vote against him, 349—change of ministry, and exhaustion of parties, *ib.*—revision of constitution, 350—vote against revision of constitution, and prorogation, 351—state of parties, *ib.*—opening of session, 352—motion of the questors, *ib.*—its rejection, 353—views of the leaders, *ib.*—conspiracy in, 354—its dispersion, *ib.*
- Legislature, Prussian, by constitution of 1848, viii. 172—by the Germanic constitution of 1848, 181—as regulated by Austrian constitution of 1849, 240.
- Legitimate children, proportion of, to illegitimate in France, iii. 169—in Paris, iv. 140—1838, v. 350.
- Legitimists, the, denunciations of Lafayette by, iv. 128—discontent of, 137—during the elections of 1834, 381—leaders of, in 1837, v. 344—views of, on the suffrage, 1839, 372—tone of, toward the Thiers ministry, 378.
- Leguano, defeat of the Italians near, viii. 87.
- Le Gros, the paintings of, iii. 215.
- Leibnitz, as the father of German philosophy, iv. 291.
- Leicester, arrests and executions for high treason at, i. 165—intended rising at, 1817, 166—Protestant meeting at, 1828, iii. 339.
- Leicestershire, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Leiningen, prince of, president of the council under the Archduke John, viii. 163, 173—speech of, on German unity, 176—on the failure of the German revolution, 197—at battle of Komorn, 268.
- Leiningen, count, relief of Arad by, viii. 244—garrisons Temeswar, 258—execution of, 281.
- Leinster, the duke of, vi. 183.
- Leinster, state of the peasantry in, ii. 192—Catholics and Protestants in, ii. 277 note—statistics of crime in, 1829-33, v. 16 note.
- Leipsic, revolutionary disturbances in, 1830, iv. 116—railway between Magdeburg and, 250—religious excitement in, 1846, 254—society for liberty of the press at, 363—revolt in, 1848, viii. 183.
- Leith, mercantile losses in, on the peace, i. 45—landing of George IV. at, ii. 208—ratio of mortality in, vi. 271 note.
- Leitrim, agrarian outrages in, 1846, vi. 874, 375 note.
- Lelewel, a member of the provisional government of Poland, iv. 180.
- Le Man, reform banquet at, vii. 131.
- Lemnos, defeat of the Turkish fleet of, ii. 401.
- Lenormand, mademoiselle, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298.
- Leominster, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Leon, the bishop of, v. 171.
- Leon, Isle of, force collected in the, for South America, i. 342—causes of the revolt there, 343—its first outbreak, 344—at first arrested, *ib.*—ravages of yellow fever among the troops in, 345—the army in, broken up, 356—reception of the decree against the priests in, 357.
- Leopol, privilege permitted to burghers of, vii. 198.
- Leopold, prince, marriage of the Princess Charlotte to, i. 69—the throne of Greece offered to, ii. 421—refuses it, v. 259—proposed as King of Belgium, iv. 131—elected to that crown, 150—efforts of, to secure Luxembourg, 152—further demands and negotiations, and Holland declares war, *ib.*—forces under, 153—his defeat, *ib.*—marriage of, to the Princess Louise Marie, 341—reasons for desiring peace, 348—treaty with Holland, *ib.*—abandonment of the barrier treaty, 349—recognition of, agreed to at Congress of Muntz-Graetz, 364—acceptance of the treaty of London by, v. 354—warlike measures forced by the republicans on him, *ib.*—attempt of the French revolutionists to overthrow, 1848, vii. 2—proceedings of, on the French revolution of 1848, 146.
- Leopold, prince of Saxe-Coburg, a candidate for the hand of Queen Isabella, vii. 211—her hand offered to him by the queen regent, 213.
- Leopold, grand-duke of Tuscany, liberal movement of, vii. 340.
- Leopoldstadt, capture of, by the Austrians, viii. 243.
- Lepanto, defeat of Turkish garrison of, ii. 424—captured by the Greeks, iii. 64.
- Lequeitio, captured by the Carlists, v. 197.
- Lerida, ravages of yellow fever in, ii. 237.
- Lerna, defeat of the royalists at, ii. 252.
- Lermizier, change of views by, v. 348.

Leroux, Pierre, appointed by mob to provisional government, vii. 39—returned to Assembly, 41—opposes the constitution of 1848, 60.

Lesio, captain, revolutionary movement of, at Turin, i. 370.

Leslie, captain, the artillery under, vii. 34, 60—at Hyderabad, 62.

Lesmaisons, M. Humbert de, i. 120.

Lessing, the works of, iv. 267.

Lethbridge, Sir Thomas, arguments of, for repeal of the corn laws, iii. 301.

Letters, increase of, under the new postage system, vi. 128 and note—the charge against Sir James Graham of opening, 352.

Leuchtenberg, the duke of, iv. 84—a candidate for the crown of Belgium, 129—declaration of France against, 130, 134.

Levant, the, trade of Greece in, ii. 356—recall of the French fleet from, v. 275, 390.

Levasseur, general, suppresses the revolt after the coup d'état, viii. 357.

Levis, duke de, fidelity of, to Charles X., iii. 157.

L'Homme Libre newspaper, the, 1830, v. 363.

Liancourt, the duke of, a member of the Council of Agriculture, ii. 79.

Liberals, the French, conspiracy of, i. 140—their outbreak at Grenoble, 156—efforts of, in the elections of 1815, 273—their majority, 26—their triumph in the elections of 1817, 289—their measures and views in 1817, 290—their gains by the elections of 1818, 305—their general promotion, 309—their ascendancy in 1818, 314—their increasing demands, ii. 79—their increasing strength, 80—their gains by the elections of 1819, 83—their designs in Paris, 1819, 88—their opposition to the proposed new electoral law, 89—their position in the Deputies after the fall of Decazes, 98—their efforts to seduce the army, 103—their proceedings on the new electoral law, 107—support of the Paris rioters by them, 109—their efforts to rouse conspiracy in the army, 111—their excitement, 1820, 116—their vehemence against the Richelieu ministry, 123—their views on the Spanish revolution, 212—oppose the new law regarding the press, 223—losses by elections of 1821, 229—their rejoicings on the success of the Spanish revolutionists, 253—oppose the expulsion of Manuel from the Deputies, 231—efforts of, to sow disaffection in the army, 282—losses by elections of 1824, 306—their measures to make head against the church party, iii. 99—their triumph in the elections for Paris, 1827, 100—coalition between them and the royalists against Martignac, 107—their preparations against the Polignac ministry, 112—their gains by the elections of 1830, 132—meeting of them before the insurrection, 140—proceedings of their chiefs, and formation of provisional government, 144—meeting of them at Lafayette's, 146—their decisive resolution, 147—attempts to form a ministry from them under Charles X., 151—their views during the Restoration, 159—error of the government in not arresting their leaders, 162—various ordinances issued by them, 177—

law against the Bourbons proposed by them, iv. 160—their continued efforts for the destruction of the hereditary peerage, 168—their opposition to the fortification of Paris, 359—on the failure of the revolution of 1830, 382—opposed to occupation of Algeria, v. 343—their views on the suffrage, 1839, 372—and as to the government of the executive, 373—their efforts to discredit the government, vii. 124—their violence on the Tahiti affair, 191, 192—use made of the government abuses, &c., by them, 370—coalition of, with the republicans, 1847, 372—their efforts to keep back the socialists, 374—their defeat on the address, 381—resolve on a banquet, 382—compromise agreed to, 383—difficulties regarding procession, 384—the chiefs decide against it, 385—their forces, 386.

Liberals, the, Great Britain, different objects contended for by, and in France, ii. 133—their increasing strength in the cabinet, iii. 225—measures introduced by them there, 226—Catholic emancipation urged as the remedy for Ireland by them, 273—their predictions as to its results, 358—their charge against emancipation as too late, 360—their gains by the elections of 1830, 393—their error in forcing on reform, iv. 69—their error in the uniform representation in the boroughs, 76—their mistake as to the influence predominant in the boroughs, 70—their faults in the way the reform bill was carried, 75—and in connection with it, 76—power in their hands, after the reform bill, v. 2—their conduct with regard to pledges, 12—their gains in the elections of 1833, 13—their declarations and movements on Irish church question, 67—junction of, with Catholics in Ireland against Peel, 401—their resistance to an Irish poor-law, vi. 25—distinction between them and the Whigs, 149—attack on the navigation laws by them, 1847, vii. 267—their gains by elections of 1847, 275.—See also Whigs.

Liberals, the Italian, struggle of Gregory XVI. against, vii. 337—general concourse of, at Rome, 340—declaration of Pius IX. against them, 341—counsels of Rossi to them, 347—their transports on the publication of the constitution in Naples, 349—credulity of Lord Palmerston to, 350—their excitement in the beginning of 1848, viii. 69.

Liberals, ministry from the, in Prussia, viii. 151—and in Bavaria, 152.

Liberals, the Spanish, formation of secret societies by, i. 336—arbitrary sentences pronounced on them, 337—their efforts to gain the troops in the Isle of Leon, 343—their majority in the Cortes of 1820, 354—their objects in altering the order of the succession, iv. 118.

Liberals, the Swiss, objects, &c., of, vii. 351.

Liberal Conservatives, the, new school of, vii. 220—course taken by, on the slave-sugar question, 226.

Liberal institutions, causes of the reaction against, in France, ii. 127—passion for, caused by the war of liberation in Germany, iv. 223—general expectation of

- Liberal institutions, *continued*.
 them, *ib.*—promises of them by the government, 224—delay in fulfilling these, *ib.*
 Liberal journals, the, punishment of their editors, &c., in Spain, i. 326—their circulation in France, iii. 118 note—the French, 168.
 Liberal press, prosecutions of the, under Charles X., iii. 85—denunciations of Casimir Perier by, iv. 144—tone, &c., of, in England, 1835, v. 408.
 Liberalism, spread of, among the higher classes in Great Britain, i. 267—England now the leader of, iv. 57—measures of the Germanic Diet to check, 226.
 Liberté, secret society called, iv. 373 note.
 Liberty, injury done to, by the Spanish revolution, ii. 313—the desire of, not the spring of the revolution, iii. 167—effect of the act of the Germanic confederacy on, iv. 233—effects of class government on, 382—passion for, in Prussia, viii. 139.—See also Freedom.
 Liberty of the press, the, proposed new law regarding, in France, i. 279—it is carried, 281—law regarding, 1818, 294—it is thrown out, *ib.*—new restrictions on, in France, ii. 223—law against, in France, iii. 93 *et seq.*—ordonnance suspending, 135—union for, in Germany, iv. 363.—See also Press.
 Libzeltern, count, ii. 66, 258.
 Lichnowsky, count, repulse of, at Rivoli, viii. 100.
 Lichtenstein, prince, relieves Ferrara, viii. 100—at Custozza, 101—at Valeggio, 103—defeated at Volta, 104—occupies Modena, 107—at Schwochat, 235, 236—at Temeswar, 276.
 Lichtenstein, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note.
 Liddell, Mr, opposes Mr Ricardo's motion on the navigation laws, 1847, vii. 267.
 Liege, outbreak of the revolt in, iv. 111—disorders and pillage in, 113—succours to Brussels from, 114.
 Liefkenshoek, fort of, iv. 347.
 Lieven, prince, ii. 62—at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298—convention regarding Greece arranged by, ii. 422.
 Lieven, the princess, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298.
 Life preservation bill for Ireland, introduction of the, vi. 372—passed in the Lords, *ib.*—its progress in the Commons, 373—is thrown out, 377.
 Light horse, the Turkish, former value of, ii. 338—effects of their transference to Russia, 339.
 Lighthouses, grant for, in France, 1833, iv. 360 and note.
 Lille, reform banquet at, vii. 131—railway to, 135—resistance to the new valuation in, 146, 147—Ledru-Rollin at, 375—suspension of cash payments by bank of, viii. 13—reactionary meeting at, 336.
 Limanski, general, death of, iii. 27.
 Limburg, holds out for Holland, iv. 115—cession of, demanded by Belgium, 150—proposed settlement of, 155—still held by the Belgians in defiance of the treaty, 1838, v. 354.
 Limerick, the assizes of 1822 in, ii. 194—the famine of 1823 in, 196 note—increase of, since the Union, v. 62 note—proposed reform of corporation of, vi. 20—foundation of secular college of, 347—agrarian outrages in, 1846, 374, 375 note—increase of crime in, 1847, vii. 274 and note—defensive measures of government at, 1848, 301.
 Limited liability, companies on principle of, in France, v. 346.
 Limited service, motion on introducing into the army, vii. 231—its subsequent introduction and working, 232, 272.
 Limoges, reform banquet at, vii. 131—ardour of the Radicals at, 375—disorders at, 1848, viii. 33.
 Lin, viceroys, appointment of, and his violent proceedings at Canton, vii. 10—recall of, 12.
 Linage, general, viii. 257.
 Lincoln, earl of, chief commissioner of woods and forests, 1841, vi. 280 note.
 Lincolnshire, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
 Linens, increased export of, from England, 1822, iii. 222—foreign, reduction of duties on, 1825, 260.
 Lingard, the historical works of, i. 241.
 Linois, admiral, trial and acquittal of, i. 140.
 Linseed, consumption of, in England, 1822-5, iii. 251 note.
 Lintz, death of Fouché at, i. 104.
 Lisbon, the government at, after removal of the royal family to Brazil, i. 330—revolution at, 1820, 360—establishment of joint regency at, *ib.*—junta of, moderate measures advocated by, 361—prices of wheat at, 1817 and 1819, ii. 141 note—landing of the British expedition at, iii. 309—intervention of the French fleet at, iv. 155—the archbishop of, exiled, v. 92—enthusiasm for Don Miguel in, v. 117—threatened by the French fleet, 126—capture of, by the Pedroites, 131.
 Liskeard, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
 Liston, the comedian, i. 264.
 Literary men, Napoleon's estimate of, iv. 379.
 Literary property, Lord Mahon's act for securing, vi. 302—debate on, in France, 1841, vii. 143.
 Literature, impulse given to, by the war, i. 214—brilliant eras in, which succeed times of public danger, 217—invariable characteristics of early, iv. 266—extension of the dangers of, vi. 303.
 Literature of France, effects of the revolution on the, iii. 179—its distinguishing features, *ib.*—antagonism between the opposite schools, 180—character of works of imagination, 181—the drama, its corrupt character, *ib.*—leading authors, Chateaubriand, 182—Madame de Staël, 185—Gizot, 187—Lamartine, 189—Sismondi, 190—Auguste and Amadée Thierry, 192—Michaud, 193—Barante, *ib.*—Salvandy, *ib.*—Thiers, 194—Lacretelle, 195—Capefigue, *ib.*—Michelet, 196—military histories and memoirs, *ib.*—Napoleon, 197—Jomini, 198—Mathieu Dumas, 199—General Pelet, 200—Count Segur, *ib.*—Baron Fain, 200—memoirs during the Re-

Literature of France, continued.

volution, *ib.*—Bourrienne, *ib.*—Duchesse d'Abrantes, 201—Chateaubriand and Lamartine as memoir writers, *ib.*—Cousin, 202—Lamenaïs, *ib.*—Villemain, 203—Guinegué, *ib.*—de Tocqueville, 204—Cuvier, 205—Humboldt, *ib.*—decline of poets, 206—the Abbé Deille, *ib.*—Béranger, 207—Paul Courier, *ib.*—decline of the drama, *ib.*—causes of this, 208—romance writers, *ib.*—Victor Hugo, 209—George Sand, *ib.*—Eugene Sue, 210—periodical literature, *ib.*—different class of writers in daily press in France and England, 211—causes of this, *ib.*—the stage: Talma, 212—Mademoiselle Georges, 213—Mademoiselle Mars, *ib.*—Rachel, *ib.*—Mademoiselle Blotina, 214—architecture of Paris, *ib.*—modern school of painting, 215—Le Gros, *ib.*—Vernet, *ib.*—effect of the passion for gain on, v. 348.

Literature of Germany, importance of, during early part of the century, iv. 265—it the index to general opinion, *ib.*—cause of its romantic character, 266—its dawn, *ib.*—causes of its backwardness, 267—science and learning before the middle of eighteenth century, *ib.*—Lessing and Winkelmann, *ib.*—Wieland, 268—Goethe, 269—Schiller, 271—Klopstock, 274—Oehlenschläger, *ib.*—Grillparzer, 276—Kotzebue, *ib.*—Werner, *ib.*—defects of its comedy, 277—Tieck, 278—Körner, *ib.*—Burger, 279—Freiligrath, *ib.*—Uhland, 280—Ruckhart, *ib.*—Kadwitz, 281—Kinkel, *ib.*—character of its prose, *ib.*—and causes of this, 282—Niebuhr, *ib.*—Heeren, 283—Müller, *ib.*—Von Hammer, 284—Herder, *ib.*—Schlosser, 285—Ranke, *ib.*—Schlegel, 286—The Archduke Charles, *ib.*—Clausewitz, *ib.*—Bartholdy, Varnhagen von Ense, and Stein, 287—autobiographies, *ib.*—those of Goethe, Oehlenschläger, and Andersen, 288—character of romances, *ib.*—the philosophic novelists, 289—Countess Hahn Hahn, *ib.*—Haklander, *ib.*—Andersen, 290—Jean Paul Richter, *ib.*—the philosophic school, 291—Kant, *ib.*—Fichte and Schelling, 292—F. Schlegel, *ib.*—Jacobi, *ib.*—religious character of, 293—reaction against this—rationalism, *ib.*—Strauss, *ib.*—reflections on it, 295—its general character, 296—its romantic and sentimental character, *ib.*

Literature of Great Britain, impulse given to, after the war, i. 214—causes of this, *ib.*—sketch of it: Sir Walter Scott, 217—Lord Byron, 219—Moore, 220—Campbell, 222—Rogers, 223—Southey, *ib.*—Wordsworth, 224—Coleridge and Shelley, 225—Mrs Hemans, 226—Crabbe, *ib.*—Jeanne Baillie, 227—Tennyson, *ib.*—prose writers, *ib.*—Hughes Stewart, 228—Dr Thomas Brown, *ib.*—Paley, 229—Hamilton, *ib.*—Malthus, 230—Ricardo, McCulloch, Senior, and Mill, 232—Pavy, Brunel, Telford, Rennie, Stephenson, 233—Herschel, Playfair, Disraeli, Alison, 234—Buckland, Sedgewick, Lyell, Brewster, *ib.*—the reviews and essays, 235—Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and Blackwood's Magazine, 236—Jeffrey, *ib.*—Brougham, 237—Macintosh, *ib.*—Sydney Smith, 238—Macaulay, *ib.*—Lockhart, 239

—Wilson, *ib.*—Hallam, 240—Sharon Turner and Palgrave, *ib.*—Lingard, 241—Tyler, 242—Napier, 243—Lord Mahon, 244—Macaulay's history, *ib.*—Miss Strickland, 245—Miss Martineau, *ib.*—Lord Campbell, 246—Mitford, *ib.*—Grote, 247—Thirlwall, *ib.*—Arnold, 248—Mill, *ib.*—Miss Edgeworth, *ib.*—G. P. R. James, 250—Bulwer Lytton, *ib.*—Disraeli, 251—Dickens, 252—Thackeray, 253—Miss Austen and Miss Sinclair, *ib.*—Mrs Norton, 254—Warren, *ib.*—Carlyle, *ib.*—Croly, 255—Hazlitt, *ib.*—Bentham, *ib.*—Sir J. Sinclair, 256—Chalmers, *ib.*—Monkton Milnes and Aytoun, 257—L. E. L., Warburton, &c., *ib.*—architecture, *ib.* et seq.—Lawrence, 258—Turner, 259—Fielding, Williams, Thomson, *ib.*—Grant, Pickersgill, &c., 260—Landseer, *ib.*—Wilkie, 261—Martin, *ib.*—Dauby, 262—Chantrey, *ib.*—Flaxman, *ib.*—Gibson, *ib.*—Marochetti, 263—Mrs Siddons, *ib.*—John Kemble, 264—Fanny Kemble, *ib.*—Miss O'Neill, *ib.*—Kean, 265—Helen Faucit, *ib.*

Lithuania; acquisition of, by Russia, iv. 172—originally a province of Poland, 173—demands of the Poles regarding, 183—statistics of, 190—insurrection in, and its suppression, 202—invaded by Chlapowski, 203—insurrection in, and its first successes, 207—the peasants of, take part with Russia, 1848, viii. 164.

Littler, general Sir John, at Maharajpore, vii. 69, 70—commands at Ferozepore, 81—junction with Gough, 85—at Ferozeshah, *ib.*

Littleport, occupation of, by the Ely rioters, ii. 152.

Littleton, Mr, on the tithe arrears, v. 11.

Liturgy, omission of the queen's name in the, ii. 174.

Live stock, alarm excited by new tariff on, vi. 290—foreign, proposed abolition of duty on, 363.

Liverpool, lord, arguments of, for continuance of the income tax, i. 51—speech of, on the budget, 1816, 57—arguments of, on agricultural distress, 1816, 62—against the resumption of cash payments in 1816, 65—reflections on his views, 66—for the foreign enlistment bill, 207 et seq.—on the position of the ministry in 1819, i. 144 note—speech of, in 1820, on free trade, 169—terms proposed to, regarding the queen, 174—introduces the bill of pains and penalties, 177—at the trial of the queen, *ib.* withdraws the bill against the queen, 179—firmness of, after the acquittal of the queen, 180—early connection of Canning with, 214 note—on the Spanish war, 286—in favour of the bills for enfranchising the English Catholics, iii. 279—arguments of, for suppression of small notes, 288—illness and retirement of, 312—his character, and its adaptation to the times, *ib.*—the death of, 318—his views on the corn laws adopted by Peel, vi. 374.

Liverpool, insurrection planned in, i. 164—statistics of church accommodation in, 181 note—imports into, 1817, &c., 194—Radical meeting at, 1819, ii. 151—rejoicings in, on the acquittal of the queen, 179—Canning's speeches at, 215 note—influence of the

Liverpool, *continued*.

merchants, &c., of, with Canning, 257—speculation in, 1825, iii. 291—petition for government assistance from, 1826, 296—election of 1830 for, 393—funeral of Huskisson at, 395—the elections of 1831 for, iv. 34—reform meeting at, 41—violent reform meeting at, 50—ratio of infant mortality in, 304—ravages of cholera in, v. 5—the elections for 1833 in, 14—importance of the slave trade to, 39—elections of 1835 in, 409—provisions of the municipal reform bill regarding, vi. 4—anti-corn-law association formed at, 84—annual increase of, 341—Irish immigration into, during the famine, vii. 246—discount in, during panic of 1847, 262—large infant mortality in, 268—failure of banks in, 1847, 277—reception of deputation from, on bank charter act, 1847, *ib.*—the bankruptcies in, during 1847, 285—vast influx of destitute Irish into, and its effects, 287—high rate of infant mortality in, 813.

Livonia, enfranchisement of the serfs of, ii. 34—the acquisition of, by Russia, 348.

Lizazo, combat at, v. 173.

Llauder, captain-general of Catalonia, flight of, v. 188.

Lloyd, major, at Meanee, vii. 57, 58.

Loans, amount of, 1817, i. 167—1819, 200—amount of, to South America, and losses by them, 212—difficulty of, in France in 1817, 284—the French, for 1818, 296—continental, and their results in 1817 and 1818, ii. 142—the Spanish, 1822, contracted in London, 241—extent of, to South America and Spain, 256—Russian, 1823, iii. 23—proposed, in France, 1831, iv. 138—French, 1832, v. 341—France, 1833, 361—rates of interest on, during the war, v. 402—East Indian, 1824, 1825, vi. 200—British, 1841, 287—1847, vii. 259—French, 1841, 120—1840, 136—1847, 365—1848, viii. 41, 63.

Loan offices, establishment of, in France, viii. 14.

Lobau, count, iii. 140, 145 notes—signs dethronement of the king, 152—at the Hotel de Ville, iv. 89—opposed to the Duke of Orleans, 93—reception of, in Prussia as ambassador from Louis Philippe, 102.

Local purposes act for Ireland, expenditure under the, vii. 246 note.

Locard, M., arrest of Ney by, i. 127.

Loch, captain, defeat of, in Burnah, vii. 111.

Loek Hospital, Dublin, grant to the, iii. 267 note.

Lockhart, J. G., as editor of the *Quarterly*, &c., i. 239.

Logotheti, operations of, off Chios, ii. 384.

Logrono, captured by the Christians, v. 149.

Lointiers', meeting of the republicans at, iv. 88—efforts of the republicans at, against Louis Philippe, 98.

Loire, army of the, in 1815, i. 95—its submission, *ib.*—disbanded, *ib.*

Loire-Inferieure, department of, declared in state of siege, iv. 326.

Lola Montes, expulsion of, from Bavaria, viii. 149, 152.

Lombart, M., a partisan of Louis Napoleon's, v. 322.

Lombardy, the revolt of, in 1848, i. 10—its suppression, 11—revolutionary excitement in, 1830, iv. 118—feeling in, on the war, viii. 73—insurrection in Milan, and expulsion of the Austrians, *ib.* *et seq.*—crown of, refused by Charles Albert, 92—conditions of armistice regarding, 120—its separation had been agreed to by Austria, 132.

London, the bishop of, iii. 311—votes for the reform bill, iv. 51—at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330.

London, mercantile losses in, on the peace, i. 45—the Common Council of, their address in 1816, 71—statistics of church accommodation in, 181 note—petition from, against the resumption of cash payments, 190—recent architectural embellishments of, 267—Common Council of, petition of the, on the Manchester massacre, ii. 151—free trade petition from the merchants of, 168—enthusiastic reception of the queen in, 176—rejoicings in, on the acquittal of the queen, 179—newspapers published in, 1782, 1790, and 1821, 190 note—Spanish loan contracted in, 1822, 241—proportion of natural children in, iii. 169—wages in, compared with Paris, 176—Chateaubriand's residence in, 182—merchants of, their petition in favour of free trade, 237 *et seq.*—joint-stock companies for improvements in, 1825, 253 note—alleged over-speculation in, 1825, 291—election of 1830 for, 394—influence of the railway system on the markets of, 396—and undue influence given to it, 397—postponement of the king's visit to, 402—consternation caused by it, 403—Brougham's speech on it, *ib.*—additional members for, iv. 20—the merchants' and bankers' petition against the reform bill, 28—illumination in, on dissolution of parliament, 1831, 33—riots in, *ib.*—the elections of 1831 for, 34—illumination in, on the passing of the reform bill, 38—disorders in, on the rejection of the bill by the Peers, 41—ratio of infant mortality in, 304—Polish committee at, 362—attack on the Duke of Wellington in, v. 1—deaths from cholera in, 5—introduction of system of delegation in, 13—the elections for 1833 in, *ib.*—Radical agitation in, 1833, 32—fresh protocol regarding Belgium signed at, 356—the elections of 1835 in, 408—exemption of, from municipal reform bill, vi. 4—banquet to Mr Hume and Mr Byng in, 1836, 81—anti-corn-law association formed at, 84—the coronation of Queen Victoria in, 119—the elections of 1841 for, 147—and Eastern Bank, the, 171 note—rates of mortality in, 1841, 283 note—defencelessness of, from invasion, 1841, 284—reception of the proposed income tax in, 297—fall in butcher-meat on the new tariff, 1842, 299—visit of the Emperor Nicholas to, 334—annual increase of population in, 341—Lord John Russell's letter to electors of, on the corn laws, 359 *et seq.*—state of, during panic of 1847, discount in, &c., vii. 262—disturbances in, 1848, 298—the Chartist movement of the 10th April, *ib.* *et seq.*—renewed agitation of the Chartists in, 300—arrest, &c., of the leaders, *ib.*—high rate

London, *continued*.

of mortality in, 813—conference at, on the Schleswig question, viii. 160—the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, 328 *et seq.*

London bankers, pressure on the, and its causes, 1825, iii. 291—meeting and resolution of the, 1847, vii. 277 and note.

London Bridge, the architecture of, i. 257.

London congress, the, their right course regarding Holland and Belgium, iv. 149—declaration of, regarding Luxembourg, 151—further negotiations, and deviation from the act of separation, 152, 153—resolution of, regarding intervention in Belgium, 154—final arrangements proposed, 155—its practical breaking up, 343.

London merchants, resolutions of the, on the crash of 1825, iii. 263.

London press, hostility of, to the Melbourne ministry, v. 79.

London University, motion on, 1835, v. 415.

London and Birmingham Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note.

London and North-Western Railway, fall in shares of, 1846-52, vii. 289 note.

London and South-Western Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note.

Londonderry, Castlereagh becomes marquess of, ii. 189.—See Castlereagh.

Londonderry, the marquess of, at the Congress of Verona, ii. 258—attack on, by the London mob, iv. 41, v. 171—debate on his appointment as ambassador to St Petersburg, 413—he resigns the appointment, 414—opposes the limited service system, vii. 272—representations by, on bank charter act, 1847, 277—efforts of, on behalf of Abdel-Kader, 188—at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330 and note.

Londonderry, speech of Mr Dawson at, iii. 340.

Longa, general, exiled from Madrid, ii. 249.

Longevity, cases of, among negroes, v. 39.

Longford, effects of the coercion act in, v. 22 note.

Lonsdale, earl of, president of council, 1852, viii. 322 note.

Loodiana, escape of Shah Soojah to, vi. 216—preparations, &c., of Hardinge at, vii. 80.

Lope, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Lopez de Vega, the comedies of, iv. 277.

Lopez, a Carlist leader, v. 168.

Lopez, general, defeated by Gomez, v. 201.

Lopez-Ballasteros, Don Luis, minister of finance, ii. 300 note.

Lopez-Baños, general, defeat of Quesada by, ii. 245, 251—becomes minister-at-war, 249—pillage of Seville by, 202.

Lord, Dr, death of, vi. 244.

Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, trials for attack on the, 1823, iii. 275.

Lord Mayor, the, at the Spanish Riots, i. 72.

Lords, the House of, trial of the queen before, ii. 177—motion on Catholic emancipation thrown out by, 183—proposed admission of Catholics to, 196—increase of appeal cases to, iii. 280 note—rejection of Catholic bill of 1825 by, 285—majority in, for suppression of small notes, 292—hostility in, to the Canning ministry, 315—rejection of new corn bill in, 1827, 319—debate on repeal of test act, 384—discussion on Catholic bill, 352—majority for it, *ib.*—debate on

the national distress in, 1830, 376 *et seq.*—scene in, on the proposed dissolution, 1831, iv. 82—efforts to intimidate, on the reform bill, 88—Earl Grey's speech, 89—bill thrown out, 40—creation of, resolved on by the cabinet, 49—and at last agreed to by the king, *ib.*—secret negotiations with the waverers, 50—revolutionary meetings to coerce them, *ib.*—majority for second reading, 51—and for Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, *ib.*—ministers demand authority for creation of them, *ib.*—permission given for creation of, 54—the Opposition withdrawn till the bill is passed, *ib.*—passing of it, 55—position of House of, under the old constitution of England, 59—the threat of the liberals to swamp, 75—danger of coercing them, *ib.*—prudence of the withdrawal of the opposition ones, 76—character of the debates in, 160—passing of the Irish coercion bill in, v. 21—opposition in, to Irish church bill, 25—address voted by, on the repeal of the Union, 62—debate on the Irish church in, 66—parting address of Lord Grey as minister in, 69—proceedings in, on the modified coercion bill, 71—throw out the tithe bill, 72—amendment to new poor-law in, 76—debate on Lord Londonderry's appointment, 414—effect of Peel's administration with regard to, 422—Lord Melbourne's announcement of his principles of government in, vi. 1—modifications of the corporate reform bill in, 8—rejection of the appropriation clause by, 10—crusade of O'Connell against, 12—feeling against, among the working classes, 18—additions by the Whigs to, and liberal majority thus obtained by them, 14—creations of, since 1830, *ib.*—modifications of the Irish corporation bill by, 22—again throw out the Irish church bill, 23—danger from collision with the Commons, *ib.*—increased agitation against them, *ib.*—postpone the Irish corporations bill, 1837, 32—vote of, on Lord Normanby's Irish administration, 37—compromise between, and the Commons on the appropriation clause, &c., *ib.*—again modify the Irish municipal bill, 1838, 38—finally pass it, 39—Lord Melbourne's statement of his resignation, 1839, 116—modification of the Jamaica bill by, 119—final defeat of the Melbourne ministry in, 149—majority in, for the sliding scale, 293—reversal of O'Connell's sentence by, 309—passing of the bank charter act in, 331—vote of, on the enlarged grant to Maynooth, 347—division in, on the repeal of the corn laws, 370—Wellington's declaration in, *ib.*—the life preservation bill for Ireland introduced into, 373—division in, on the slave-sugar question, vii. 227—discussion on the Irish famine in, 242—division on Mr Fielden's factory bill, 269—report of committees of, on bank charter act, 284.—See Parliament.

Lords, House of, in Hungary, viii. 143.

Lorenzo, a Christino leader, treacherous seizure of Santos-Ladron by, v. 142—captures Logrono, 149—further operations, 152—defeated at Gulina, 155—forces and position, 166—relieves Maestu, 171—defeated on the Ega, 172—defeated at Retuerta, 220.

Lorraine, cession of, demanded by Austria, i. 108.
 Lorrenzini, the club, i. 356—closed, *ib.*
 Los Arcos, captured by the Carlists, v. 172.
 Lostwithiel, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
 Loughlin, arrears of tithes in diocese of, v. 8.
 Louis XIV., literature of France under, *iii.* 179.
 Louis XVI., prohibition of services commemorating death of, *iv.* 144.
 Louis XVIII., hazards and difficulties of his position, i. 2—difficulties of, on his second restoration, 85—his difficulties in the choice of his ministers, 86—his first ministry, *ib.*—on the admission of Fouché into the ministry, 87—his proclamation from Cambray, *ib.*—his entry into Paris, 88—his difficulties from the violence of the royalists, 89—changes the mode of election by a royal ordinance, 90—division between him and his brother, &c., regarding it, 91—opposed to the removal of the censorship, 92—ordinance regarding the Chamber of Peers, 93—and making the peerage hereditary, 94—opposed to the hereditary peerage, *ib.*—feeling of, on the royalist massacres, 101—efforts of, against them, 102—dismissal of Talleyrand, &c., *by*, 104—ministry of the Duke de Richelieu, 105—speech of, at the opening of the Chambers, 116—difficulties with regard to the oath of fidelity, 117—efforts of, for the escape of the proscribed Napoleonists, 123—efforts on behalf of Labedoyère with, 125—Ney's death determined on, 129—conduct of, with regard to the death of Ney, 130—his answer to applications on behalf of Lavalette, 132—general amnesty proclaimed by, 140—opposition of the Chamber to it, 141—the conspiracy of Didier against, 150—conspiracy in Paris, &c., 151—a coup d'état recommended to him, 152—views of, regarding the charter, 153—issues the ordinance of 5th September 1816, 154—its effects, 155—indignation of, at Chateaubriand, *ib.*—changes in the law made by royal ordinance under him, 156—the reaction of 1815 forced upon him, 157—views of, in 1816, 273—measures of, to relieve the distress of 1816, 274—his speech on opening the Chamber, *ib.*—efforts of, on behalf of the new law of elections, 278—feeling of, regarding the law of bequests to the clergy, 285—restoration of the Orleans estates by, 290—anxiety of, for the withdrawal of the allied troops, 296—instructions of, to Richelieu, regarding the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—visit of the Emperor Alexander to, 304—views of, as to the ministry in 1818, 306—new ministry, 307—views and feelings of, in 1818, 309—feeling of, with regard to the electoral law, 311—large creation of peers by, 314—visits of, to the Louvre exhibition in 1819, *ii.* 83—feelings of, on the elections of 1819, and conversation with the Count d'Artois on it, 86—speech of, on opening the session of 1819, 87—at the death-bed of the Duke de Berri, 83—supports Decazes after the murder of the Duke de Berri, 94—but at last dismisses him, 95—inclination of, for Platonic attachments, 96—the Countess du Cayla, *ib.*—her first interview with

him, 97—at the funeral of the Duke de Berri, 98—at the birth of the Duke de Bordeaux, 118—new organisation of his household, 116—circular by, to the electors, 1820, 118—his alarm at the result of the elections, 119—speech of, on opening the session of 1820, and answer of the Chamber, 120—speech of, and reply, session 1821, 124—resignation of the Richelieu ministry, *ib.*—the Villèle ministry, *ib.*—his failing health, 125—danger to, from the Spanish revolution, 254—views of, regarding the Spanish intervention, 259—views of, on the results of the Congress of Verona, 264—interview with Wellington on the Spanish question, 265—his anxieties on it, *ib.*—supports Villèle on the Spanish question, 266—speech of, at the opening of the Chambers, 1823, 268—reception of d'Angoulême by, on his return from Spain, 302—speech of, on opening the Chambers in 1824, 307—failing powers of, 310—his declining days, 311—his conversational powers, *ib.*—his last religious impressions, 312—his death, *ib.*—and character, *ib.*—his private qualities and weaknesses, 313—personal economy of, *iii.* 77—his regulations regarding the army, and their result, 163—various ordonnances issued by, 177—repeated degradations of the peerage under, *iv.* 168.
 Louis, the archduke, *viii.* 200, 201.
 Louis, baron, minister of finance in 1815, i. 87—first operations of, as finance minister in 1815, 97—retires with Talleyrand, 105—becomes finance minister in 1818, 308—views of, on the electoral law, *ii.* 86—dismissed from the ministry, *ib.*—returned for Paris in 1827, *iii.* 100—140 note—finance minister under Louis Philippe, *iv.* 99, 143—tenders his resignation, 148.
 Louis Bois, cholera at, *iv.* 317 note.
 Louis Napoleon, restoration of military despotism in France by, i. 11—the coup d'état of, *iii.* 162—established by universal suffrage, 166—heads the Napoleonists, v. 314—early life of, 318—preparations for attempt at Strasburg, 319—breaking out of the conspiracy, 320—its first success, *ib.*—and ultimate failure, 321—conduct of the government toward him, and his banishment to America, 322—return of, to Europe, compelled to leave Switzerland, and returns to England, 352—his *Idées Napoléoniennes*, 366—expedition of, to Boulogne, 380—failure of the enterprise, 381—his trial, and sentence of imprisonment, 382—his life in prison, and its beneficial results, *ib.*—enrolment of, as a special constable, 1848, *vii.* 297—liberation of Abd-el-Kader by, 188—escape of, from prison of Ham, 205 *et seq.*—his expedition organised in Switzerland, 352—commencement of agitation in favour of, *viii.* 40—elected to the Assembly, *ib.*—chances of, for the presidency, 69—election of, to the Assembly, and his speech, 61—contest for the presidency, 62—his address to electors, 64—his election, 66—ministry appointed, 67—financial measures, *ib.*—resolves on intervention at Rome, 127—feeling of the Assembly toward, 331—formation of army of the Alps, *ib.*—changes of ministry, 332—conspiracy of 29th Jan. against

Louis Napoleon, continued.

him, 337 *et seq.*—difficulties of his position, 338—insurrection of June and its suppression, 339—entire change of his ministers, 341—his first measures as an independent magistrate, 342—meeting with the electors of Paris, 343—effect of the new law of elections on him, 344—hostility of the Assembly, 345—his tour in the provinces, *ib.*—coalition in Assembly against him, 346—rupture with Changarnier, 347—opening of new session, *ib.*—commencement of rupture with Assembly, 348—new ministry, &c., *ib.*—vote against him, 349—ministry again changed, 350—on the revision of the constitution, 351—views on the electoral law, 352—new ministry, *ib.*—opening of session, *ib.*—motion of questions against him, *ib.*—meeting of generals in his favour, 354—conspiracy in Assembly, *ib.*—preparations for coup d'état, *ib.*—proclamation, 355—dispersion of Assembly, 356—majority over France for him, 357.

Louis Philippe—see, before his accession. Orleans, duke of—difficulties of the position of, i. 8—causes of his fall, 9—the choice and overthrow of, in France, *ib.* 158—the royal speech on, 399—animosity of the working classes against government of, *ib.* 82—strength given to his government by the support of the bourgeoisie, 83—danger to which it at last exposed him, *ib.*—offers the foreign ministry to Chateaubriand, 97—conversation between them, *ib.* note—acceptance of the crown by him, 98—speeches on his acceptance of the constitution, *ib.*—appointments of ministers, 99—recognition of him by the English government, 101—reception of his accession on the Continent *ib.*—recognised by Austria, 102—and by Prussia, *ib.*—his character, and opposite views of it, 103—his career, and its influence on him, 104—difficulties with which he had to contend, *ib.*—dissensions in the council, and violence of National Guard deputation, 105—danger from Lafayette to, and his efforts to counteract the influence of the latter, 106—secretly favours the attempt to revolutionise Spain, 108—distrust excited in the European powers toward, 120—views of, as to the ex-ministers of Charles X., 121—his alarm on the emeute of 18th October, 122—his efforts to save them, and dissolution of the ministry, 123—changes in ministry, 123—declines the crown of Belgium for his son, 130—general discontent under, 137—dismissal of Lafitte, 143—change in electoral law, 144—proscription of the Bourbons, and his ingratitude, *ib.*—efforts of, to conciliate the electors, 146—his progresses into Normandy and Champagne, *ib.*—his speech on opening the Chambers, 147—attacks on, in the Portuguese press, and intervention in consequence, 155—debate on settlement on, 160—increase of power of, by abolition of hereditary peerage, 302—social dangers to which exposed, *ib.*—address of the deputies to, on the Lyons insurrection, 310—private fortune and civil list of, 311—extravagance of the latter, *ib.*—conduct of, during the cholera, 319—

Louis Philippe, continued.

orders of, regarding the Duchess de Berri, 323—conspiracy of the democratic opposition against, 329—preparations of the government, 330, 331—resolution shown by, during the revolt of 1832, 333—conduct of, during the revolt of St Meri, 337—deputation from the Chamber to him, *ib.*—his answer, *ib.*—compelled to dissolve the courts-martial, 339—arbitrary imprisonments, and war with the press, 340—increased consideration from suppression of the revolt, *ib.*—marriage of his daughter to Leopold of Belgium, 341—changes in ministry, and creation of peers, *ib.*—vindication of the ordinances of Charles X. under, 350—results of his double victory over the royalists and republicans, 351—force and corruption the principle of his government, 352—way in which this was worked out, *ib.*—its danger in the end, 353—changes in ministry and creation of peers, 355—hostility of the secret societies to, 356—effect of the death of the duke of Reichstadt, *ib.*—opening of the Chambers, his speech, and attempt at his assassination, 357—journeys to Normandy and Calais, and answers to addresses, 361—discussion on, at congress of Muntz-Graetz, 365—opening of the Chambers, 1834, and his speech, 368—changes made in the cabinet, 372—results of his devotion to the throne, 381—recognition of the Queen of Spain by, v. 109, 110—hostile proceedings of, against Don Miguel, 126—reasons against Turkey's applying for aid to, 252—views of, in supporting Mehmet Ali, 261—views, &c., of, on the treaty of the allies for settlement of Turkey, 271—views of, on the bombardment of Beyrout, 274—conference with Guizot, and its results, *ib.*—repeated triumphs of, over the republicans, 283—his speech on opening the Chambers, 1834, *ib.*—opposes an amnesty, 284, 285—views of, on government of Algeria, 284 note—contest of, with the Chamber, 287—resignation of Mortier, and sends for de Broglie, *ib.*—his views as to the choice of his ministers, 288—ordonnances of, constituting the Peers a court for political trials, 290—ordonnance regarding selection of counsel by the accused, 291—at the fête of July, in 1835, and conspiracy to murder him, 296—explosion of the infernal machine, 297—coolness of, on the occasion, *ib.*—his after feelings, 298—improved position of, 1836, 303—alienation of, from Broglie, 305—opposed to reduction of debt, and resignation of the ministry, 307—new ministry, Thiers premier, *ib.*—Alibaud's attempt to assassinate, 313—announcement of his seclusion in his palace, *ib.*—views of, on the Spanish question, resignation of Thiers, and accession of Mole, 316—liberation of Prince Polignac, &c., 317—the conspiracy of Louis Napoleon against, 319—sentence on Louis Napoleon, 322—modifications of the ministry, 325—marriage of the Duke of Orleans, 326—general amnesty, 327—attempt on his life by Meunier, &c., *ib.*—inauguration of Versailles as list of the arts, *ib.*—dissolves the Chamber, 328—views of, on Al-

Louis Philippe, *continued*.

geria, 335—firmness of, on the disaster before Constantine, 337—necessary rigour of his government, 342—Influence of the successes in Algeria on, 343—fresh creation of peers, *ib.*—opening of Chambers, 1837, 345—visit of, to the dying Talleyrand, 351—the conspiracy of Hubert, 352—attempts to form a liberal ministry after Molé's resignation, and conditions demanded, 359—commutation of sentences of Barbès and Blanqui, 364—increased strength of government, 366—death of his daughter the Princess Marie, 372—fresh creation of peers, *ib.*—speech of, on opening the Chambers, 1840, 373—his answer to the address, 375—marriage of the Duke de Nemours, *ib.*—dotation to him drawn out by Deputies, 376—Thiers's second ministry, *ib.*—at the inauguration of the pillar on the Place of the Bastille, 380—attempts of Darmès to assassinate, 382—at the reinterment of Napoleon, 388—measures resolved on, on the Eastern crisis, 387—views of, as to the fortifications of Paris, *ib.*—communications from Guizot on the Eastern question, 388—conference with Guizot at the Chateau d'Eu, 389—pacific views of, *ib.*—resignation of Thiers, 390—new ministry, 391—speech on opening the Chamber, 392—visit of, to England, vi. 333—connection of the monetary crisis in England with the fall of, vii. 303—position of, 1841, 117—Louis Blanc's character of, 125—principles of the government of, 127—at review of National Guard of Paris, 1840, 130—publication of letters ascribed to, 140—extracts from them, *ib.* note—prosecutions for their publication, 141—ambiguity as to their genuineness, 142—declaration of, against reform, 149—at the death-bed of the Duc d'Orleans, 155—danger of, from the state of the Chambers, 164—and from the demoralisation of the National Guard, 165—change in external policy during latter years of his reign, 190—his pacific views on the Tahiti affair, *ib.*—Lecomte's attempt to assassinate, 205—proposals from Queen Christina for double marriage, 210—further conferences on the subject, 211—visit of Queen Victoria to, at the Chateau d'Eu, and of his to Windsor, and conferences on the Spanish marriages, *ib.*—subsequent negotiations, &c., regarding them, 213 *et seq.*—the double marriage arranged, 215—holograph letter from Queen Victoria to, 216—his breach of faith in them, 218—policy of, in Portugal, 336—causes of the conservative policy of, 361—increasing obstinacy, &c., of, 362—the Prince de Joinville on him, 363—views of, on the crisis of 1847, *ib.*—discontent of the National Guard with, 371—last speech to deputies, 376—last budget, 381—determination of, against reform, 388—death of his sister, *ib.*—opposes the compromise regarding the banquet, 384—resignation of Guizot, 389—his indecision, and sends for Thiers, 391—Odillon Barrot premier, 394—his last council, *ib.*—forced to abdicate, 395—his flight, 396—escape of, to England, 402—causes of his fall, *ib.*—hostility of his government

to the church, viii. 10—finances at date of his fall, 16 note.

Louisa Fernanda, the Infanta, marriage of the Duke de Montpensier to, vii. 210, 216.

Louisa Maria, queen of Charles IV., death of, i. 342.

Louisa Marie, the princess, marriage of, to Leopold of Belgium, iv. 341.

Louisiana, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.

Louisville, insurrection at, 1834, iv. 376.

Louie Bourgas, advance of the Russians to, iii. 61.

Louvain, defeat of the Belgians at, iv. 153.

Louvel, career and character of, ii. 90—assassinates the Duke de Berri, 91—his capture, 92—Decazes charged as the accomplice of, 94—trial and execution of, 99.

Louvel, secret society called, iv. 378.

Louvre, the, at Paris, iii. 214—breaking up of the museum of, i. 96—the exhibition of industry, &c., in, ii. 83.

Loveday, lieutenant, at capture of Khelat; vi. 289—murder of, by the Beloochees, 242.

Loverdi, general, operations of, against Riego, ii. 296.

Loverdo, general, at Sidi-Feruch, iii. 128.

Lowe, Sir Hudson, character of, and his conduct at St Helena, ii. 130.

Lower Canada, discontent in, vi. 16—demands of the Opposition in, 17—violent proceedings of the Assembly of, 1836, 30—different temper of, from Upper, 89—approach of the contest in, 90—commencement of the insurrection, *ib.*—defeats of the insurgents, 91—effect of these successes, *ib.*—insurrection again breaks out in, 101—its suppression, *ib.*—and Upper, union of, 104—government lands of, 124—stationary condition of French population of, 323—See also Canada.

Lowicz, the princess, wife of the Grand-duke Constantine, ii. 57—escape of, on the insurrection, iv. 178.

Lowinski, attempt of, in Lithuania, iv. 202.

Lowth, effects of the coercion act in, v. 22 note—proclaimed in 1848, vii. 301.

Lowther, lord, treasurer of the navy, 1835, v. 407 note—postmaster-general, 1841, vi. 280 note.

"Loyalists," the, in Lower Canada, vi. 89.

Lozère, André de la, one of the presidents of colleges, i. 154.

Lubartow, success of the Poles at, iv. 203.

Lubeck, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—progress of, since the peace, 220—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1843, viii. 181.

Lubecki, prince, iv. 179—negotiations of, with Nicholas, 183.

Lubienski, general, forces under, iv. 197—successes of, in pursuit of the Russians, 199—at Ostrolenka, 204—detached from Warsaw to Plock, 210.

Lubis, trial of, for the forgery of the Louis Philippe letters, vii. 142.

Lucan, lieutenant, viii. 326 note.

Lucca, states of, assigned to Queen of Etruria, ii. 840—revolution at, and its annexation to Tuscany, vii. 346.

Lucchese-Palli, Count Hector, secret marriage of the Duchess de Berri to, iv. 328.
 Lucena, combat at, v. 226.
 Lucerne, changes in constitution of, 1830, iv. 117—protest by, against the suppression of the convents, vii. 353—attack on it by the Free Bands, *ib.*—a member of the Sunderbund, 354—defeat of the Sunderbund before, and its surrender, 359.
 Luders, general, intervenes in Hungary, viii. 250—movements assigned to, 262—successes of, against Bem, 272, 273.
 Ludgershall, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
 Ludlam, a Radical, execution of, i. 165.
 Ludowicki, chief of police at Warsaw, death of, iv. 173.
 Ludre, M., on the law against associations, iv. 370—heads the committee of the secret societies, 373.
 Lumbres, the Cagist Junta at, v. 152.
 Luneville, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146.
 Lushington, captain, at Tezeen, vii. 41.
 Lushington, Dr, called on to resign his seat, v. 32—arranges treaty regarding right of search for slaves, vii. 196.
 Luxembourg, the duke de, commander of the guard, iii. 155—fidelity of, 167.
 Luxembourg, the, execution of Ney at, i. 130—meeting of the peers at, after the fall of Charles X., iv. 88—trial of the ex-ministers of Charles X. in, 123.
 Luxembourg, duchy and fortress of, holds out for Holland, iv. 115—annexed to Holland, 131—views of the Belgians on, and their abandonment, 134—cession of, demanded by Belgium, 150—change in language of France and England regarding, 151—proposed settlement of question regarding, 155—provision of the Diet regarding, 218—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—resolution of Congress of Muntz-Graetz regarding, 365—still held by the Belgians in defiance of the treaty, 1838, v. 854—statistics of, viii. 140 note.
 Luxembourg Commission, formation of the, viii. 8.
 Luzzy, mademoiselle de, connection of, with the Præslin case, vii. 369.
 Luzzo, Prince Michael, ii. 369.
 Lycurgus, governor of Samos, preparations of, for defence, ii. 406.
 Lyell, Sir Charles, i. 234.
 Lyne Regis, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
 Lymington, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
 Lynch law, organised society for administering, in Spain, i. 359.

Lyndhurst, lord, at the trial of the queen, ii. 177—becomes lord chancellor, iii. 314, 323 note—speech of, against the reform bill, iv. 40—amendment on it, 51—advises Wellington as the head of the ministry on Grey's resignation, *ib.*—proposed as chancellor, *ib.*—becomes lord chancellor, v. 80—again lord chancellor, 407 note—motions by, on the corporate reform bill, vi. 8—arguments of, against Irish corporation bill, 20—motion by, 1838, on Irish municipal bill, 89—lord chancellor under Peel, 279—adheres to O'Connell's sentence, 309.
 Lyons, Sir Edmund, English ambassador to Greece, vii. 334.
 Lyons, conspiracy at, in 1816, i. 151—grain riots in, during 1817, 281—prosperous condition of, 1824, iii. 76—reception of Lafayette at, 112—legitimate and illegitimate children in, 170 note—prosperity of the silk manufacturers of, iv. 81—the revolution of 1830 in, 100—depressed state of the silk weavers of, 1831, 303—condition of the working classes and commencement of the insurrection, 305—measures of the governor, &c., for fixing tariff of wages, 306—progress of the strife between the masters and workmen, *ib.*—the insurrection, 307—its spread and success, *ib.*—insurgents joined by National Guard, and make the prefect prisoner, *ib.*—desperate strife in the streets, 308—measures of government against the insurrection, *ib.*—its state after the revolt, 309—arrival of Soult, &c., and submission of the city, *ib.*—a second insurrection resolved on at, 374—its causes, *ib.*—commences with the trial of the leaders of the strike, 375—desperate struggle, and victory of the troops, *ib.*—reform banquet at, 1840, vii. 131—damage by inundation in, 1841, 140—republicans in, 386—unemployed workmen in, 1848, viii. 11—suspension of cash payments by bank of, 13—disorders at, 1848, 22—its state, *ib.*—insurrection at, May 18, 40—revolt in, June 1849, and its suppression, 340—Louis Napoleon at, 345.
 Lysagora, commencement of the Gallician insurrection at, vii. 200.
 Lyttleton, Mr, proposed as Speaker, 1833, v. 14—statement of, regarding Irish tithe bill, 67—secret negotiation of, with O'Connell, 69—resigns, *ib.*—motion by, on Irish tithe bill, 72—arguments of, for poor-law amendment act, 74 *et seq.*—becomes Lord Hatherton, vi. 2.
 Lytton, Sir E. B., the novels, &c., of, i. 250—arguments against free trade, viii. 298 *et seq.*

M

Maberly, landing of the Duchess de Berri at, iv. 322.
 Macanay, M. de, imprisonment of, in Spain, i. 336.
 Macartney, lord, his estimate of the population of China, vii. 2.
 Macaulay, T. B., the works of, i. 238, 244—arguments of, in favour of the reform bill,

iv. 17—violent speech of, against the Wellington ministry, 58—on the rigour of revolutionary governments, v. 842—efforts of, against the copyright act, vi. 303—paymaster-general, 1840, vii. 221 note—on education and crime, 274 note—72.
 Macbean, general, operations of, in Burmah, vi. 185—defeat of the Burmese by, *ib.*

- M'Caskill, brigadier, afterwards Sir John, at the Hutt-Kotul, vii. 41—expedition to Ishtaliff under, 44—at Moodkee, 84—death of, there, *ib.*
- Macclesfield, the silk manufactures of, iii. 242—strike at, and rioting, 1829, 874—member given to, *iv.* 21 note—rates of mortality in, 1841, vi. 283 note.
- M'Culloch, Mr, the works of, i. 238—views of, on emigration, iii. 298.
- Macdonald, marshal, supports Fouché, i. 86—reorganisation of the army under, 96.
- Macdonald, general, preparations of, against the Irish rebels, vii. 301.
- Macdonnell, Sir James, dispersion of Canadian insurgents by, vi. 101.
- Macedonia, aspect of, ii. 328—spread of the insurrection to, 368—insurrection in, and its suppression, 388.
- Macerone, colonel, aide-de-camp to Murat, i. 185, 186.
- Macgillivray, Mrs, grandmother of Sir James Mackintosh, i. 185.
- M'Grath, Mr, a Chartist leader on the 10th April, vii. 298.
- M'Gregor, captain, resident at Jellalabad, vi. 251—decides on disobeying the summons to Cabul, 254—at Jellalabad, vii. 25, 26.
- M'Gregor, Sir Gregor, seizure of Portobello by, i. 207.
- M'Hale, Dr, his letter to the Duke of Wellington, v. 79.
- Machinery, exportation of, repeal of laws against, iii. 244—alleged influence of, on the distress of 1830, 376—effects of, on the struggle between labour and capital, *iv.* 82—advantages given British manufactures by, vii. 324.
- Machynicki, a Pole, transported to Siberia, ii. 46.
- Mackenzie, the novels of, i. 249.
- Mackenzie, captain, compelled to abandon stores, &c., vi. 261—escape of, on the murder of Macnaghten, 261—one of the Afghan captives, vii. 46.
- Mackenzie, Lieut. Murray, pursuit of Dost Mahommed by, vi. 239—defeats him, 243.
- Mackenzie, W. L., the leader of the Canadian insurrection, vi. 92—advances to Toronto, 93—his flight, *ib.*
- Mackintosh, Sir James, efforts of, against the seditious meetings act, i. 165—on the relaxation of the criminal code, 188—sketch of the career of, 185—his character as a statesman and writer, 186—as a parliamentary speaker, 187—arguments of, for criminal law reform, 200 *et seq.*—his motion carried, 204—as an essayist, 237—on Grattan, *ii.* 162—motion by, on the Congress of Laybach, 181—efforts of, for reforming the criminal law, 182—motion by, 1832, on the criminal law, 198—defence of the Catholic Association by, iii. 283—eulogium on Canning by, 329—supports the bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, 854—the views of, on criminal law adopted by Peel, vi. 275.
- M'Intosh, captain, death of, at Beh-Meru, vi. 258.
- M'Kinnon, colonel, defeat of, by the Caffres, vii. 312.
- Mackrell, colonel, storming of the Rickabashee fort by, vi. 253—mortally wounded, 254.
- M'Laren, colonel, operations under, at Candahar, vii. 81—at Maharajpore, 70—death of, at Sobraon, 94.
- M'Laren, major, garrison of Ghuznee under, vi. 238.
- M'Leod, Mr, arrest and trial of, in the United States, vi. 317.
- Macmahon, general, subjugation of the Kabyles by, vii. 188.
- M'Manus, an Irish leader, trial of, vii. 302, 303 note.
- M'Murdo, Mr, wounded at Meanee, vii. 68.
- M'Nab, Sir Allan, measures of, for defence of Toronto, vi. 93—defeats the rebels, *ib.*—capture and destruction of the Caroling by, 94.
- Macnaghten, Mr, on the reception of Shah Soojah at Candahar, vi. 232—created a baronet, 237—confidence of, as to the security of Afghanistan, 241—urges the annexation of Herat, *ib.*—on the hostile disposition of the Sikhs, 242—continued confidence of, *ib.*—surrender of Dost Mahommed to, 244—recommendation with regard to him to the government, 245—over-confidence of, at Cabul, 247—defective defensive arrangements of, 248 and note—measures of, on the insurrection at Cabul, 251—orders removal of stores from Bala-Hissar, *ib.*—Elphinstone proposes a capitulation to, 252—urges attack of the Rickabashee fort, 253—and of the enemy on the heights, 254—orders up Sale and Rawlinson, *ib.*—opposes removal into the Bala-Hissar, 256—directs attack on Beh-Meru, 257—negotiation, 258—capitulation, 259—his account of it, *ib.*—secret negotiation with Akbar Khan, 260—his murder, 261—defective arrangements of, and their result, 269.
- M'Neill, Mr Duncan, at the anti-reform meeting in Edinburgh, *iv.* 85—solicitor-general for Scotland, 1835, v. 407 note—and again, 1841, vi. 280 note—Scotch poor-law introduced by, 349—its provisions, 350.
- M'Neill, Sir John, on the progress of Russia in the East, vi. 213—on the policy to be pursued toward Dost Mahommed, 220 note—urges interference on behalf of Herat, 224—placed at head of board of supervision, 351.
- Macon, damage by inundation in, 1841, vii. 140—reform banquet and Lamartine's speech at, 374.
- Macready, the acting of, i. 265.
- Macroom, insurrectionary gathering at, 1822, ii. 194.
- Macta, defeat of the French near, v. 332.
- Mactier, brigadier, at Moodkee, vii. 84.
- Madara, advance of the Russians to, iii. 55.
- Madawaska, settlement of, ceded to United States, vi. 320.
- Madeleine, the, at Paris, iii. 214—completion of, *iv.* 360—grant for it, *ib.* note—excess of expenditure above that voted on, v. 810.
- Madier, M., denunciation of the secret government by, ii. 103.
- Madras, bank of, vi. 171 note—railway from, to Vellore, vii. 108 note—road to Bangalore from, *ib.*—presidency, finances of,

Madras, continued.

- 1839-52, vi. 160 note—the ryotwar system in, 165—pressure of taxation in, 200—irrigation works in, vii. 108 note.
- Madrid, return of Ferdinand VII. to, i. 833—political arrests in, 1814, 835—conspiracy at, in 1816, 837—its suppression, and arrests in consequence, 338—revolution at, 1820, 849—rapid progress of the revolution in, 350—establishment of revolutionary clubs in, 352—secret royalist committee in, 353—tumult in, 1820, 356—return of Ferdinand to, 358—murder of the priest Vinuesa in, 233—institution of the Order of the Hammer, *ib.*—Murillo appointed captain-general at, 231—fresh tumults in, 235—the Comuneros in, *ib.*—tumults at, on the arrest of Lugo, and their suppression, 236—riots in, on the passing of law against the press, 240—contests between the royalists and republicans in, 242—the king retires from, *ib.*—riot in, and death of Landabura, 246—the strife between the Royal Guard and the garrison, *ib. et seq.*—attack of the guard on it, and its defeat, 247—advance of the French to, 289—its capitulation, *ib.*—entry of the French, 290—excitement of the royalists in, 294—entry of the king into, 299—revolt of regiment at, v. 171—riots in, caused by the Elliot convention, 178—revolt at, 189 threatened by Gomez, 200—revolutionary movement in, 208 *et seq.*—distracted state of, 210—threatened by Don Carlos, 219—violence of parties in, 227.**
- Maella, defeat of the Christians at, v. 226.**
- Mari Noros, defile of, seized by the Turks, ii. 412.**
- Mastricht, holds out for Holland, iv. 115—proposed settlement of, 155.**
- Maestri, check of the Carlists at, v. 171—destroyed by the Christians, 175.**
- Magasins, généraux, establishment of, in France, viii. 14.**
- Magdeburg, railway between Leipsic and, iv. 250—religious excitement in, 1840, 254.**
- Magessi, a Carlist chief, v. 114.**
- Magistrates, conduct of the, at the Peterloo meeting, ii. 150—duties of the, in connection with such meetings, *ib.* note.**
- Maguan, general, military meeting at house of, viii. 354.**
- Magne, M., viii. 348.**
- Magyars, the, settlement of, in Hungary, viii. 138—numbers of, *ib.* note—predominance of, 143—hostility between, and the Croats, 207—and the Slavonians, 208—their hatred to the Austrian government, *ib.*—rupture between, and the Croats, 212—the party of, in Hungary, 216.**
- Maha-Namion, a Burmese chief, death of, vi. 190.**
- Maharajpore, battle of, vii. 69.**
- Mahmoud Pacha, defeat of, near Cleona, ii. 390.**
- Mahmoud Shah, dethronement of his brother Zemauk by, vi. 211—dethroned by Shah Soojah, 212—again dethrones Shah Soojah, 216—dethroned by his vizier, *ib.*—escapes to Herat, *ib.***
- Mahmoud, sultan, first measures of, against the Janizaries, ii. 337—measures of, to conciliate the Janizaries, 367—change of government forced on, 395—preparations for campaign of 1824, 396, 404—measures resolved on against the Janizaries, iii. 4—new statute regarding them, *ib.*—their insurrection, 5—his vigorous measures, *ib.*—their defeat and destruction, *ib.*—their massacre, 6—effect of this, and his unpopularity, 7—civil reforms introduced by, *ib.*—negotiations with Russia, *ib.*—further reforms of, 9—firmness of, 1828, 23—position of, on the passage of the Balkan, 62—treaty of Adrianople, *ib. et seq.*—commencement of hostilities against Egypt, v. 264—his death and character, 266.**
- Mahmoud, sultan, of Ghuzni, the tomb of, and removal of its gates, vii. 43.**
- Mahommed Atta Khan, insurrection under, - vii. 31—defeat of, 32.**
- Mahommed Khan, an Afghan leader, vi. 258.**
- Mahommed Khan, abandons Emaun-Ghur, vii. 55.**
- Mahommed Shereef's fort, capture of, by the Cabul insurgents, vi. 251—recaptured by the British, 252—recaptured by the Afghans, 258.**
- Mahommedans, the recent wars of Europe all against, iii. 1—of India, exclusion of, from situations of trust, vi. 155—agitation among the, in India, 1842, vii. 23.**
- Mahommedan corps, organisation of, by the Russians, iii. 37.**
- Mahommedan kings of India, public works of the, vi. 158.**
- Mahommedan priests, numbers of, in Russia, ii. 12 note.**
- Mahommedanism, waning of, before Christianity, i. 82, v. 842.**
- Mahomet II., the conquests of, ii. 332.**
- Mahomet Pacha, appointed admiral, and his defeat by the Greeks, ii. 392—approach of, to raise the siege of Kars, iii. 32—combat with, 33—defeat of, 34.**
- Mahomet Selim Pacha, grand-vizier, iii. 23—joins the army, 24.**
- Mahon, lord, the historical works of, i. 244—his copyright bill, vi. 302.**
- Mahon, O'Gorman, proposes O'Connell for Clare, iii. 336.**
- Mahrattas, discreditable terms of the treaty with the, vi. 172—fresh confederacy of the, 178—their forces, *ib.* and note—the war with them, 179 *et seq.*—its conclusion, 181.**
- Mahul, M., appointed prefect of Toulouse, vii. 147.**
- Maldstone prison, education among criminals in, vii. 274 note.**
- Maine, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—increase of banks in, 1837, 56.**
- Maine boundary question, origin of the, vi. 313—proceedings regarding it, 319—the Ashburton treaty regarding it, 320.**
- Maine-et-Loire, department of, declared in state of siege, iv. 826.**
- Maintenon, parting of Charles X. and the Guard at, iii. 156.**
- Maison, marshal, compels Ibrahim Pacha to evacuate Greece, iii. 64—offered the command of the National Guard, 151—embassy of, to the king, 155—his discharge of it, *ib.*—becomes minister of foreign affairs, iv. 124—becomes minister-at-war, v. 287, 307 note.**

- Maitland, Sir Thomas, and the cession of Parga, ii. 359.
- Maitland, general, defeat of American sympathisers by, vi. 95.
- Maitland, Mr. solicitor-general for Scotland, 1846, vii. 221 note.
- Maitland, Admiral Sir Frederick, sent out to China, vii. 9.
- Maitland, Sir Peregrine, at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330 note.
- Maize, produce of, in France, iii. 178 note.
- Majocchi, Theodore, his evidence against the queen, ii. 178.
- Majorats, the law of, in France, iii. 88.
- Malacca, cession of, to the British, vi. 199.
- Malachowski, general, forces under, iv. 197—at battle of Warsaw, 198—at the assault of Warsaw, 211—retreat of, after the fall of Warsaw, and refuses the chief command, 212.
- Malaga, reception of Riego at, i. 348—operations of Riego at, 295.
- Malagrowth's Letters, publication and influence of, iii. 297.
- Malcolm, captain, afterwards Sir John, alliance negotiated with Persia in 1801 by, vi. 211—unsuccessful embassy to Persia, 212.
- Malcolm, Sir Pulteney, at St Helena, ii. 129.
- Maldon, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Malghera, fort, at Venice, viii. 131—captured by the Austrians, *ib.*
- Malibran, madame, i. 265.
- Malleville, Leon de, minister of interior under Louis Napoleon, vii. 67—a member of Louis Napoleon's cabinet, 332—resigns, *ib.*
- Malligum, capture of, by the British, vi. 182.
- Malmesbury, earl of, foreign secretary, 1852, viii. 322 note, 323.
- Malmesbury, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Malmce, the armistice of, viii. 173.
- Malonn, defeat of the Ghoorikas at, vi. 176—surrender of, to the British, *ib.*
- Malt, rise in the duty on, i. 62—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—increased consumption of, during railway mania, 340 note.
- Malt duties, bill for repeal of the, 1821, ii. 186.
- Malt tax, the war, abolition of, i. 55—the annual, repeal of, ii. 499—defeat of ministers on the, 1833, v. 31—*this vote rescinded*, *ib.*—motion for repeal of the, 1835, 412.
- Malta, Marquess of Hastings appointed governor of, and his death there, vi. 182.
- Malte Brun, classification of the population of Turkey by, ii. 324 note.
- Malthus, the doctrines and works of, i. 230—influence and spread of these, 231—his errors, *ib.*—his character as a political philosopher, 232—on free trade in corn, vi. 292.
- Malwa, settlement of Pindarrees in, vi. 182.
- Mama Sahib, regency of, in Gwalior, vii. 68—his dismissal, *ib.*
- Mamelukes, massacre of, at Marseilles, i. 99—the massacre of the, in Egypt, v. 243.
- Mamlani, M., Roman minister, fall of, vii. 107—again minister, 109—retires, 110.
- Mammo-Khal, defeat of the Affghans at, vii. 39.
- Mamula, general, viii. 259—blockades Peterwaradein, 262.
- Man, effects of education in promoting the dispersion of, i. 167.
- Manchester, insurrection planned in, i. 164, 165—arrests at, 165—statistics of church accommodation in, 181 note—the Catholic cathedral at, 258—massacre, the so-called, ii. 147 *et seq.*—on the conduct of the magistrates regarding it, 150—fall of wages in, 1819, 153 note—effect of the repeal of the combination laws in, iii. 245—distress in, 1826, 287—commencement of the speculation of 1825 in, 291—petition for government assistance from, 1826, 296—proposed transference of the East Retford franchise to, 327—motion for giving representation to, 1880, 387—members given to, iv. 21 note—violent reform meeting at, 50—ratio of infant mortality in, 304—the elections for 1833 in, v. 14—elections of 1835 in, 409—bill creating bishopric of, 415—speech of O'Connell against the Peers at, vi. 12—great Chartist meeting near, 1839, 81—suppression of Chartist meeting at, 82—commencement of the Anti-corn-law League at, 84—distress in, 1841, 284—riots in, 1842, *ib.*—small proportion of children at school at, 314 note—annual increase of, 341—anti-corn-law meeting and subscription at, 1845, 358—comparative mortality in, and Surrey, vii. 268—failure of banks in, 1847, 277—amount of the bankruptcies in, 1847, 285—disturbances in, 1848, 296—high ratio of infant mortality in, 313.
- Manchester and Leeds Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note.
- Manchester and Liverpool Railway, opening of the, iii. 395.
- Mandarins, powers of the, in China, vii. 5.
- Manderstein, general, iv. 192.
- Mangore, defeat of the Mahrattas at, vii. 70.
- Manheim, murder of Kotzelm at, iv. 238—execution of his murderer, *ib.*—society for liberty of the press at, 363.
- Manilla, reduction of duties on sugar from, vi. 328.
- Manin, a Venetian revolutionist, viii. 71—dictator of Venice, 131.
- Mankind, power of thought over, i. 28—causes which favour the dispersion of, ii. 316.
- Mann, captain, on the potato disease in Ireland, vii. 238 note.
- Manso, general, v. 200.
- Mansoura, defeat of the Arabs at, v. 336.
- Manteuffel, baron de, iv. 239 note—minister, viii. 168—views of, at the Warsaw conference, 180.
- Mantua, Austrian preparations at, viii. 84—blockade of, by the Sardinians, 87—movement of Charles Albert against, 99—blockaded, 100—raising of siege, 104.
- Manuel, M., a leader of the conspiracy of 1816, i. 151—defeated in the elections for 1817, 289—returned as member to the Deputies, 305—arguments of, against the re-establishment of the censorship, ii. 100—inflammatory address of, 108—a leader of the conspiracy in the army, 111—one of the leaders of the French Carbonari, 225—named a member of Berton's provisional

Manuel, M., *continued*.

government, *ib.*—speech of, on the Spanish question, 279 *et seq.*—excitement caused by it, 280—his expulsion decreed, *ib.*—scene on it, 281—objects of the party of, *ib.* 160.

Manufactures, comparative exemption of, from poor rates, i. 62—advantages of colonies as consumers of, 318—want of, in Spain, 320—disadvantages of Spain for, 321—progress of, in Poland under Russia, ii. 5—comparative want of, in Russia, 11—improvement in state of, 1821, 184—effects of the want of, on the population of Ireland, 192, iii. 380—prosperous condition of, in France, 1824, ii. 76—failure of the home market for, in France, 172—increased production of, in Great Britain, 1817-25, 217—increased production of, in Great Britain, 1823-4, 220—comparison between importance of, and agriculture, 239—total annual value of, in Great Britain, *ib.*—prosperous state of, in the beginning of 1825, 250—sound condition of, in England, to end of 1824, *ib.*—alleged identity of interest of, with the farmer, 303—exposition of the effects of the monetary system on, 371—difference between real and official values of, *ib.* and note—depression in, 1829, 373—depreciation of, 1830, 376—classes dependent on, iv. 66—numbers dependent on, 77—progress of, in Germany, 229—jealousy between, and agriculture in Prussia, 250—comparative want of, in Germany, 258—distressed state of, 1833, v. 30—India, influence of act of 1833 on, 38—consumption of, in the West Indies, 41—diminished exports of, to West Indies, 52 and note—improved condition of, in England, 1834, 56—public companies for, in France, 346 note—bill in France for regulating infant labour in, 378—British, imports of, into the United States, vi. 50—feel on the deficient exports of, 289—proposed reduction of duties on, 296—improved state of, 1843, &c., 311—effects of railway system on, 340—proposed withdrawal of protective duties on, 362—anticipated results of corn-law repeal to, 368—retention of protection to, 382—comparative consumption of, in West Indies and United States, vii. 224—anticipated effects of Mr Fielden's factory bill on, 269—depression caused to, 1847, by high price of cotton, 286—influence of capital in, compared with agriculture, 311—for export, influence of, in arresting population, viii. 863.

Manufacturers, the, distress among, on the peace, i. 45, 47—combinations among, iii. 245—distress among, in the opening of 1826, 287—agitation among, 1826, for repeal of the corn laws, 301—revolt among, in Prussia, 1844, iv. 238—schism between, and the working classes in France, 383—distress of, in France, 1837, v. 328—distress of, in Great Britain, 1839, vi. 65—influence of contraction of the currency on, 138—arguments used by the anti-corn-law agitators to, 287.

Manufacturing capital, destruction of, in France by the revolution, iii. 175.

Manufacturing classes, effects of the high prices of 1817 on the, i. 163—distress among the, 1826, iii. 304.

Manufacturing districts, the, threatening state of, 1817, i. 166—grant for new churches in, iii. 224—of Germany, feeling, &c., in, iv. 356—prevalence of physical deformity in, in France, 304—infant mortality in those of England, *ib.*—rates of mortality in 1841, vi. 288 note—general distress in, 1841, 284—immigration of workmen to, 288—necessity for regulating infant labour in, 814—large mortality in, vii. 268—extreme suffering in, 1848, 203—of France, increase in population of, 315.

Manufacturing interest, the, growth of, under the protective system, iv. 2—representation of, under the old constitution, 59—the old protective system toward, 60—strength of, and its influence on the repeal of the corn laws, vi. 381.

Manufacturing towns, the, inability of, to support their population, i. 24 and note—the refusal by the Conservatives of representation to, iv. 67—opposition to the sliding scale in, vi. 294—small proportion of children at school in, 814 note—statistics of mortality in, compared with the country, vii. 271—the French, disorders in, 1848, viii. 32.

Manufacturing wealth, increase of, its effect in stimulating the desire for reform, iii. 365.

Manures, imported, abolition of duty on, vi. 344.

Manzanares, revolt under, and his death, v. 99.

Mar, reversal of attainder of family of, iii. 280.

Maranon, Antonio, the Trappist, ii. 242—his character, followers, &c., 243—defeat of, at Cervera, *ib.*—captures Urgel, 245—successes of, 251—defeated and retires to France, 252.

Maransin, general, a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 112.*

Marash, defeat of the Turks at, iii. 57.

Marathon, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 408.

Marbols, M. de, dismissed from the ministry, i. 149—retirement of, iv. 372.

Marcellus, M., ambassador at London, letter to Chateaubriand from, ii. 284 note—portrait of Canning by him, 284—conversation between them, 285 note—on the views of Canning regarding the South American republics, 303 note—refuses office under Polignac, iii. 122.

Marchand, one of Napoleon's attendants at St Helena, ii. 129.

Marchangy, M., conducts the trial of the Rochelle conspirators, ii. 226.

Marchant, Sir Denis le, iv. 23 note.

Marché des Innocents, defeat of the Swiss Guard at the, iii. 143.

Marchetti, count, ministry of, viii. 80.

Marenit, trial of, for the attempt to assassinate Wellington, i. 304.

Maret, Duke of Bassano, return of, to France, ii. 80.

Maria, the princess, daughter of Louis Philippe, death of, v. 372.

Maria de Gloria, donna, dethronement of, in Portugal, iii. 372—expedition on her behalf,

- Maria de Gloria, donna, *continued*.
ib.—its failure, *ib.*—projects of the Spanish liberals regarding, iv. 109—proclaimed Queen of Portugal, v. 112—her proposed marriage to Don Miguel, *ib.*—her arrival and reception in England, 122—returns to Brazil, 125—her arrival at Lisbon, and reception, 125—recognised by France and England, *ib.*—her final establishment on the throne, 157—Queen of Portugal, vii. 336.
- Maria Francisca de Acis, the Infanta, marriage of Don Carlos to, i. 338—death of, v. 169.
- Maria Isabel Francisca, the Infanta, marriage of Ferdinand VII. to, i. 338—death of, 342.
- Maria Josephine, the princess, marriage of Ferdinand VII. to, i. 346.
- Maria Theresa of Modena, the princess, marriage of, to Duc de Bordeaux, vii. 207.
- Mariano, M., becomes minister of finance, ii. 249.
- Marie, M., returned for Paris, 1842, vii. 155—violent speech of, 1847, 375—declares for a republic, 399—nominated one of the provisional government, 400—organisation of the Ateliers Nationaux by, viii. 8—votes for, 1848, 34 note—a member of the executive commission, 36 note.
- Marie-Amelie, Queen of Spain, death of, v. 101.
- Marie-Antoinette, godmother to Prince Polignac, iii. 109.
- Marie Louise, the ex-empress, at Verona during the congress, ii. 259.
- Marie-Theresa, the princess, v. 312.
- Marienburg, surrendered by France to the allies, i. 108—terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, 301.
- Marine insurance, abolition of duty on, v. 31 note—reduction of duties on, vi. 327.
- Marlborough, creation of Peers to overthrow, iv. 75.
- Marlborough, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Marley, general, forces under, for the Ghorka war, vi. 174.
- Marlow, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Marmont, marshal, ii. 302—votes for the capital punishment of Ney, i. 129—and Madame Lavalette, 132—purification of Lyons by, 151—solicits command of the expedition to Algiers, iii. 127—commands the military in Paris, 137—first arrangements of, and force under him, 139—his plan of operations, and commencement of the conflict, 140—measures of, 142—his offensive movements and their temporary success, *ib. et seq.*—dispositions and preparations of, on the 29th, 146—conference with M. Arago, *ib.*—capture of the Louvre, 148—compelled to retreat, 149—interview of, with Charles X. at St Cloud, 150—violent attack by the Duke d'Angoulême on, 153—commands the escort of Charles X. to the coast, 156—warrant to arrest the liberal leaders given to, 162—military errors committed by, in combating the insurrection, 164.
- Maria, Ibrahim Pacha at, ii. 427.
- Marochetti, the works of, i. 263.
- Morocco, commencement of difficulties between the French government and, vii. 182—which lead to a rupture, *ib.*—hostilities of her troops, *ib.*—bombardment of Tangiers, 184—battle of Isly, 186 *et seq.*—peace concluded, 187.
- Maronites, revolt of the, against Mehemet Ali, v. 280.
- Marotto, a Carlist leader, intrigues and ultimate treason of, v. 229 *et seq.*
- Marquesas, proposed formation of French settlement in the, vi. 324.
- Marrast, M., editor of the Tribune, iv. 377, v. 292—character of, vii. 162—declaration of, against the Socialists, 374—opposes the compromise regarding the banquet, 384—on the proposed reform banquet, 386—urges insurrection, 390—appointed one of provisional government, 400—appointed a member of the College of France, viii. 19—preparations of, during the revolt of March, 31—votes for, 1848, 34 note.
- Marriage, absence of restraint on, in Ireland, iii. 206—views of the St Simonians regarding, iv. 140—Louis Blanc on, in France, 304—denunciation of, by the St Simonians, 354—principles of Prussian constitution of 1848 regarding, viii. 172.
- Marriages, encouragement of, by the priests in Ireland, iii. 360—Dissenters' bill regarding, v. 414, vi. 27.
- Marryat, Mr., arguments of, against the reciprocity system, iii. 231.
- Marryat, captain, operations of, in Burmah, vi. 185.
- Mars, mademoiselle, the actress, iii. 213.
- Marseilles, royalist reaction in, after Waterloo, i. 98—massacres by the royalists in, 99—insurrectionary attempt at, 1821, ii. 228—the revolution of 1830 at, iv. 101—landing of the Duchess de Berri at, 322—abortive rising at, *ib.*—the Duke of Orleans at, 353—insurrection at, 1834, 376—proposed railway from Paris to, v. 346—and to Avignon from, *ib.*—reform banquet at, vii. 131—line of steamers to Mexico from, 136—proposed railway from Paris to, 154—and from Bordeaux, *ib.*—suspension of cash payments by bank of, viii. 13—revolt at, 51.
- Marshall, colonel, defeat of Afghan insurgents by, vi. 245.
- Martaban, capture of, by the British, vi. 186—capture of fort of, vii. 109—defeat of the Burmese at, *ib.*
- Martial law, proposed by the coercion act of 1833, v. 18.
- Martignac, M. de, proclamation to the Spaniards drawn up by, ii. 290—arguments of, for the indemnity to the emigrants, iii. 78—ministry formed by, 101—his character, 102—approaching fall of, 106—defeat of, 107—his reception by the king, *ib.*—his position, 108—dismissed from office, *ib.*—takes the oaths to Louis Philippe, iv. 99—counsel for Peyronnet on his trial, 125—arguments of, on the law against the Bourbons, 161.
- Martin, the paintings of, i. 261.
- Martin, don Juan (the Empeñnado), execution of, v. 96.
- Martin du Nord, M., becomes minister of commerce, v. 316 note—minister of justice,

Martin du Nord, M., continued.

- 391 note—arguments of, on the case of the Jesuits, vii. 194—moves continuing the dictatorship to Cavaignac, viii. 51.
- Martineau, Mias**, the works of, i. 245—on the examination of the Radical leaders, ii. 154—on the increased desire for reform in the country, 187 note—on the death of Lord Castlereagh, 208 note—on emigration, iii. 298—on the Catholic question, 1839, 844—on O'Connell, 355—on the results of emancipation in Ireland, 360—on the general distress in 1829, 373—on the character of O'Connell, 395 note—on the anti-reform petition from Bristol, iv. 35 note—character of Earl Grey by, v. 82—on the benefit to the working classes from railways, vi. 341.
- Martinez de la Rosa, Ignace**, president of the privy council, ii. 300—a member of the Spanish committee in France, iv. 108.
- Martinez de la Rosa, M.**, defence of the El-Hot convention by, v. 178.
- Mary**, the princess, afterwards Duchess of Parma, ii. 90.
- Maryborough**, lord, postmaster-general, 1835, v. 407 note.
- Maryland**, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Marylebone**, statistics of church accommodation in, i. 181 note.
- Mascara**, capture of, by the French, v. 833—destroyed, *ib.*—again captured by them, vii. 179.
- Massa**, the Duchess de Berri at, iv. 321—her departure from it, 322.
- Massachusetts**, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—increase of banks in, 1837, 56—miles of railway in, vii. 290 note.
- Mastai**, cardinal, elected Pope, vii. 337.
- Masters**, contest between the, and the workmen at Lyons, iv. 306—commencement of war between, and workmen, viii. 286.
- Masterman**, Mr, return of, for London, vi. 147.
- Matadoff**, general, defeat of the Turks by, iii. 57.
- Matchin**, fort of, iii. 18—surrenders to the Russians, 20.
- Mathew**, Father, and the temperance movement, vi. 304.
- Mathews**, the comedian, i. 265.
- Mathieu**, General Maurice, made a peer, i. 314.
- Mattafiorida**, the marquis, i. 355.
- Mauguin**, M., in 134, 140, 144 notes—during the Three Days, 144—signs dethronement of the king, 152—at the Hotel de Ville, iv. 89—arguments of, on foreign affairs, 1831, 157 *et seq.*—preparations for new insurrection by, 329—at Lamarque's funeral, 330, 331.
- Mauguin**, captain, murder of, viii. 47.
- Maule**, Mr Fox, war secretary, 1846, vii. 221 note—opposes Mr Layard's motion on the army, 232—introduction of limited service system into the army, 272.
- Maulian**, defeat of Spanish refugees at, iv. 100.
- Maupas**, M. de, and the coup d'état, viii. 355.
- Mauritins**, conquest of the, by the British, vi. 174—estimated supply of sugar from the, 1847, vii. 221 note.

Mavro, Peter, a leader of the Greek insurrection, ii. 365.

Macrocordato, prince, defeat of, at Patras, ii. 377—first president of Greece, 381—expedition into Epirus under, and his failure, 388—defence of Missolonghi by, 391—dissensions between, and Spilanti, 397—at the battle of Mount Helicon, 398—supports the legislative against Colocotroni, 402—operations under, in 1828, 411—negotiations between, and Mr Stratford Canning, 422—Greek minister, vii. 335—civil war under, *ib.*

Mavromichaelis, resignation of, ii. 390—measures of, against the legislative, 401.

Maximilian, accession of, to the crown of Bavaria, viii. 152.

May, captain, death of, vii. 34.

Mayence, provision of the Diet regarding, iv. 218—society for liberty of the press at, 363.

Mayerhofer, colonel, viii. 222, 261.

Mayne, Inspector, on the 10th April 1848, vii. 298.

Maynooth College, opposition to the grant to, ii. 358—enlarged grant to, 1845, vi. 347—failure of the measure, and its causes, 348.

Mayors, vote of the Legislative Assembly on the, viii. 345.

Mazagan, terms of treaty of La Tafna, regarding, v. 339.

Mazeena, defeat of the Afghans at, vii. 39.

Mazlare, colonel, a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 111.

Mazzini, policy of, in Italy, vii. 350—proclamation, &c., by, viii. 106—heads the insurgents at Rome, 126—his flight, 130 note.

Meagher, Mr, warrant for arrest of, vii. 301—trial and sentence of, *ib.* and note.

Meal, prices of, in England, 1822-1825, iii. 220 note.

Meanee, battle of, vii. 57.

Measures, act for uniformity of, iii. 280.

Meat, consumption of, here and in Prussia, vi. 200—reduction of excise on, in France, 1848, viii. 15.

Meath, tithe agitation in, v. 9—effects of the coercion act in, 22 note.

Meatoom, a Burmese freebooter, defeat of, vii. 110.

Meaux, the bishop of, iv. 341—Louis Philippe at, 146.

Mechanical labour, effects of the application of steam to, i. 22.

Mechin, M., views of, in 1819, ii. 88—indemnity to, 122 note—iii. 140, 145 notes.

Mecklenburg, reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.

Mecklenburg Schwerin, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—alliance of the Duke of Orleans, to princess of, v. 326—statistics of, viii. 140 note.

Mecklenburg Strelitz, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note.

Medeah, capture of, by the French, iv. 129—captured by Abd-el-Kader, and defeat of the French near, v. 332—difficulties of the

Medeah, continued.

- French in, 334—effects of the cession of, to Abd-el-Kader, vii. 178—storming of it by the French, 177—blockaded by the Arabs, 179—relieved, *ib.*
- Medicine, academy of, established in France, ii. 118.
- Medgeers, submission of, to the French, vii. 180.
- Medina, population of, ii. 381 note.
- Mediterranean, French and English fleets in the, 1849, v. 372—proposed railway from the, to the Rhine, vii. 164.
- Meer, the Baron de, v. 215—combat at Guisones, *ib.*
- Meer Moerad Ali, governor of Seiden, vii. 51.
- Meer-Musjedee, an Afghan chief, death of, vi. 259.
- Meerpoor, capture of, by the British, vii. 63.
- Meerza Ahmed, plans of, against Candahar, vii. 32—his defeat, 33.
- Meetings, large popular, dangers of, ii. 150—proclamation suppressing, in Ireland, iii. 338.
- Mehemet Ali, character and policy of, v. 243—his system of civil government, *ib.*—origin of the war with Turkey, 244—forces for conquest of Syria, *ib.*—siege of Acre, 246 *et seq.*—further operations of war in Syria, *ib.* *et seq.*—interference of Russia between him and Turkey, 252 *et seq.*—terms offered by Turkey to, 253—treaty between Turkey and, 255—France inclines to support him, 261—increasing cordiality between France and, 263—mutual recriminations between, and Turkey, 264—efforts of France and England to avert hostilities, *ib.*—commencement of hostilities, 265—forces of, *ib.*—ultimate demands of, regarding Egypt and Syria, 269—revolt of the Druses, &c., against him, *ib.*—treaty of five powers for settlement of questions at issue, *ib.*—its conditions regarding him, *ib.*—he refuses the terms, and preparations of the allies against him, 270—submission of, after fall of Acre, 273—final treaty arranged, 278—support given by France to, 1839, 369—Thiers's support of, 384—the treaty of February 13, 1841, regarding, 396.
- Mehrab Khan, defence of Khelat by, and his death, vi. 239.
- Meiningen, accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
- Melbourne, lord, home secretary, iv. 3 note—character of, 10—becomes premier, v. 70—dismissal of, by the king, 80—becomes premier on Peel's resignation, 420—announcement of the principles of his government by, vi. 1—Sydney Smith's character of him, *ib.*—arguments of, for corporate reform bill, 5—views of, as regards the creation of peers, 15—motion by, on the Irish corporation bill, 22—anxiety of, for compromise between the two Houses, 37—on the annulling Lord Durham's ordinance, 100—reasons given by, for his resignation, 116—returns to office, 117—on the household question, 118—on repeal of the corn laws, 139—declaration of, on repeal of the Union, 141—announces the resignation of the ministry, 149—motion by, 1842, on the corn laws, 293.

- Melbourne ministry, the, formation of, v. 70—its weakness, 79—attacks of the press on it, *ib.*—dismissal, 80—return to power, 420—defeats of, in the elections, vi. 2—their proposed measures of reform, 3—defeat of, on Irish church bill, 10—apprehensions of, 13—gradual creation of Whig peers by them, 14—measures of, toward Canada, 17—measure of, regarding the Irish corporations, 19—attacks of the Radicals on, 1837, 32—plan for abolishing church-rates, 36—weakness of, 1838, and inefficient support to Lord Durham in Canada, 99—position of, 113—measure suspending constitution of Jamaica, 114 *et seq.*—their small majority, and resign, 116—real reasons for this, *ib.*—failure of the negotiation with Peel, and their return to power, 117—second Jamaica bill, 119—allowance to Prince Albert proposed by, 121—reforms of criminal law, *ib.*—alliance of, with O'Connell, 133—difficulties of, 1841, 140—new reform bill for Ireland, and its fate, 141—their budget, *ib.*—vote of want of confidence in them, 146—dissolve parliament, *ib.*—losses in the elections, 147—defeated, and their resignation, 149—reflections on their fall, *ib.* *et seq.*
- Melbourne, present price (1853) of gold in, ii. 137.
- Melidenh, capture of, by the French, iv. 129.
- Melville, lord, resigns on Canning's appointment, iii. 323—becomes first lord of the Admiralty, 327.
- Members, number of, raised by new reform bill, iv. 46—county and borough, disproportion between, 66.
- Memoirs, various French, during the Revolution, iii. 200.
- Mena, defeat of the Christians at, v. 205.
- Mendelssohn, as a composer, iv. 300.
- Mendez, Don Ignacio, v. 99, 105.
- Mendicancy, prevalence of, in Ireland, iii. 265.
- Mendjür, combat at, v. 196.
- Mendizabal, M., a member of the Spanish committee in France, iv. 108—appointed finance minister, v. 209—his report, and measures proposed, 211.
- Meneval, anecdote of Napoleon by, iii. 198.
- Mengee Bundoola, commander of the Burmese, vi. 187—death of, 188.
- Menichini, a leader of the Neapolitan revolution, i. 364.
- Menotti, leader of the insurrection in Modena, iv. 132—execution of, 193.
- Menschikoff, prince, mission of, to Persia, iii. 2—capture of Anapa by, 21—wounded before Varna, 25.
- Mequinezza, ravages of yellow fever in, ii. 237—capture of, and massacre in, by the royalists, 251—besieged by Mina, 252.
- Mercadillo, captured by the Carlists, v. 197.
- Mercantile aristocracy, danger from ascendancy of a, i. 161—in the United States, vi. 54.
- Mercantile bank, the, in India, vi. 171 note.
- Mercantile capital, tax on, in Russia, ii. 25.
- Mercantile character, influence of the fall-way mania on, vi. 358.
- Mercantile interests, Peel's sympathy with the, vi. 277.

- Merchants, the exporting, distress among, on the peace, i. 45—first adoption of free-trade ideas by, ii. 168—state of, opening of 1828, iii. 287—and bankers of London, the petition of, against the reform bill, iv. 28—prosperity of, in France, 81—anticipations of, from the opening of the East India trade, v. 35.
- Meria, revolt of, at Corunna, ii. 298.
- Merick, the peasants of, immunities to, ii. 84.
- Merilhon, M., a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 111—becomes minister of public instruction, iv. 124—succeeds Dupont de l'Eure in the ministry of justice, 128—dismissal of, 143.
- Merino, the Curé, heads the insurrection in Navarre, ii. 294—defeat of, 292—joined by the Comte d'Amaraute, 301—the curate, v. 88—operations of, in the Carlist war, 140.
- Merithon, M., iii. 138.
- Merten, general, a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 112.
- Mesliers, abortive attempt at rising at, iv. 325.
- Meslin, produce of, in France, iii. 173 note.
- Mesnard, Count de, fidelity of, to Charles X., iii. 157—an adherent of the Duchess de Berri's, iv. 322.
- Mesnard, mademoiselle de, iv. 328.
- Messenger des Chambres, circulation of the, iii. 118 note.
- Messenger of the West, suppression of the, iv. 239.
- Messenhauser, commander of the Viennese insurgents, vii. 234—his execution, 237.
- Messina, insurrection at, and its bombardment, vii. 78—its capture, 79.
- Mesta, council of the, its privileges revived in Spain, i. 335.
- Metal mines, joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.
- Metallic basis, danger of a currency based on a, ii. 139.
- Metallic currency, liability of, to be withdrawn, iii. 205.
- Metaphysics, the Scotch school of, i. 228.
- Metaxa, count, envoy from Greece to the Congress of Verona, ii. 394—Greek minister, vii. 334—resigns, 335.
- Metcalfe, Sir Charles, on the Bhurtpore case, vi. 196—opposes the abolition of half-batta, 201—interim administration of, in India, 206.
- Metcalfe, Mr, opposes the Afghanistan expedition, vi. 226 note.
- Metidja, the, occupation of, by the French, iv. 366—its cultivation, 367—terms of treaty of La Tafna regarding, v. 339—character, extent, &c. of, vii. 167—ravaged by Abdel-Kader, 177—again by the Arabs, 178.
- Metternich, prince, application of Fouché to, i. 104—at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298, 306—at the Congress of Troppau, ii. 36—represents Austria at the Congress of Verona, 258—interview between, and Montmorency, 259—secret views of, on the Spanish question, 262—on the influence of the press in France, iii. 117—on the insurrection against Charles X., 161—reception of ambassador from Louis Philippe by, iv. 102—jealousy of France aroused in, 120—policy of, in Italy, 1830, 182—circular of, on the effect of the repressive measures, 231—and on the Neapolitan revolution, 23.—repressive measures of, against the press, 239—unchanged supremacy of, on the death of the emperor, 244—requires the removal of the Duchess de Berri from Massa, 322—at the Congress of Muntz-Graetz, 364—supports France there, 365—arguments of, against disarming, 1834, 368—arranges the treaty for settlement of the East, v. 369—opposes the proposed alliance between the Princess Marie-Amelia and the Duke of Orleans, 312—demands the expulsion of Louis Napoleon from Switzerland, 353—policy of, in Galicia, vii. 198—views and policy of, 1847, in the Papal States, 343—on the designs of the Italian liberals, 360—policy of, towards Switzerland, 355—views of, on representation, vii. 143—note of, to the Frankfort Assembly, 178—sacking of the hotel of, 200—his resignation, 201—retires to England, 202.
- Metternich, the princess, viii. 202.
- Metz, M., motion by, regarding Luxembourg, v. 355.
- Metz, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146—reform banquet at, 1840, vii. 131.
- Meunier, François, attempt on the life of Louis Philippe by, and his sentence, v. 327.
- Meuse, navigation of, opened to Belgium, iv. 348.
- Mexico, recognition of, by Great Britain, ii. 305—British exports to, *ib.* note—and Spanish, *ib.*—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 232 note—formal recognition of, by England, 252—differences between, and France, 1839, v. 357—restrictive tariff of, vi. 145—line of steamers from Marseilles to, vii. 136.
- Meyer, E., letter from, during the siege of Missolonghi, ii. 420 note.
- Miaulis, Andreas, ii. 386—his career and character, *ib.* note—attack on the Turkish fleet by, 386—defeat of the Turkish fleet off Lemnos by, 401—operations of, at sea, 406—victories of, 407—attempts of, to relieve Sphacteria, 412—naval successes of, 413—approaches Missolonghi, 416—raises the blockade, *ib.*—again relieves it, 418—again attempts it, 419—defeats the Captain Pacha near Samos, 423.
- Michael I., extent of Russia under, ii. 29 note.
- Michael, the Grand-duke, ii. 56, 59, 67—during the revolt at St Petersburg, 65—his danger, *ib.*—fires the first cannon, *ib.*—at the coronation of Nicholas, 74—operations assigned to, 1828, iii. 16—commences the siege of Brailov, 17—during the assault, 19—its surrender, 20.
- Michael, a leader of the Greek insurrection, ii. 365.
- Michaud, the works of, iii. 193—opposes the re-establishment of the censorship, and dismissed from office, 94.
- Nichel, prince, accession of, in Servia, v. 268.
- Michelet, the works of, iii. 196.
- Michigan, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Middle class, elevation of, to power in France and England, i. 4—rise of a, in Prussia, iv. 237—now enlisted on behalf of government of Louis Philippe, 352—distress of the, 1847, in France, vii. 870—discontent caused by rule of, in France, viii. 2.

- Middle classes, the, prosperity of, in England in the opening of 1825, iii. 250—*influence of the railway system on*, 307—*delusions among, regarding the reform bill*, iv. 85—*predominance of, since the reform bill, and danger from it*, 78—*annual savings of, ib.*—*alarm of, at the income tax*, vi. 297—*pressure of the monetary crisis of 1847 on*, vii. 288.
- Middleman, power of the, in Ireland, iii. 266—*origin of system of, there*, 269.
- Middlesex, election of 1830 for, iii. 303.
- Middleton, lord, destruction of his seat, iv. 42.
- Midhurst, disfranchised, iv. 20 *nota*.
- Midiah, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 81.
- Midland Counties Railway, fall in, 1846-52, vii. 289 *nota*.
- Microslawski, general, defence of Catania by, viii. 125—*revolt under*, 1848, 164—*taken prisoner*, 165—*heads the revolt in Baden*, and defeated there, 184.
- Mignet, M., announcement of, regarding the Duke d'Orleans, iii. 147—*supports the Orleans party in 1830*, iv. 86—*proceedings of, against the Napoleonists*, 90—*efforts of, to popularise the new dynasty*, 94.
- Miguel, Don, heads the counter revolution in Portugal, ii. 301—*named generalissimo, ib.*—*insurrection under*, iii. 307—*usurpation of, in Portugal*, 372—*refuge expedition against him, ib.*—*its failure, ib.*—*refused aid by England against France*, iv. 156—*heads the reactionists in Portugal*, v. 88—*appointed generalissimo*, 89—*arbitrary proceedings instigated by*, 91—*removed from office, and withdraws to France*, 92—*proposed marriage of, to Donna Maria de Gloria*, 112—*movement in his favour*, 113—*gives in his adhesion*, 114—*fresh conspiracy in his favour, ib. et seq.*—*appointed regent*, 116—*new ministry*, 117—*his assumption of the crown*, 118—*history of the civil war*, 120 *et seq.*—*his cruelties*, 122—*recognised by Spain*, 124—*renewed cruelties*, 125—*recognised by the United States, ib.*—*financial difficulties, ib.*—*changed position of France and England toward*, 126—*hostility shown toward English residents*, 127—*preparations against Don Pedro*, 128—*forces and successes*, 129—*defeat of his fleet*, 130—*capture of Lisbon*, 131—*renewed attempts of his partisans*, 133—*terms of the quadruple alliance regarding*, 134—*by whom supported*, 138—*his final overthrow*, 156 *et seq.*—*leaves Portugal, and settlement on him*, 157.
- Miguel, M., statement of, on the Spanish question, ii. 269 *nota*.
- Milah, advance of the Duke of Orleans to, 5. 371.
- Milan, democratic excitement in, 1830, iv. 132—*excitement against the Austrians in*, vii. 340, viii. 70—*insurrection at, and retreat of the Austrians*, 73 *et seq.*—*measures of provisional government at*, 83—*retreat of the Sardinians to*, 106—*its capitulation, ib.*—*effects of its fall in Italy*, 106—*feelings in, on the armistice*, 121.
- Milans, general, conspiracy under, in Barcelona, i. 339.
- Milaradowitch, general, suppression of a revolt in a regiment by, ii. 45—*murder of*, 64.
- Milav, prince, accession of, in Servia, and his death, v. 268.
- Milbank Penitentiary, preparations against the Chartists at, vii. 297—*statistics of*, viii. 307 *nota*.
- Milberg, general, joins Skrzynecki, iv. 199.
- Milborne, disfranchised, iv. 20 *nota*.
- Miles, Mr, motion by, on the sugar duties, vi. 328—*motion by, for relief of agricultural distress*, 1845, 355.
- Milford Haven, garrison required for, vii. 235 *nota*.
- Millana, difficulties of the French at, v. 334—*effects of cession of, to Abd-el-Kader*, vii. 176—*French expedition against*, 178—*blockaded by the Arabs*, 179—*relieved by the French, ib.*
- Military, the, course to be followed by, in revolutionary movements, i. 372—*fidelity of, during the riots in Paris*, 1820, ii. 109—*efforts of Lafayette, &c., to seduce*, 111—*at the Peterloo meeting*, 148—*appearances of disaffection among*, 1820, 176—*first symptoms of hesitation among, in Paris*, iii. 100—*entire strength of, in Paris at the issuing of the ordinances*, 137—*defection of, at Lyons, &c.*, 1830, iv. 106—*conduct of, in Belgium*, 111—*treachery of part of, at Lyons*, 1834, 375—*conduct of, at Glasgow*, 1848, vii. 295—*attempts to corrupt*, 298—*the French, fidelity of, to Louis Philippe*, 117.
- Military caste, the, in Turkey, ii. 320.
- Military colonies of Russia, organisation, &c., of the, ii. 23—*measures of Alexander for extending*, 34—*improvements in*, 1826, iii. 3.
- Military despotism, restoration of, by Louis Napoleon in France, i. 11—*general establishment of, in Europe*, 16—*invariably the result of revolution*, iii. 159—*the result of the treason of the troops in France*, 162.
- Military histories and memoirs, modern French, iii. 196—*German, character of*, iv. 286.
- Military officers, employment of, in civil situations in India, vi. 203, 268.
- Military operations, relations of the railway system to, iii. 398.
- Military organisation, the Prussian system of, iv. 237—*want of, in Southern Italy*, viii. 135.
- Military passion, strength of the, in France, iii. 166.
- Military pensions, conversion of, 1824, iii. 233.
- Military school, establishment of, in Turkey, v. 268.
- Military service, reforms regarding liability to, in Turkey, v. 267.
- Military spirit, predominance of, in Russia, ii. 8.
- Military strength, necessity for exhibition of, in India, vi. 160.
- Military training, continuance of, among the Radicals, 1820, ii. 100.
- Military treason, true results of, as exemplified in Spain, ii. 313.
- Militia, the, embodiment of, under Lord Derby, i. 14 *nota*, viii. 323—*conduct of, in*

Militia, the, continued.

- Canada, during the insurrection, vi. 93—the Duke of Wellington on, vii. 235 note.
- Militia bill**, defeat of the Russell ministry on the, viii. 322.
- Milk**, joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.
- Mill's History of British India**, i. 248.
- Mill**, Mr Stuart, the works of, i. 233.
- Miller**, Mr, of Dalswinton, his steamboat, i. 215 note.
- Milleret**, M., iii. 140 note.
- Mill-Duz**, pass of, iii. 41—combat at, 42—storming of intrenched camp of, by the Russians, 44.
- Miloon**, defeat of the Burmese at, vi. 191.
- Milne**, admiral, second in command at Algiers, i. 76, 79, 80—knighted, 81.
- Milnes**, Monkton, the poems of, i. 257.
- Milosch**, prince, dethronement of, in Servia, v. 268.
- Miloslav**, defeat of the Poles at, viii. 164.
- Milton**, the prose of, iv. 282.
- Milton**, lord, moves the disfranchisement of East Retford, &c., iii. 322—conduct of, on the resignation of the Grey ministry, iv. 52—defeated in Northamptonshire, 1835, vi. 13.
- Mina**, Espoñ y, revolt of, in Navarre, i. 335—again enters Navarre in 1820, 349—proceedings of, at Saragossa, &c., 350—appointed captain-general of Galicia, 358—appointed captain-general in Catalonia, ii. 249, 251—savage proclamation and energetic proceedings of, 252—successes against the royalists, *ib.*—forces under, 1823, 287—retreat of, before the French, 289—continues the war in Catalonia, 292, 294—revolutionary attempt of, 1830, iv. 109—defeat and flight of, *ib.*—liberal insurrection under, in 1829, v. 99—appointed commander-in-chief against the Carlists, 160—savage proclamation of, 168—first operations, and repeated defeats, 170—reinforced, and fresh defeats, 172—relieves Elizondo, *ib.*—combat at Lizaso, 173—cruelties after it, *ib.*, 174—reinforcements to him, 174—resigns command, 176—cruelties in Catalonia, 194—orders the execution of the mother of Cabrera, 198.
- Mincio**, the, retreat of Radetsky to, viii. 75—passage of, by the Sardinians, 81—military line of, 82—operations on, 84—retreat of the Sardinians to, and its passage by the Austrians, 104.
- Minden**, imprisonment of Archbishop of Cologne in, iv. 246.
- Minehead**, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Miners**, institution of the Darg among, vi. 79.
- Mines**, revenue from, in Russia, ii. 25—act regarding employment of females, &c., in, vi. 312.
- Minlachi**, M., negotiations of, with Turkey, iii. 3.
- Mining companies**, the South American, of 1825, iii. 253 and note.
- Mining districts**, necessity for regulating infant labour in, vi. 314.
- Ministers responsibility of**, declared by constitution of 1830, iv. 99.
- Ministry**, the selection of the, under a repre-

- sentative government, iii. 159—provisions of French constitution of 1848 regarding, viii. 60.
- Minto**, earl of, postmaster-general, 1835, v. 421 note—on the state of the navy, 1840, vi. 387—becomes governor-general of India, 174—his administration, *ib.*—treaty concluded with Afghanistan by, 211—privy seal, 1846, vi. 221 note—mission of, to Italy, 1847, 344—excitement caused by his arrival at Rome, 346—effects of his visit to Naples, 348.
- Miraflores**, the marquis, v. 134—his alleged connection in the attempt on Don Carlos, 164.
- Miralles**, a royalist leader, ii. 245.
- Miranda**, the count, i. 368.
- Mirbel**, dismissed from the council of state, ii. 115.
- Misas**, heads the royalists in Catalonia, ii. 242—defeat of, 243.
- Missionaries**, riots of the planters against the, v. 43—connection of, with the slave insurrection of 1831, 45—in the West Indies, vi. 112—the English in Tahiti and the South Sea Islands, 323—interference of the French, 324.
- Missionary enterprise**, failure of, i. 40.
- Mississippi**, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Missolonghi**, revolt of, ii. 372—first siege of, 391—commencement of second siege of, 400—is raised, *ib.*—arrival of Lord Byron at, 403—preparations of the Turks for the siege of, 411—invested by the Turks, 412—commencement of second siege of, 415—first operations of it, 416—the blockade raised by sea, *ib.*—attack on the town by a mound and its defeat, *ib.*—third assault repulsed, 417—critical position of the Turks, *ib.*—heroism of the garrison, 418—progress of the Turks, *ib.*—plan of a general sortie, 419—its commencement, *ib.*—and issue, 420—effects of the defence, 421—recaptured by the Greeks, iii. 64—included in Kingdom of Greece, 65.
- Missouri**, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Mitchell**, John, the Irish revolutionist, vii. 300.
- Mitford**, the historical works of, i. 246.
- Mitford**, ensign, viii. 326 note.
- Mittermayer**, M., president of the Vor parliament, viii. 155.
- Mitylene**, population of, ii. 331.
- Mixed commission**, the, for settling the allied claims against France, i. 283.
- Mixed marriages**, dispute between Prussia and the Pope regarding, iv. 246—final arrangement of the question, 247.
- Mixed standard**, a, proposed, ii. 381—arguments against it, *ib.* note.
- Mocenigo**, count, ii. 42.
- Modena**, the princess of, at Verona during the congress, ii. 259—revolutionary excitement in, 1830, iv. 118—democratic insurrection in, 1830, 132—its suppression, 133—duke of, applies for aid to Austria, 1830, *ib.*—entry of Austrians into duchy of, 1848, viii. 70—volunteers, &c., from, 81—terms of armistice regarding, 106, 120—occupation of, by the Austrians, 107.
- Modlin**, fortress of, iv. 191—surrender of, to the Poles, 182.

- Modon, defeat of the Greeks near, ii. 411—defeat of the Egyptian fleet at, 413—sale of Greek captives at, 415—surrender of, by the Turks, iii. 64—evacuation of, by the French, v. 261.
- Moerder, colonel, ii. 63.
- Mogadore, bombardment of, by the French, vii. 184.
- Mogul emperors, public works of the, vi. 159.
- Mohammed ben Abdallah, an Arab chief, vii. 180.
- Moharem Bey, the, at Navarino, ii. 428.
- Moirs, early, *see* Hastings.
- Molasses, increased consumption of, during railway mania, vi. 846—note—imports of, from West Indies, 1847-9, *note*.
- Moldavia, the revolt of Prince Ipsilanti in, ii. 45—exports of grain from, 327—obstacles presented to an invading army by, 341—affairs of, 350—state of, in 1821, 361—commencement of the insurrection in, 362—its suppression, 369 *et seq.*—negotiations regarding, in 1823, 394—demands of Russia regarding, at Ackerman, iii. 8—provisions of that convention regarding, *ib.*—terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding, 62, 63—proposed cession of, to Russia, vi. 334.
- Molé, count, views of, as to the electoral law, i. 161—accession of, to the ministry, 288—sketch of his career, character, &c., *ib.*—policy advocated by, in 1818, 306—offers his resignation, 307—arguments of, against the new law of succession, iii. 88 *et seq.*—foreign secretary under Louis Philippe, iv. 99—party and views of, in the ministry, 121—resigns, 124—formation of ministry of, 1834, v. 285—its fall, *ib.*—proposed as premier, 307—ministry formed by, 316—his character, 317—proposes law for the disjunction of trials, 324—defeated on it but still holds on, 325—modification of his ministry, 326—alliance arranged for the Duke of Orleans by, *ib.*—dissolves the Chamber, 328—majority for, in the Deputies, 1837, 343—majority for, on the address and the secret service money, 345—schism between him and the Doctrinaires, and his attention to the court, 350—negotiations with England regarding Belgium, 355—coalition against his ministry, and their resignation, 359—applied to by the king after Soult's fall, 376—character and influence of, vii. 164—sent for after Guizot's dismissal, 391—returned to National Assembly, viii. 41—at meeting with the president, 343—one of committee on electoral rights, 344—a member of the permanent commission, 345—views of, before the coup d'état, 353.
- Molesworth, Sir W., on the position of the Melbourne ministry, vi. 14—on the progress of Australia, 124—new system with regard to colonial lands introduced by, and his death, viii. 810.
- Molière, the comedies of, iv. 277.
- Molitor, marshal, at Bugeaud's funeral, viii. 341.
- Molitor, count, corps under, for invasion of Spain, ii. 287—operations of, 289—operations against Riego, 296.
- Moltke, general, defeat of the Prussians by, viii. 192.
- Molosch, prince, of Serbia, ii. 322—the revolt of, against Turkey, 333—opposed to Russia, iii. 8.
- Morillas, conquest of the, by the British, vi. 174.
- Monarchy, alleged danger from reform to the, iv. 25—results of the French revolution with regard to, viii. 358.
- Monasteries, the, suppression of, by the Cortes in 1820, i. 855—violence against, in Barcelona, &c., 857.
- Moncey, marshal, declines presiding at the trial of Ney, i. 127—corps under, for invasion of Spain, ii. 287—operations, 289.
- Monetary crisis of 1825 in England, the, iii. 261—its severity, 263—causes of rise of interest during, v. 402—causes which led to the, 1847, vii. 260—progress of the panic, 261—difference between this and former ones, 262—debates in parliament on it, *ib.* *et seq.*—increase of, August 1847, 276—the queen's speech on, 280—increasing distress from it, 285—details of losses, *ib.*—effects of, 303—due to free trade and a fettered currency, 304, 309—danger of, from drain of gold, 306—of 1857, 309 *note*—effects of the general, in France, 135—in France, 364, viii. 12—in Belgium, 147.
- Monetary laws, the, great effects of the change in, in Great Britain, ii. 134—the crash of 1825 due to, iii. 264—effects of, in inducing the prosperity of 1835, v. 404.
- Monetary measures, influence of, in arresting population, viii. 362.
- Monetary system, the, exposition of the effects of, on manufactures, iii. 371—arguments of Mr Attwood, &c., against, 381 *note*—relations of the railway system to, 396—its influence in inducing the fall of the Wellington ministry, iv. 2—effects of, on the moneyed and producing classes, 78—peculiarities of, England, v. 400—Peel's, how it fosters speculation, vii. 310.
- Money, increased value of, from the currency bill of 1819, i. 3—effects of the contraction of the currency on the value of, 13—changes in the value of, and effects of its abundance, 17—policy of the Spanish government with regard to, 323—effect of the bank restriction act on value of, iii. 379—effect of the contraction of the currency on the value of, iv. 63—want of, in the United States, vi. 46—change in value of, by the gold discoveries, vii. 325—scarcity of, in Paris, 1848, viii. 6.
- Moneyed aristocracy, predominance given by the reform bill to the, vi. 46.
- Moneyed classes, the, danger from ascendancy of, i. 161—their possession of the close boroughs, iv. 64—influence of, in the boroughs, 70—way in which they obtained their predominance, 78—is it the result of a general law? *ib.*—dangers from predominance of, in France, vii. 153.
- Moneyed interest, the, predominance of, in Great Britain, and its effects, i. 3—strength of, and its influence on the repeal of the corn laws, vi. 381.

- Monteur, circulation of the, iii. 118 note—
 declaration in the, on the alleged letters of
 Louis Philippe, vii. 140.
 Monteur Republican, the, tone of, 1839, v.
 363.
 Monks, imprisonment of, in Saragossa, i.
 353.
 Munier, general, made member of Chamber
 of Peers, i. 94.
 Monsoon, effects of the, in India, vi. 158.
 Monster meetings, the Irish, vi. 306.
 Mont de Marsan, resistance to the valuation
 in, vii. 146.
 Mont St Michel, imprisonment of Barbès,
 &c., in, v. 365.
 Montagnes, secret society called, iv. 373
 note.
 Montalembert, M. de, a leader of the Legiti-
 mists, v. 344—heads the clerical party in
 France, vii. 121—declaration of, as the
 head of the Catholic party, 195—on the
 Polish question, 204—circular to the elec-
 tors by, 1846, 208—on the state, &c., of
 Italy, 351—on the violation of the capitu-
 lation of Fribourg, 359—opposes the consti-
 tution of 1848, viii. 60—on dissolution of
 Assembly, 336—on state of France, 340—
 views of, as expressed to the president, 343
 —one of the committee on electoral rights,
 344—views of, before the coup d'état, 353.
 Montalivet, M., secretly favours the Spanish
 revolutionists, iv. 109—becomes minister
 of the interior, 124—accompanies Polignac
 to prison, 126—tenders his resignation, 148
 —employment of Deutz by, 327—refuses
 the Duchess de Berri's gift during the cho-
 lera, 310—succeeds Casimir Perier as pre-
 mier, 320—placed at head of civil list, 342,
 355—minister of the interior under Thiers,
 v. 307 note—becomes minister of interior,
 326, vii. 205.
 Montarlot, implicated in Riego's plot, ii.
 236.
 Montauban, colonel, surrender of Abd-el-
 Kader to, vii. 188.
 Montbel, M. de, minister of public instruc-
 tion, iii. 109—character of, 112—becomes
 minister of finance, 131.
 Montcalm, the marquise de, i. 106.
 Montebaldo, defeat of the Sardinians at, viii.
 88—repulse of the Austrians at, 100.
 Montebello, the duke of, demands of, regard-
 ing the refugees in Switzerland, v. 315—
 foreign minister, 1839, 360 note—decree
 against, viii. 5.
 Montebello, fort of, at Antwerp, iv. 345.
 Montecuculli, count, viii. 200—ministry of,
 202—attempts to dissolve the university
 legion, 211.
 Montego Bay, slave insurrection at, v. 45.
 Monteith, colonel, at Jellalabad, vii. 26, 29
 —expedition into the Shinwarree valley
 under, 38—at the Huft-Kotul, 41.
 Montemart, the duke de, dismissed from
 office, ii. 249—appointed premier, iii. 151
 —attempt to form a ministry under him,
 46—last interview of Polignac with, 152—
 last attempt at negotiation by, 46.
 Montero, defeat of the royalists at, ii. 249.
 Montesquieu on the character of the Span-
 iards, i. 325—comparison between, and
 Guizot, iii. 187.
 Montesquieu, the abbé, made member of
 Chamber of Peers, i. 94.
 Montesquiou, M. de, iv. 87.
 Montessey, M., proceedings of, in Sicily, vii.
 849.
 Monte Video, the blockade of, 1847, vii. 336.
 Montfaucon, cholera at, iv. 317 note.
 Montgomerie's Tavern, defeat of the Cana-
 dian insurgents at, vi. 98.
 Montholon, count, at St Helena, ii. 129—
 Napoleon's memoirs dictated to, iii. 197
 —accompanies Louis Napoleon to Bou-
 logne, v. 381.
 Monthly Review, the, i. 235.
 Montjoie, madame de, iv. 87.
 Montlaville, M. Chapuis; on the law against
 associations, iv. 370.
 Montlouis, the count de, an opponent of the
 Parti-prêtre, iii. 75—denunciation of the
 Jesuits by, 93.
 Montmorency, Count Mathieu de, made
 member of Chamber of Peers, i. 94—be-
 comes minister of foreign affairs, ii. 124—
 character of, 222—represents France at the
 Congress of Verona, 258—interview be-
 tween, and Metternich, 259—views of,
 on the results of the congress, 263, 264—
 created a duke, 265—account by him of
 his proceedings, 26—his resignation of
 office, 266—a leader of the Parti-prêtre,
 iii. 76—resigns under Louis Philippe, iv. 99.
 Montmorency, the prince de, iii. 77.
 Montmorency, duke de, preceptor to the
 Duke de Bordeaux, and his death, iii. 92.
 Montmorency family, share of the indemnity
 received by, iii. 83.
 Montour, trial of, for the forgery of the Louis
 Philippe letters, vii. 142.
 Montpellier, depressed state of, 1831, iv. 303
 —resistance to the valuation in, vii. 146.
 Montpensier, duc de, marriage of Infanta of
 Spain to, vii. 210, 216—measures recom-
 mended at cabinet council by, 389—urges
 the abdication of Louis Philippe, 396.
 Montpensier, the duchess of, birth of, v. 104
 —marriage of the Comte de Paris to her
 daughter, 137 note.
 Montreal, loyalty of, during the insurrec-
 tion, vi. 90—trials, &c., of insurgents at,
 103.
 Montrouge, the Jesuit seminary at, iii. 74.
 Monza, advance of the Austrians to, viii.
 105.
 Moodie, colonel, murder of, by the Canadian
 insurgents, vi. 93.
 Moodkee, battle of, viii. 83.
 Mookoor, check of the British at, vii. 42.
 Moolraj, revolt of, and murder of Anderson
 and Vans Agnew, vii. 98—defence of Mool-
 tan by, 103—his surrender and trial, 104.
 Mooltan, Sikh population of, vii. 76—revolt
 of, and murder of Anderson and Vans
 Agnew, 98—defeats of the Sikhs near, and
 commencement of siege, 99—it is raised,
 100—resumption of siege of, 103—storming
 of it, 104.
 Moors, the, in Spain, i. 217—national char-
 acter of, in Spain, 321—their expulsion
 and its effects, 26—effects of the long-con-
 tinued hostility with them, 322—number
 of, in Algiers, iii. 180 note.
 Moore, Thomas, the works of, i. 220.

- Moorhouse, an associate of Hunt's, ii. 149.
- Moral complicity, doctrine of, advanced by the French lawyers, dangers of it, &c., vii. 149.
- Morality, relations of education to, i. 25—why education fails to advance, 27.
- Moravia, originally a part of Poland, iv. 173—education and crime in, 222 note.
- Morea, the, insurrections against the Turks in, ii. 351—depopulation of it, 352—commencement of the insurrection in, 355—its spread there, *ib.*—successes of the Turks in, 372—fortresses of, relieved by the Turks, 384—invasion of, by Chourchid Pacha, 389—his defeat and retreat, *ib.*—landing and first operations of Ibrahim Pacha in, 411—guerilla warfare in, 415—operations in, after the fall of Missolonghi, 423—operations and cruelties of Ibrahim in, 427—expulsion of the Turks from, iii. 64—ravages of brigands in, v. 261.
- Morca, castle of, relieved by the Turks, ii. 398—captured from the Turks, iii. 64.
- Mordca, arrest of Riego by, ii. 236—obliged to resign, 237.
- Moreira, general, liberal conspiracy of, and his execution, v. 124.
- Morella, rising in favour of Don Carlos in, v. 141—capture of, by the Carlists, 224—defeat of Orca before, 226—captured by the Christians, 232.
- Morilli, a leader of the Neapolitan revolution, i. 364.
- Moreno, a leader in the Cortes of 1820, i. 855.
- Moreno, colonel, a Spanish revolutionist, iv. 109.
- Morey, execution of, as an accomplice of Fieschi's, v. 299.
- Morier, Mr, British minister in Switzerland, vii. 356.
- Morning Journal, prosecution of the, iii. 392.
- Morny, M. de, vii. 401—and the coup d'état, viii. 354.
- Moroussi, Prince Constantine, execution of, ii. 866.
- Morpeth, lord, amendment to address moved by, 1835, v. 411—introduces the Irish church bill, vi. 23—banquet to, at Leeds, and his speech, 81—brings in the Irish municipal bill, 1840, 39—defeated in Yorkshire, 1841, 148—joins the Anti-corn-law League, 359—again returned for Yorkshire, 361—effect of his coercion bill in Ireland, 375—commissioner of woods and forests, 1846, vii. 221 note.
- Morpeth, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Morrier, M., refuses to arrest Manuel, ii. 281.
- Morris, colonel, at the storming of the forts of Canton, vii. 14.
- Morris, colonel, at the battle of Isly, vii. 187.
- Morrison, general, operations under, in Burma, vi. 189.
- Mort aux Tyrans, society called, iv. 373 note.
- Mortality, ratio of, to population in Glasgow, 1822 38, vi. 77 note—increased, in manufacturing districts, 1841, 283 note—amount of, in Ireland during the famine, vii. 245—average rates of, in Manchester and Surrey, 268—comparative, in manufacturing towns and the country, 271—comparative rates of, in town and country districts, 313, viii. 302.
- Mortara, defeat of the Sardinians at, viii. 115.
- Mortemart, M. de, letter from Lafayette to, iv. 89—interview of, with the Duke of Orleans, 91—takes the oaths to Louis Philippe, 99.
- Mortgages, amount of, on land in France, iii. 174—amount of, in Ireland, vii. 250—pressure of, on land in France, 119.
- Mortier, marshal, made a chevalier of the Cordon Bleu, iii. 85—mission of, to St Petersburg on the Eastern question, v. 254—becomes premier and minister-at-war, 285—difficulties of, as premier, and his resignation, 287—killed by the explosion of the infernal machine, 297—his funeral, 298.
- Mortmain, extent of land held in, in Turkey, ii. 326.
- Mosconiss: Isles, revolt in the, ii. 372.
- Moscow, population of, ii. 11—educational establishments in, *ib.*—the Russian army of reserve at, 25—measures of Alexander at, 32—organisation of university of, 84—regiment of, the revolt in, 62—coronation of the Emperor Nicholas at, 74—the headquarters of the Hetaira at, 358—ravages of cholera in, iv. 317.
- Moseley, colonel, at the passage of the Khyber, vii. 27.
- Mosheah, a Caffre chief, viii. 313.
- Mosques, landed possessions held by, in Turkey, ii. 326.
- Moss, Mr, attack by the Chinese on, vii. 10.
- Mostanegem taken by Abd-el-Kader, and retaken by the French, v. 332—fortifying of, by Abd-el-Kader, 333—terms of treaty of La Tafna regarding, 339.
- Mouctar, son of Ali Pacha, ii. 353.
- Moullah, combat on the, vii. 163.
- Moulin, reform banquet at, vii. 131.
- Mounier, M., appointed president of the mixed commission, i. 283—called to the council of state, 309—efforts of, on behalf of the new electoral law, ii. 104—municipal law introduced by, 121—the royalists on, 124.
- Mountain, brigadier, at Chilianwallah, vii. 102.
- Mountain districts, security of the, in Turkey, ii. 326.
- Mouravieff, Alexander, a leader of the Russian conspiracy, ii. 59—Madame Alexander, accompanies her husband to Siberia, 71.
- Mouravieff, Hippolyte, arrest of, ii. 68.
- Mouravieff, Captain Nikitas, a leader of the Russian conspiracy, ii. 59—madame, accompanies her husband to Siberia, 71.
- Mouravieff-Apostol, Mathew, a leader of the revolt, ii. 67—arrested, 68—condemned to Siberia, 69.
- Mouravieff-Apostol, Serge, a leader of the revolt, ii. 67—arrested, 68—condemned to death, 69—his execution, 71.
- Mouravieff, general, operations under, 1829, iii. 41—at battle of Kainly, 43—at Milliduz, 45.
- Mourillon arsenal, fire, &c., in the, vii. 367.
- Mousoul, population of, ii. 331 note.
- Mouton-Duvernay, general, proscribed in 1815, i. 98—execution of, 139—indemnity to, ii. 122 note.

Mouzala, victory of the French at the, vii.
 177—reoccupied by the Arabs, 178—second battle of the, *ib.*
 Movement newspaper, a republic advocated by the, iv. 311.
 Mozambano, passage of the Mincio by the Sardinians at, viii. 84.
 Mozart as a composer, iv. 300.
 Muffling, baron, the memoirs of, iv. 287.
 Mughis, irruption of the, from Burmah into the British territories, vi. 183.
 Mukha-Estatt, defeat of the Turks at, iii. 47.
 Mukwanpoor, defeat of the Ghoorkas at, vi. 177.
 Mulgrave, the earl of, becomes privy seal, v. 71—lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 420 note.
 Mulhar Rao, submission of, to the British, vi. 181.
 Müller, the works of, iv. 283.
 Mullingar, language at repeal dinner at, vi. 307.
 Munagoni, revolt against Don Carlos by, v. 226.
 Munch, M. de, iv. 239 note.
 Munich, prices of wheat at, 1817 and 1819, ii. 141 note—the galleries, &c., of, iv. 221—society for liberty of the press at, 363—tumults at, on the French revolution of 1848, viii. 149.
 Municipal administration, reform of, in Piedmont, vii. 346.
 Municipal assemblies, introduction of, into Naples, i. 363.
 Municipal Guard, disbanding of the, viii. 5.
 Municipal institutions, establishment of, in Sicily, i. 366.
 Municipal reform, effects of, in Ireland, iii. 274—amendment to address on, 1835, v. 411—bill, the Scotch, vi. 8—the English, *ib. et seq.*—its fate in the House, 7—reflections on it, 8 *et seq.*—the Irish, 19 *et seq.*—carried in the Commons, 22—altered in the Lords, and finally rejected, *ib.*
 Municipal system, proposed reform of the, in Rome, vii. 339.
 Municipalities, proposed new law for the, iii. 107—collision between, and the government on the valuation, vii. 146.
 Munro, Sir Thomas, rise of, vi. 182.
 Munschengratz, *see* Muntz-Graetz.
 Munster, the earl of, iii. 391.
 Munster, state of the peasantry in, ii. 192—famine in, 1823, 195—Catholics and Protestants in, iii. 277 note.
 Munster, riot in, on the arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne, iv. 247.
 Muntz, Mr, motion by, against bank charter act, vi. 331.
 Muntz-Graetz, congress of sovereigns at, iv.

241—congress of, its objects, proceedings, &c., 364—resolution of it against propagandism, 365.
 Muralt, colonel von, viii. 125.
 Murat, adventures of, after Waterloo, i. 134—lands in Corsica, 135—arrival, &c., at Ajaccio, 136—his landing in Naples, *ib.*—failure of, at Pizzo, 137—is arrested, *ib.*—condemned by a court-martial, 138—his execution, 139—reflections on his death, &c., *ib.*—organisation of the Carbonari under, 363—pension to the widow of, v. 365.
 Murchison, Sir Roderick, i. 234.
 Murcia, royalist insurrection in, ii. 244—atrocities of the mob in, v. 187—massacres of Carlists in, 227.
 Murders, increase of, in Ireland, 1832, v. 10—frequency of, in Ireland, 1838, vi. 132.
 Murillo, general, appointed captain-general at Madrid, ii. 234—energetic proceedings of, against the mob, 235—resigns, *ib.*—suppression of the tumults caused by Riego's arrest, 236—energy of, against the Madrid rioters, 240—trial of, demanded, 242—decision of, with regard to the insurrection of the Guard, 247—defeats their attack on Madrid, 248—deprived of his command, 249—desertion of, to the royalists, 202.
 Murray, Sir George, becomes colonial secretary, iii. 328—master-general of ordnance, 1835, v. 407 note—master-general of ordnance, 1841, vi. 280 note.
 Murray, Mr J. A., lord advocate, 1835, v. 421 note.
 Mush, the pacha of, joins the Russians, iii. 38—submission of, to the Russians, 47.
 Music, general passion for, in Germany, iv. 299—the great composers of Germany, *ib. et seq.*
 Musselburgh, virulence of cholera in, v. 5.
 Mussulmans, the, in the Turkish empire, ii. 319—numbers of, in European Turkey, 324 note—number of, in Constantinople, 336 note.
 Mustapha, vizier of Scodra, ii. 397.
 Mustapha Pacha, defeat of, by Hozzaris, ii. 399—commences the siege of Missolonghi, 400—raises it, and retreats, *ib.*
 Musters, Mr, destruction of his seat, and death of his wife, iv. 42.
 Mutiny, appearances of, 1844, in India, vii. 74.
 Mutton, prices of, 1824-5, iii. 251 note—fall in price of, 1841 to 1845, vi. 855.
 Mutuellistes, secret society of the, iv. 374.
 Mydan, defeat of the Afghans at, vii. 43.
 Mysore, political arrangements with, 1834, vi. 205.

N

Nadin, Mr, at the Peterlob meeting, ii. 148.
 Nadir Shah, the siege of Kars by, iii. 32—the invasion of India by, vi. 208—route of, 209.
 Naglos, M. de, iv. 239 note.
 Nagpore, treaty with rajah of, vi. 199—political arrangements with, 1834, 205—the ex-rajah of, 207.

Nagy Sandor, general, defeat of, viii. 271—execution of, 281.
 Naim, reversal of attainder of family of, iii. 280.
 Nakhitchevan, capture of, by the Russians, ii. 350—province of, ceded to Russia, iii. 13.
 Namur, terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, i. 301.

- Nanek, the founder of the Sikhs, vii. 76.
- Nankin, population of, vii. 3—advance of the British to, 19.
- Nan-Ling mountains, the, vii. 3.
- Nantes, concealment of the Duchess de Berri in, iv. 328—her betrayal and arrest, 327—imprisonment of Duchess de Berri in castle of, 328—proposed railway from Paris to, v. 346—reform banquet at, 1840, vii. 131—line of steamers to Brazil from, 136—proposed railway from Paris to, 154—suspension of cash payments by bank of, viii. 13—disorders at, 1848, 33.
- Nantil, captain, a leader in the conspiracy in the army, ii. 111—escapes, 112.
- Nao-Nehol Singh, a Sikh chief, vi. 241.
- Napier, admiral, defeat of the Miguelite fleet by, v. 130—forces under, for the campaign in Syria, 272—defeat of Ibrahim Pacha by, 277—at bombardment of Acre, *ib.*—offer of, to Mehemet Ali, 278—incasures of, in Ireland, 1848, vii. 301.
- Napier, Sir Charles, appointed to chief command in Oude, vii. 53—his first proceedings there, *ib.*—commences hostilities, 54—expedition against Emaunghur, *ib.*—returns to the Indus, and fresh negotiations, 56—his determination to attack the Ameers, *ib.*—battle of Meanee, 57 *et seq.*—capture of Hyderabad, 59—reinforcements received by, 60—summoned by Shere Mahommed to surrender, 61—battle of Hyderabad, *ib.*—capture of Meerpoor and Omereote, 63—final defeat of Shere Mahommed, 64—honours conferred on, *ib.*—his civil administration, 65—on the discontents among the sepoys, 74—character of, 79—retirement of, 97—appointed commander-in-chief in India, 103—on the battle of Chillianwallah, *ib.* note. at Wellington's funeral, 330 and note.
- Napier, lord, proceedings of, in Sicily, vii. 349—proceedings of, in China, 8—his death, 9.
- Napier, Sir W., at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330—his History of the Peninsular War, remarks on, i. 243.
- Napierville, dispersion of Canadian insurgents at, vi. 102.
- Naples, landing and failure of Murat in, i. 136 *et seq.*—his death resolved on by the court, 138—reforms introduced into, 362, 363—breach of the king's promise of a constitution, 362—Influence of Spain on, and commencement of the revolution in, 364—defection of the garrison of, *ib.*—the revolution in Sicily, 365 *et seq.*—rupture of negotiations between, and Sicily, 367—suppression of the insurrection in Palermo, 368—meeting of the parliament, 369—the king of, at the Congress of Laybach, ii. 37—proceedings resolved on against the revolution in, *ib.*—war declared against the revolutionists by the Congress, 39—its subjugation, and return of the king, 40—entrance of the Austrians into, 41—reaction in, and harsh measures of the royalists, 43—treaty at the Congress of Verona regarding, 259—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—attempted insurrection in, 1830, iv. 133—the revolution in, circular of Metternich regarding, 231—protest by, against the succession of Isabella of Spain, v. 111—exports to 1846-9, vii. 287 note—treaty with, regarding the slave trade, 138—reception of Lord Minto in, 345—publication of a constitution in, 1848, 349—revolution in Sicily, viii. 76—the king resolves to grant a constitution, 77—spread of the revolution in Sicily, 78—Neapolitan insurgents defeated by Swiss, *ib.*—king dethroned in Sicily, 79—contest in Messina, *ib.*—effect of the counter revolution at, on the war in the north, 91—reaction in, 110—assistance from England and France to the Sicilians, 124—renewal of hostilities, 125—capture of Catania, *ib.*—anmission of Palermo, and conclusion of the war, 126—intervention of, in Rome, 128.
- Napoleon, the fall of, as the completion of the first drama of the Revolution, i. 1—the press the supporters of the despotism of, 20—discussion on bill for the detention of, 68—reaction throughout France against, in 1815, 85—convention excluding him and his family from the throne, 109—and regarding the disposal of his person, 112—bequest by, to Cantillon, 304—character of, as revealed at St Helena, 127—reflections on his captivity there, 128—exaggerations regarding the English treatment of him, *ib.*—Lamartine's account of his exile, 129—irritation between him and Sir H. Lowe, 130—change on him before his death, 131—his death, *ib.*—his funeral, *ib.*—sensation excited, in Europe, 132—the last of the men who rule their age, *ib.*—conspiracy of Polignac, &c., against, iii. 110—causes of overthrow of, 158—the later disasters of, ascribed to the Bourbons, 166—necessity of conquest to, 167—as a writer of military memoirs, 197—his merits and defects, *ib.*—his disregard of truth, 198—statue of, restored to the Vendôme column, iv. 146—services of Chlopicki under, 181—his estimation of Antwerp, 342—additions to the citadel by him, 345—death of his son, 356—fortification of Paris projected by, 358—his estimate of literary men, 379—on the importance of Acre, v. 245—his estimate of Egypt, 262—proposed removal of remains of, to France, 379—removal of remains of, from St Helena, 383—their reinterment in the Church of the Invalides, *ib.*—political manifestations on the occasion, 384—intrigues of, with Zemann Shah for invasion of India, vi. 210—alliance of Persia with, 211.
- Napoleon III., see Louis Napoleon.
- Napoleonists, punishment of the leading, resolved on, i. 92—the, views of, on the conspiracy of 1815, 149—feelings of, on the appointment of St Cyr, 289—renewed activities and hopes of, 1819, ii. 89—conspiracy among, 1820, 112—views of, in France, iii. 159—in France after the fall of Charles X., and their chances of success, iv. 83—their defeat, 90—discontent of, 137—excitement of, on the restoration of the statue of Napoleon, 146—conspiracy of 1832, 313—effect of the death of the Duke of Reichstadt on, 356—intrigues, &c., of, in Switzerland, v. 314—progress of, in France, 366.

Napoli di Malvasia, capture of, by the Greeks, ii. 373.

Napoli di Romania, failure of the Greeks before, ii. 377—relieved by the Turks, 384—and again, 389—capture of, by the Greeks, 391—removal of the legislative body to, and its surrender to them, 403—assassination of Capo d'Istria at, v. 256—establishment of Augustin Capo d'Istria at, *ib.*

Narisiechkin, madame, accompanies her husband to Siberia, ii. 71.

Narvaez, general, movements of, against Rodil, v. 203 *et seq.*

Naselli, general, proceedings of, during the revolution at Palermo, i. 306—his failure and flight, *ib.*

Nassau, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—statistics of, viii. 140 note—a member of the Zollverein, iv. 242—excitement in, on the French Revolution of 1848, 149, viii. 144.

Nassau, liberation of American slaves at, vi. 317.

Nation newspaper, the, in Ireland, vii. 300—treasonable language of, viii. 314.

National Assembly, decree convoking the, 1848, viii. 16—postponed, 17—the elections for the, 33—its first meeting, 34—Lamartine's speech on foreign affairs, 35—appointment of executive commission, *ib.*—division between, and the Socialists, 36—insurrection against the, 37—its dispersion by the mob, 38—its victory, 39—subsequent proceedings, 40—Louis Napoleon elected to, *ib.*—elections for June, 41—measures of, against the insurrection of June, 45—sentence on the prisoners, 49—continue dictatorship to Cavaignac, 51—restrictive measures of, after revolt of June, 55—election of Louis Napoleon, and his address, 61—debate on Cavaignac's conduct, 63—declare Louis Napoleon president, 64—feeling of, toward Louis Napoleon, 331—election of vice-president, 332—the finances, and debate on salt duties, 333—additional duty on successions, *ib.*—laws regarding prison labour, 334—reaction against it, 335—proposition for its dissolution, 336.

National Assembly, the German, its proceedings, viii. 173—debate on the Frankfurt insurrection, 175—jealousy of Austria, 176—proceedings on the execution of Blum, 178—breach with Austria, *ib.*—influence of the clubs, 179—crown offered to king of Prussia, *ib.*—note of Austria to, 180—breach with Prussia, 182—remove to Stuttgart, *ib.*—violent proceedings there, and dissolution, *ib.*

National Assembly, the Greek, divisions in, 1823, ii. 397.

National Assembly, the Prussian, proceedings of, viii. 167—not at the hall, 168—collision with the crown, *ib.*—they resolve to resist, *ib.*—dissolved by force, 170—continued contest, *ib.*—finally dissolved, 171—the new, proceedings of, 186—dissolved, *ib.*—new, and its measures, *ib.*

National Association, formation of the, in France, iv. 145.

National character, not dependent on institu-

tions, i. 83—causes which have formed, in Russia, ii. 20—the British, influence of its practical tendency, v. 3—constancy of, in China, vii. 1.

National Convention, the Chartist, vi. 81—1848, vii. 1267.

National debt, the French, law for reducing the interest of, ii. 309—measures for reducing it, ii. 84—1827, 92—statistics of, 124—confiscation of, during the revolution, 175—the proposed reduction of the interest on, 1836, v. 305 *et seq.*—fall of the ministry on the question, 307—course taken by Thiers on the question, 308—increase of, under Louis Philippe, vii. 120.

National debt, Great Britain, statistics of, 1820, ii. 164 note—sum applied to its reduction, 1823, iii. 222—and 1824, *ib.*—simplifying of the accounts, and provision for its permanent reduction, 1823, 223—reduction of, 1821 to 1826, 225—amount of, paid off, 1829-25, 300 note—reduction of, 1826-28, 321—amount paid off, 1829, 369—practical abandonment of the sinking fund, 383 *et seq.*—increase of it to 1854, 385 note—reduction of it from 1815 to 1830, *ib.*—state of, 1834, v. 76—and 1845, vi. 846—1833 and 1852, viii. 306.

National debt, the, of India, vi. 164 note—1857, vii. 114.

National debt, the Russian, ii. 25, 82 notes.

National debt, the Spanish, 1818, i. 341—1820, 355 note.

National defences, Lord Palmerston's cabinet minute on the, vii. 234.

National distress, Mr Attwood's speech on, 1833, v. 29—1842, Peel on the causes of, vi. 288.

National Education, *see* Education.

National Gallery, foundation of the, iii. 225.

National Guard, review of the, by Charles X., iii. 96—its disbanding, *ib.*—results of this, *ib.*—re-establishment of, by constitution of 1830, iv. 99—violence of the deputations of, to the king, 105—threatening position of, under Lafayette, 106—disaffection of, in Paris, 127—demands of Lafayette on its behalf, *ib.*—he is dismissed from its command, 128—of Lyons, review of, 306—part of them join the insurgents, 307—indiscipline of, during the insurrection of 1832, 333—the artillery disbanded, 334—failure of those of Paris, *ib.*—of the banlieue, fidelity of, 335, 336—fidelity of, under Louis Philippe, 352—of Paris, reform movement among, 1840, vii. 130—of Toulouse, insurrection of, 147—demoralisation of, in France, 185—discontent of, 1847, 371—invincible policy of, 1848, 388—join the insurgents, *ib.*—during the revolt, 395—detection of, from Louis Philippe, 402—decree dissolving the flank companies of, viii. 27—demonstration against it, *ib.*—during the revolt of March, 32—during the revolt of May, 15th, 37 *et seq.*—during the insurrection of June, 44—changes in, by Cavaignac, 51—dissolving of, in various parts of France, 342.

National Guard, defeat and disbanding of the, in Naples, viii. 79.

National Guard, establishment of a, in Palermo, i. 367.

- National Guard, organisation of, in Poland, iv. 182.
- National Guard, appointment of, in Prussia, viii. 152.
- National Guard, establishment of, in Spain in 1820, i. 352.
- National independence, universal passion for, vi. 152—causes of it, *ib.*
- National industry, exhibition of works of, in France, ii. 79.
- National intervention, limits of the right of, ii. 38.
- National newspaper, circulation of, iii. 118 note—attacks of, on the Polignac ministry, 112—prosecution of, 123—protest against the ordinances signed in office of, 138—its office closed by government, *ib.*—supports the Duke of Orleans, iv. 86—denunciations of Casimir Perier by, 145—declaration of, for a republic, 310, 311—suppression of, 334—tone of, 1839, v. 363—violence of, on the Eastern question, 337—on the general passion for reform, vii. 127—prosecution of, 1841, 140—publication of the alleged letters of Louis Philippe by, *ib.*—repeated prosecutions of, 148—on the escape of Louis Napoleon, 207—on the proposed reform banquet, 336.
- National Political Union, formation of the, iv. 45—efforts of, to coerce the Peers, iv. 50.
- National progress and independence, effects of free trade on, vii. 322.
- National workshops, establishment of, at Vienna, viii. 214.
- Nationality, elements of, in Greece, ii. 355.
- Native courts, the, in India, vi. 102.
- Natural children, large proportion of, in the towns of France, iii. 169—political effects of this, 170.
- Navaeta, storming and massacre of, ii. 388.
- Naval forces, the attack of land defences by, v. 357 *et seq.*
- Naval pensions, conversion of, 1824, iii. 223.
- Naval school, establishment of, in Turkey, v. 368.
- Navarino, capture of, by the Greeks, ii. 373—siege of, by Ibrahim Pacha, 411—capture of, 412—importance of, to him, 414—arrival of the Turkish fleet at, 426—the allies resolve on entering, 427—forces on both sides, 428—battle of, *ib. et seq.*—rejoicings throughout Greece on, 431—sensation caused by it over Europe, *ib.*—who was the aggressor at it, *ib.*—surrender of, by the Turks, iii. 63—debate in parliament on, 328—evacuation of, by the French, v. 261.
- Navarre, revolt of Mina in, i. 335—insurrection in, 1820, 349—the members returned by, to the Cortes of 1820, 353—reception of the decrees against the priests in, 357—insurrection in, against the Cortes, ii. 234—disturbances in, 238—royalist insurrection in, 239—the civil war in, 242—successes of the royalists in, 244—renewed insurrection in, 245—support of Don Carlos in, v. 138—cruelties of the Christians in, 149.
- Navarro, Philippe, a leader in the Cortes of 1820, i. 355.
- Navies, the continental, details of, vii. 236 note.
- Navigation laws, the, effects of the repeal of, on shipping, i. 15 note—Brougham on, 171—history of, iii. 227—retaliatory measures of other nations, 228—modified by Mr Wallace's five acts, *ib.*—remote cause of repeal of, 298—temporary suspension of, during the famine, vii. 243—debate on, 1847, 267—cry for repeal of, viii. 288—debates on it, *ib. et seq.*—the repeal carried, 291—its results, *ib. et seq.*
- Navigation packets, companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.
- Navy, the British, present state of, i. 15—reduction in, on the peace, 48—1818, 179—motion for reduction of, iii. 390—debates on the estimates, 1830, 381—reductions in, 1832, v. 6—and 1833, 31—reduced state of, in 1841, 282—weakness of, 1836, vi. 29—and 1840, 137—compared with population, &c., 1792 and 1838, 138 note—hogging in, vii. 233—compared with those of France and Russia, 1846, 234—1847-48, 360—1849, &c., viii. 300—1850, 320.
- Navy, the Chinese, vii. 2.
- Navy, the Egyptian, its organisation, &c., under Mehemet Ali, v. 243.
- Navy, the French, 1826, iii. 92—and English, 1840, v. 271—increase of, on the Eastern crisis, vi. 387—1848, viii. 334.
- Navy, the Russian, recruiting, organisation, &c., of the, ii. 24.
- Navy, the Spanish, its former importance and present state, i. 319—state of, 1818, 341.
- Navy, the Turkish, ii. 336.
- Navy 5 per cents, the reduction of the, ii. 205.
- Navy Island, occupation of, by the American sympathisers, vi. 94—evacuated, 95.
- Nawing Thuring, Burmese commander, defeat of, vi. 191.
- Necker, M. de, father of Madame de Stael, iii. 185.
- Negri, count, Carlist expedition under, v. 225.
- Negrier, general, operations under, in Algeria, vii. 180—death of, viii. 48, 49.
- Negroes, the, sketch of early settlement of, in the West Indies, v. 39—it was caused by necessity, *ib.*—ultimate benefits of it to them, 40—it brought them to civilisation, *ib.*—advantages of fixing them on particular estates, *ib.*—influence of the abolition of the slave trade in effecting this, 41—their generally prosperous condition, 42—insurrection of, in Jamaica, 1831, 44—ruinous effects of emancipation to, 52—discontent of, under the apprenticeship system, vi. 109—abolition of it, 110—difficulties from their indisposition to work, 112—dislike of, to continuous labour, *ib.* 113—proposed relaxation of laws for importation of, vii. 223—effect of the restrictions, *ib.*
- Negro emancipation, a result of the changes of 1830 in England, i. 5—remote cause of, iii. 298—scheme of gradual, and its advantages, v. 42—it was rejected by the planters, 43—feeling in favour of immediate, 45—arguments for it in parliament, 46 *et seq.*—fatal effects of, on the West Indies, 51—its ruinous effects on the negroes, 52—effects of, in stimulating production in the slave states, 53—and on the foreign slave trade,

Negro emancipation, continued.

- 54—reflections on it and its experienced results, *ib.*—the true causes of its failure, *ib.*—fatal results of, vi. 112—effects of, on production of sugar in the West Indies, 827, vii. 223—colonial discontent caused by, viii. 309.
- Negro slavery, motion and debate on, 1830, iii. 892—commencement of the agitation on, *ib.*
- Negropont, the Turks shut up in, ii. 398—relieved, *ib.*—relieved by the Turks, 404.
- Nelson, the attack of, on Copenhagen, as an illustration of naval attack on land defences, v. 358.
- Nelson, Wolfred, a leader of the Canadian insurgents, capture of, vi. 91—sentence on, 98—again heads the insurgents, 101.
- Nemours, duke de, designs of the Spanish liberals regarding, iv. 109—a candidate for crown of Belgium, 129—it offered to him and refused, 130—at the explosion of the infernal machine, v. 297—reception of, at Berlin and Vienna, 312—in Algeria, 333—at siege of Constantine, 340, 341—marriage of, to the princess of Saxe-Coburg, 375—settlement on him refused by the Deputies, 376—amnesty on his marriage, 377—attempted assassination of, vii. 148—named by the Duc d'Orleans regent, 156—at Milanah, 179—the Prince de Joinville's letter to, 362—orders the withdrawal of the troops during the insurrection of 1848, 393—measures of, for the escape of the royal family, 397—accompanies the Duchesse d'Orleans to the Deputies, *ib.*—escape of, 401.
- Nemroud, operations of Ibrahim Pacha at, v. 243.
- Nes Castron, capture of, by the Turks, ii. 413.
- Nepaul, the war with, *see* Ghoorkas.
- Nervaux, M., Cesar de, i. 125.
- Nesselrode, count, demands the disbanding of the army of the Loire, i. 96—at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—at the Congress of Troppan, ii. 36—declaration of, against the revolt in Moldavia, 364—convention regarding Greece arranged by, 422—proclamation to the Wallachians, &c., by, iii. 18—at the Congress of Muntz-Gractz, iv. 364.
- Netherlands, Kingdom of, the effects of the alliance of France and England on the, i. 4—contributions from France to, 109 note—treaty with, for abolishing the slave trade, 182—arrangements of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding the fortresses of, 301—measures in retaliation for the navigation laws by, iii. 230—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—the royal speech on the revolt in the, 899—Kingdom of, prosperity enjoyed by, iv. 110—its final dislocation, 129, 130—settlement of, proposed by the five powers, 155—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, 217 note.—*See* Belgium and Holland.
- Neuchâtel, decision of, on the Sunderbund, vii. 354—measures of, to prevent introduction of supplies from France, 355—neutral in the contest between the Radicals and Sunderbund, 358.
- Neuilly, the Duke of Orleans at, during the revolution of 1830, iv. 84, 86—deputation to him there, and interview between Thiers and the duchess, 87—sacking of chateau of, 1848, viii. 3.
- Neukirchen, railway between, and Wiener-Neustadt, iv. 251.
- Neumayer, general, viii. 346.
- Neuville, Hyde de, ambassador to Portugal, v. 89.—*See* Hyde de Neuville.
- Neva, bridge over the, ii. 32—danger from, at St Petersburg, 48.
- New Grenada, British exports to, ii. 305 note—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note.
- New Hampshire, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- New Jersey, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—majority against Van Buren in, 59.
- New Navarino, capture of, by the Turks, ii. 413.
- New Orleans, the crash of 1837 in, vi. 58.
- New Providence, liberation of American slaves at, vi. 317.
- New South Wales, preponderance of convicts in, vi. 122—sales of lands in, 124.
- New York, immigration into, i. 36 note—statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—petition from, in favour of the banks, 55—increase of banks in 1837, 56—the crash of 1837 in, 58—petition from merchants of, and its rejection, 59—defeat of Van Buren in, *ib.*—miles of railway in, vii. 200 note—line of steamers from Havre to, 136.
- New Zealand, colonisation of i. 5—first settlement of British colonists in, vi. 125.
- Newcastle, the duke of, destruction of his seat at Nottingham, iv. 42.
- Newcastle, reform meetings at, iv. 41, 50—first appearance of cholera at, v. 6—election of 1835 in, 409—suppression of charlist meeting at, vi. 82—failure of banks in, 1847, vii. 227.
- Newhaven, landing of Louis Philippe at, vii. 402.
- Newport, Sir John, amendment of, on the corn bill, iii. 320.
- Newport, disfranchised, iv. 20 note—the Chartist rising at, vi. 83—its defeat, *ib.*
- Newry, increase of, since the Union, v. 62 note.
- Newspapers, law regarding the, in France, ii. 80—the leading, of Paris, and parties supporting them, 1819, 82—numbers of, in 1782, 1790, and 1821, 197 note—joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note—proposed reduction of duties on, iv. 15 note—arbitrary suppressions of, in Germany, 239—prosecutions of, under Louis Philippe, 340—reduction of stamp on, vi. 28—suppressions of, 1848, viii. 56.
- Newspaper press, rise and influence of the, in England, i. 269—its generally popular character, *ib.*—ephemeral character of it, 270—reflections on it, *ib.*—tone, &c., of the, in France in 1817, 290—influence of the, in France, iii. 117—circulation of, 118 note—of Paris, tone of the, 1839, v. 363—in the United States, war of, against the banks, vi. 52.
- Newspaper writers, different class of, in France and England, iii. 211.
- Newton, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Newtonbarry, tithe conflict at, 1831, iv. 48.

- Ney, marshal, the arrest and trial of, ordered, i. 93—the treason of, 126—his departure from Paris, and arrest at Bossons, *ib.*—his trial, 127—his defence and condemnation, *ib.*—the capitulation of Paris appealed to on behalf of, 128—is found guilty and sentenced to death, 129—his death determined on by the king, *ib.*—his execution, 130—reflections on it, *ib.*—and on Wellington's connection with it, 131—reflections on the death of, 122—indemnity to, *ib.* 122 note—the evidence of Bourmont against, *ib.* 111.
- Ney, madame, and the Duke of Wellington, i. 131.
- Nezib, battle of, v. 266.
- Niagara, destruction of the Caroline at, vi. 94.
- Nicholas, the emperor, ukase in favour of the serfs by, ii. 15—on the tendency of Russia toward Constantinople, 18—on the effect of the distances in Russia, 21—efforts of, for reducing the public expenditure, 25 note—measures of, to check government frauds, 27—gains of Russia under, 29 note—marriage of, to the Princess Charlotte of Prussia, 31—circumstances attending his succession, 56—at first refuses the crown, 58—at last proclaimed emperor, 59—the conspiracy against him, *ib.*—designs of the conspirators with regard to, 60—the revolt against him, 62—his heroic conduct during it, *ib.*—he advances against the rebels, 63—his forces, *ib.*—attempts at mediation, *ib.*—his final victory, 65—his generous conduct to the private, 66—commission of inquiry, *ib.*—generous conduct of, to the relatives of the convicts, 71—at the expiatory ceremony, 72—reforms introduced in all departments by, 73—great legal reforms, *ib.*—coronation of, 74—his character, and parallel between him and Peter the Great, 75—motives of, for his assistance to Austria in 1849, 843—views of, regarding Greece, 422—rupture between Russia and the Mohammedan powers on his accession, *ib.* 1—hostilities with Persia, 2 *et seq.*—negotiations with Turkey, and his demands, 7—convention of Ackerman, 8—reforms introduced into Russia, 9—preparations for war with Turkey, 13—begins the campaign against Turkey, 1828, 17—designs of, 22—measures of, at Odessa, for prosecution of the war, 23—takes the command before Varna, 25—surrender of Varna, 28—sails for Odessa, and narrow escape of, 29—creates Paskewitch a field-marshal, 49—views of, regarding Greece, 66—reception of ambassador from Louis Philippe by, *ib.* 101—unsuccessful negotiations of the Poles with, 183—proclamation and preparations of, against Poland, 186—rejects all efforts at accommodation, 188—formally dethroned by the Polish Diet, 189—cruelities of, in Poland after the war, and his conduct during the cholera, 218—meeting of, with the Emperor Francis and Frederick William at Munchengrätz, and measures resolved on, 241—connection between, and the King of Prussia, 259—at the Congress of Muntz-Graetz, 264—interference of, between Turkey and Egypt, v. 262 *et seq.*—reception of Lord Durham by, &c., 254—the presidency of Greece conferred on his secretary, 258—declaration of, regarding Egypt, 262—visit of, to England, *ib.* 334—its political objects, *ib.*—investments of, in British funds, *ib.* 275—purchases of, in French funds, 1846, 264—proposals of, regarding settlement of Germany, *ib.* 189—part taken by, in Schleswig question, 192—resolves on assisting Austria against Hungary, 258—proclamation to his troops after the close of the Hungarian war, 282.
- Nicholl, Dr, judge-advocate, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Nicholl, Mr, on the Scotch poor-law, vi. 351 note.
- Nicholls, Mr, his report on the Irish poor, vi. 26—on the state of Ireland during the famine, *ib.* 241.
- Nicolls General Sir Jasper, at the assault of Bhurtpore, vi. 199—*ib.* 22—urges abandoning Afghanistan, 23—succeeded by Gough, 69.
- Nicolson, captain, defeat of Ghazees by, vi. 234—in the Punjab, *ib.* 82.
- Nicopolis, capture of Turkish flotilla near, *ib.* 50.
- Nicosia, massacre of the Greeks in, *ib.* 368.
- Nietci, population of, *ib.* 331 note.
- Niebuhr, the works of, *ib.* 282.
- Niedzwiedka, massacre at, *ib.* 201.
- Niemcewicz, Julian, a member of the provisional government of Poland, *ib.* 179.
- Niemen, defeat of the Russians on the, *ib.* 206.
- Nieuport, terms of treaty of Aix la-Chapelle regarding, *ib.* 301.
- Niketas, at the battle of Valtezza, *ib.* 373—defeats of Chourchid Pacha by, 390—defeat of the Turks at Agion Oros by, 391—defeat of the Turks at Acrata by, 396—at the battle of Mount Helicon, 398—joins Colocotroni against the legislative, 402—takes part with the Senate against Colocotroni, 403—commands the garrison of Missolonghi, 415.
- Nimmo, Mr, on the condition of the Irish poor, *ib.* 266.
- Ningpo, storming of, by the British, *ib.* 16—defeats of the Chinese round, *ib.*—opening of, 20.
- Nismes, royalist atrocities at, i. 100, 101—depressed state of the workmen of, 1831, *ib.* 303—disorders at, 1848, *ib.* 33.
- Nizam Djedid, the, in Turkey, *ib.* 4.
- Nonilles, the duke de, takes the oaths to Louis Philippe, *ib.* 99.
- Nobility, the degraded state of, in Spain, *ib.* 326—decree reviving the privileges of, in Spain, 335—civilisation confined to, in Russia, *ib.* 21—effects of the destruction of, in France, *ib.* 168—its effects on the daily press, 211—the first French Revolution directed against, *ib.* 80—influence of the revolution on, in France, 168—the feudal, their jealousy of the boroughs, 237—effects of their heading the English movement, v. 8—contrast between conduct of, in France and England, *ib.*—representation of, in Germany, *ib.* 142—privileges of, in Hungary, 143—Hungarian, surrender of their privileges by, 267.
- Nobles, the caste of, in Russia, *ib.* 13—in the States-general of Prussia, *ib.* 255 and note

Nobles, continued.

- the Polish, jealousy of Russia of, vii. 196—regulations regarding, in Prussian Poland, 197—and in Galicia, *ib.*—insurrection of, in Galicia, 200.
- Nogueras, murder of the mother of Cabrera by, v. 198—operations against Don Carlos, 215.
- Nomad races of Northern Africa, the, v. 328—tribes, transference of, from Turkey to Russia, *ib.* 338.
- Nomination boroughs, Catholic emancipation the result of the, iii. 357—the system of, 365—outcry against, *ib.* 3—alleged value of, 25—universal hostility against, 64—this increased by the talent admitted by them, *ib.*—error of the Conservatives in defending, 67—practical representation of the colonies, &c., by, 70—as a means of admitting talent to the House, 73—importance of, to the producers, vi. 382.
- Non-intervention, the due limits of, *ib.* 38—principle of, as practised by Wellington toward Portugal, *ib.* 872.
- Non-residence, influence of, in Ireland, v. 26.
- Noor Mahommed, one of the Amers of Scinde, vii. 52.
- Noor, prince de, defeated by the Danes, viii. 161.
- Norbury, lord, murder of, in Ireland, vi. 132.
- Norfolk, duke of, bill for removing the disabilities of the, iii. 279—at Wellington's funeral, viii. 329.
- Norfolk, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Normal schools, establishment of, in France, vii. 123—establishment of, in Tuscany, 341.
- Normanby, lord, motion by, on the post-office, *ib.* 204—administration of, in Ireland; vi. 36—his resignation, 87—liberation of the Glasgow cotton-spinners by, 76—wholesale liberation of offenders in Ireland by, 134—ambassador to France, vii. 216—on the state of France, 1848, viii. 6—communications with Lamartine on free trade, 11—Lamartine's intimacy with, 22, 25—efforts of, to prevent the expulsion of English workmen, 32—endeavours to dissuade Lamartine from the coalition with Ledru-Rollin, 36.
- Normandy, progress of Louis Philippe through, iv. 146—journey and reception of Louis Philippe in, 1832, 361.
- North, Mr, picture of the state of Ireland by, iii. 277—arguments of, against the Catholic Association, 281.
- North, danger to India from the, vi. 208.
- North America, extension of the Russian empire in, *ib.* 46—act regarding the trade with, *ib.* 228—proposed union of the British provinces in, vi. 96.
- North American colonies, system of government which caused the loss of the, i. 318—great change in institutions of, since the rebellion in Canada, vi. 104.
- North British Review, the, i. 236.
- North Carolina, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- North Midland Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note.
- North Shields, ravages of cholera in, v. 5.
- North-West Bank, the, in India, vi. 171 note.
- Northallerton, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Northamptonshire, additional members for, iv. 21 note—defeat of ministerial candidate in, 1836, vi. 13.
- Northern and Eastern Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note.
- Northern Germany, protective system of, *ib.* 235—the secret societies in, iv. 235—reciprocity treaty between Holland and, 248—vast system of railways in, 250—agitation for religious toleration in, 1846, 254—restrictive system of, vi. 145.
- Northern powers, the, acquiescence of, in the settlement of Belgium by France and England, iv. 154—refuse to accede to the convention regarding Antwerp, 343.
- Northumberland, the duke of, at the coronation of Charles X., *ib.* 85—appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 342—first lord of Admiralty, 1852, viii. 322 note.
- Northumberland, additional members for, iv. 21 note—preparations of the reformers in, 1831, 34—defeat of Lord Howick in, 1841, vi. 148.
- Norton, Mrs, the novels and poems of, i. 254.
- Norway, prices of wheat at, 1817 and 1819, *ib.* 141 note—reciprocity treaty with, *ib.* 231 note—shipping employed in trade with, 234—exports to, 1840-9, 236 note.
- Norwich, riots in, 1826, *ib.* 287—state of corporation of, vi. 5.
- Notara, Panuzzo, president of the Legislative Council of Greece, *ib.* 409.
- Notes, small, debate on the bill for suppressing, *ib.* 288—arguments for it, *ib.* *et seq.*—and against it, 291—bill carried, 292—its effects, 293 *et seq.*
- Noton, captain, defeat and death of, vi. 186.
- Notre Dame, capture of, by the insurgents, *ib.* 142—attack by the mob on, 1831, iv. 100—the conspiracy of, in Paris, 313.
- Nott, general, left in command of Candahar, vi. 238—efforts of, to suppress pillage, &c., 240—his apprehensions, 241—reoccupies Khelat, 245—character, &c., of, *ib.*—vii. 22—defeat of the insurgents by, vi. 246—measures of, at Candahar, 255—resolute conduct of, at Candahar, 266—position and measures of, in Candahar, vii. 31—commencement of the revolt, *ib.*—battle of the Urghundaub, *ib.*—difficulties of his situation, 32—measures for security of Candahar, *ib.*—attack on it, *ib.*—reinforcements prepared, 33—declines co-operation with England, 34—orders to retire sent to, 35—urges advance to Cabul, 36—joined by England, 38—improved condition of his troops, *ib.*—operations of, against Ghuznee, 43—check of his advanced guard, *ib.*—his victory, *ib.*—captures Ghuznee, 43—removal of gates of Somnauth, *ib.*—his march to Cabul, *ib.*
- Nottingham, insurrectionary movement on, i. 165—intended rising at, 166—reform riots at, and destruction of the castle, iv. 42—pauperism in, 1839, vi. 72.
- Nottinghamshire, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Nouveau Journal de Paris, prosecution of the, *ib.* 123.

- Nova Scotia, unappropriated lands in, vi. 124.
 Novara, retreat of the Sardinians to, viii. 116
 —battle of, 117.
 Novarras, revolutionary tumult in, i. 870.
 Novelists, the new British school of, i. 249—
 German, characteristics of, 288—the philo-
 sophical, *ib.*
 Novels, modern French, pernicious character
 of, iii. 181.
 Noverras, one of Napoleon's attendants at St
 Helena, ii. 129.
 Novgorod, the ancient republic of, ii. 20—
 revolt in, 1824, and its suppression, 50.
 Nubia, assigned by treaty to Mehemet Ali,
 v. 279, 296.
 Nugent, lord, on the general distress at the
 peace, i. 48 note.
 Nugent, general, dismissed from command at
 Naples, i. 365—movements of, 1848, viii. 86
 —forces under, 89—his character and move-
 ments, *ib.*—captures Udine, and advances
 to Sacile, 90—passage of the Piave, *ib.*—re-
 signs, *ib.*—suppresses the revolt at Brescia,
 121—forces under, 241—captures Esaseck,
 248—driven toward Servia, 259.
 Numbers, danger of representation being
 based on, i. 35, vi. 9—representation based
 on, in France, ii. 126.
 Numidian horsemen, the, v. 331.
 Nuneaton, riots at, 1829, iii. 374.
 Nuñez, royalist insurrection under, ii. 245.
 Nunneries, law regarding, in France, iii. 84.
 Nunziante, general, reception of Murat by, i.
 138—marshal, viii. 180.
 Nuremberg, democratic excitement in, 1831,
 iv. 135—society for liberty of the press
 at, 363.
 Nussur Khan, ameer of Hyderabad, vii. 53.
 Nymph, capture of the Cleopatra by the, i.
 74 note.
- O
 Oases of the desert, the, vii. 168.
 Oastler, Mr, vii. 270—a leader of the Chart-
 ists, vi. 81.
 Oats, produce of, in France, iii. 173 note—
 prices of, 1824-5, 251 note—failure of, in
 Great Britain, 1826, 305—measures against
 it, 306, 307—proposed new duties on, 1827,
 819—average price of, for forty-four years,
 1827, 320—fall of prices of, 1782-1837, vi.
 70 note—proposed sliding scale of duties
 on, vi. 291—export of, from Ireland, 1845
 to 1849, 388 note.
 Obolonsky, prince, a leader of the Russian
 conspiracy, ii. 59, 61—attack on Milarado-
 witch by, 64.
 • O'Brien, Smith, attends O'Connell on his
 trial, vi. 308—opposes Lord George Ben-
 tinck's railway scheme, vii. 256—warrant
 for arrest of, 301—his defeat, capture,
 and trial, *ib.* *et seq.*—Lamartine's answer
 to, 1848, viii. 21.
 Obrok, the, in Russia, ii. 14.
 Ocana, general, defeat of, v. 172.
 Ochandiano, overthrow of the Navarrese in-
 surgents at, ii. 234.
 Ochoa, a Carlist leader, execution of, v. 230.
 Ochsenbein, colonel, heads the Free Bands in
 the attack on Lucerne, vii. 353—becomes
 president of the Diet, 354—communica-
 tions from British government to, 356.
 Ochterlony, general, afterwards Sir David, vi.
 174—forces under, against the Ghooras,
 175—successes of, against them, 176 *et seq.*
 proceedings of, at Bhurtpore, and his death,
 195.
 O'Connell, Daniel, account of the Irish peas-
 antry by, iii. 265—defence of, by Mackin-
 tosh, &c., 289—use made of the forty-shil-
 ling freeholders by, 335—his election for
 Clare, 336—effect produced by it, *ib.*—ad-
 dress of, against insurrection, 338—increased
 violence of, 343—acquiesces in the dis-
 franchisement of the forty-shilling free-
 holders, 354—claims his seat before the
 passing of the bill, *ib.*—his re-election for
 Clare, and attacks on Wellington and Peel,
ib.—his violent language and ingratitude,
 354—character of *ib.*—his inconsistencies,
 and the explanation of them, 356—his good
 qualities, *ib.*—commences agitation for re-
 peal of the Union, 374—motion by, on re-
 form, 1830, 387—agitation by, during the
 elections of 1830, 394—his refusal of Har-
 dinge's challenge, *ib.* note—violent lan-
 guage and proceedings of, 1830, iv. 12—
 prosecution of, and his escape, 13—efforts
 of, to reinstate the forty-shilling freehold-
 ers, 56—supremacy of, in Ireland, secured
 by the reform bill, v. 1—opposition of, to
 the government tithe scheme, 9—increased
 agitation of, *ib.*—vote of, on the address, 14
 —arguments of, against the coercion act, 10
et seq.—speech of, on the Irish church bill,
 24—junction of, with the English Radicals,
 57—motion by, against Baron Smith,
ib.—arguments of, in favour of repeal, 68—
 opposition of, to the tithe bill, 68—secret
 negotiation of Lyttleton with, 69—motion
 by, on Irish tithe bill, and its acceptance
 by government, 72—increased agitation in
 Ireland, 79—his letters to Lord Duncannon,
 and denunciations of the Whigs, *ib.*—
 demanded as counsel by the French pris-
 oners for treason, 292—violence of, dur-
 ing the elections of 1835, 410—crusade of,
 against the Lords, vi. 12—reception of, by
 the lord-lieutenant at Dublin, 13—speech
 of, against the Lords, 23—renewed agita-
 tion against tithes, 24—revives the Catho-
 lic Association, 25—resistance of, to an
 Irish poor-law, 26—on the Irish poor-law
 bill, 33—speech of, on Irish destitution,
 34—opposes the poor-law bill, 35—depend-
 ence of the Canadian habitans on, 89—alli-
 ance of the ministry with, 133—measures
 of the ministry to conciliate, 141—thrown
 out for Dublin, 1841, 148—supports the
 Melbourne ministry on the address, 1841,
 149—declaration of, against the Whigs and
 for repeal, 304—his motives in supporting
 the temperance movement, *ib.*—commence-
 ment of the repeal agitation, 305—the
 monster meetings, 306—his arrest, 308—
 trial and conviction, *ib.*—reversal of the

- O'Connell, Daniel, *continued*.
 sentence, 309—effects of this decision, *ib.*—his subsequent career and death, *ib.*—opposes the ten hours amendment to factory bill, 313—arguments of, against Irish coercion bill, 376—conduct of, in supporting free trade, 383—on the admission of slave-grown sugars, *vi.* 225.
- O'Connell, the younger, opposes Lord George Bentinck's railway scheme, *vii.* 256.
- O'Connor Don, the, opposes Lord George Bentinck's railway scheme, *vii.* 256.
- O'Connor, Feargus, heads the Chartists, *vi.* 81—on the 10th April 1848, *vii.* 298.
- O'Connor, Rev. N., on the state of Ireland, 1833, *v.* 18.
- Octroi, re-establishment of the, in France, *viii.* 55—abolition of the, in Belgium, 147.
- O'Daly, general, elected to the Cortes of 1820, *i.* 353.
- Odell, defeats of the Canadian insurgents at, *vi.* 102.
- Odessa, Richelieu the, originator of, *i.* 106—population of, *ii.* 11 note—visit of Alexander to, 1818, 33—importation, &c., of wheat into France from, 121 and note—Constantinople supplied with grain from, 327—embarkation of Russian succours for Turkey at, *v.* 254—prices of grain at, *viii.* 294.
- Odlir, M., *iii.* 140 note.
- O'Donnell, general Alexander, *i.* 349.
- O'Donnell, general, *see* Abislat.
- O'Donnell, general, appointed to command against Cabrera, *v.* 229.
- O'Donnell, general, and his brother executed by the Carlists, *v.* 167.
- O'Donnell, colonel, murdered at Barcelona, *v.* 195.
- O'Donnell, colonel Leopold, death of, *v.* 154.
- O'Donnell, colonel, on the state of Ireland, 1846, *vi.* 381 note.
- O'Donnell, an Irish leader, trial of, *vii.* 302.
- O'Donoghue, general, defeat of the royalist insurgents by, *ii.* 249.
- O'Doyle, general, *v.* 166—taken prisoner, 187.
- Odysseus, account of Turkish oppression by, *ii.* 325—victory of, at Thermopylae, 373—operations under, in Macedonia, 388—repeated defeats of Chourchid Pacha by, 390—holds the Pass of Thermopylae, 398—at the battle of Mount Helicon, *ib.*—gives in his adhesion to the senate, 403—siege of Carystos, &c., by, 404—reinforces Hydra, 406—treason and death of, 410, 411.
- Oehlenschlaeger, the works of, *v.* 274—the autobiography of, 238.
- Ofalla, count, becomes premier, *v.* 213.
- Offenberg, revolutionary outbreak at, *viii.* 183.
- Officers, aged, importance of retiring allowances to, *vi.* 271—the French, peculiar character, &c., of, *iii.* 163—the Russian, character of, *ii.* 24—liberal views adopted by them in France, &c., 30.
- Officials, venality and oppression of, in Turkey, *ii.* 327.
- Oginiski, prince, insurrection under, in Lithuania, *iv.* 206.
- Oglio, retreat of the Sardinians across the, *viii.* 104.
- O'Gorman, Mr., on the position of England, 1825, *iii.* 235 note.
- Ohio, statistics of banks in, *vi.* 49 note—increase of banks in, 1837, 56—miles of railway in, *vii.* 290 note.
- Okehampton, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
- Old Castile, disturbances in, *ii.* 238.
- Old Sarum, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
- Oldenburg, reciprocity treaty with, *iii.* 231 note—representation of, in the Diet, *v.* 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—statistics of, *viii.* 139 note.
- Olivera, M. d', *v.* 117.
- Olmütz, railway between Preran and, *iv.* 251—the convention at, *viii.* 190—settlement of the Schleswig question at, 196.
- O'Loghlin, Mr., solicitor-general for Ireland, 1835, *v.* 421 note—Irish corporation reform bill introduced by, *vi.* 19.
- Olympus, scenery of, *ii.* 354.
- O'Malley, Father, motion of, for Irish poor-law, *vi.* 26.
- O'Meara, Dr., at St Helena, *ii.* 129—and the St Helena memoirs, *iii.* 197.
- Omercote, capture of, by the British, *vii.* 63.
- Omer Vrioue, retreat of, from Attica, *ii.* 374—recapture of Arta by, 376—defeats of, by the Souliotes, 384—defeat of Mavrocordato by, 388—siege of Missolonghi by, his defeat and disastrous retreat, 390—operates in siege of Missolonghi, 400—plans of, for campaign of 1824, 404—operations under, 1824, 408—forces under, for relief of Varna, *iii.* 26—victory of, 27—but is unable to raise the siege, *ib.*
- Onaté, count, *ii.* 249.
- Onate, repulse of the Christians at, *v.* 161.
- O'Neil, Miss, as an actress, *i.* 264.
- Oosbegs, flight of Dost Mahommed to the, *vi.* 236—defeat of the British by, 242—defeated at the Banian, 243.
- Opera, licentiousness of the, at Paris, *iv.* 354—distribution of gratuitous tickets to the, in Paris, *viii.* 6.
- Opium, the taxes on, in India, *vi.* 163—export of, from India to China, 165—the government monopoly of, in India, and revenue from it, *ib.*—exports of, 1817 to 1839, 166 note—increase of smuggling of, into China, and disputes caused by it, *vii.* 9—seizure of it by the Chinese, 10.
- Opium trade, silence of the treaty regarding the, *vii.* 20.
- Opporto, influence of England in, *i.* 330—revolutionary movement at, 1820, 360—junction of the junta from, with that at Lisbon, *ib.*—junta of, extreme measures advocated by, 361—supports Don Pedro, *v.* 113—Miguelite feeling in, 117—proceedings at, on his usurpation, 119—revolt in favour of Don Pedro, 120 *et seq.*—liberal expedition from, 120—blockade, *ib.* 121—captured by the Miguelites, 123—landing of Don Pedro at, 123—combats around, 129—repulse of the Miguelites from, 131.
- Oraa, general, defeated by the Carlists, *v.* 179—movements of, 199—operations against Don Carlos, 215—defeats him, 216—combat with Cabrera, 225—defeated before Moralia, 226.
- Oran, province of, *vii.* 180—operations in, 1836, 1837, *v.* 333—state of affairs in, 1837,

Oran, province of, *continued*.
 339—terms of treaty of La Tafna regarding, 339.
 Orange, the prince of, iii. 14—vote of thanks by parliament to, i. 70—marriage of, to the sister of Alexander, ii. 81—negotiations of, with the insurgents, iv. 112—successes of, against the Belgians, 158—his retreat on the intervention of the French, 154.
 Orange lodges, origin and objects of, in Ireland, iii. 271—powerlessness of the law against, 1823, 275—proceedings in parliament regarding, 1835, vi. 11.
 Orange processions, &c., discouragement of, by Lord Wellesley, ii. 194.
 Orangemen, the, the Catholic Association directed against, iii. 278—defensive association of, 337—increased virulence of, after emancipation, 360—conflicts of, with the Catholics, 1829, 375.
 Orbaizeta, capture of, by the Carlists, v. 151.
 Orchard, colonel, at the assault of Gluzneo, vi. 235.
 Orchard, an Irish leader, trial of, vii. 302.
 Orders in Council regarding slavery, the, v. 44—resistance of the colonists to them, 45—it is suspended, *ib*.
 Ordonnances of Charles X., the, resolved on, iii. 132—report on them, 133 *et seq*—their conditions, 135—reflections on them, 136—issuing of, and their first effect, 137—their revocation, 151, 152—it rejected by the insurgents, 152—were they illegal, 177—examples of previous ones not objected to, *ib*.—vindication of them under Louis Philippe, iv. 350.
 Ordonneau, general, taken prisoner by the insurgents at Lyons, but liberated, iv. 307.
 Orduna, rising in favour of Don Carlos in, v. 142—combat at, 197—captured by Espartero, 229.
 Oregon question, history of the, vi. 321—conclusion of treaty regarding it, 322—its terms, *ib*.—reflections on it, 323.
 Orfah, advance of Ibrahim Pacha to, v. 248.
 Orford, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
 Organisation des Municipalités, society of, at Lamarque's funeral, iv. 339.
 Oriamendi, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 212.
 Oribe, a revolutionary chief at La Plata, vii. 336.
 Oriental bank, the, vi. 171 note.
 Oriola, count, vii. 86 note.
 Orleanists, the, their measures and views in 1817, i. 290—their position after the fall of Charles X. and their chances of success, iv. 84—their proclamation and energetic proceedings, 85—their efforts to win over the Republicans, 88—overthrow of the Napoleonists by, 90—passed among them, *ib*.—efforts of, to popularise the new dynasty, 92.
 Orleans, the duke d', warning of Didier against, i. 150—position and feelings of, in 1817, 290—at the death of the Duke de Berri, ii. 92—his conduct on the birth of the Duke de Bordeaux, 113—titles, &c., conferred by Charles X. on, iii. 72—share of the indemnity received by, 82—subscription for Gen-

eral Foy's family, 86—invited to head the revolution in 1827, 100—secret understanding of Lafitte with, 146—refuses the lieutenant-generalcy of the kingdom, 152—declines to recognise the Duke de Bordeaux, 154—proclaimed king, 157—position of, and of his party, after the fall of Charles X., iv. 84—he remains in retirement, *ib*.—conversation between the Baron de Glan-devès and Lafitte regarding him, 85—arguments for his being called to the crown, *ib*.—proposed as lieutenant-general for the Duke de Bordeaux, *ib*.—first placards in his interest, 86—his situation, *ib*.—interview between Thiers and the duchess, 87—his irresolute conduct, *ib*.—panic caused among his partisans by his indecision, 90—his arrival at Paris, and interview with M. de Montemart, *ib*.—accepts the lieutenant-general, 91—proclamation of the principles of government, 92—his visit to the Hotel de Ville, and reception there, *ib*.—efforts of his partisans to popularise his dynasty, 93—conversation with the Republicans, 94—See Louis Philippe.
 Orleans, the duchess of, interview between Thiers and, after the fall of Charles X., iv. 87—opposes his accepting the crown, *ib*.—endeavours to dissuade the duke from accepting the crown, 91—urges Chateaubriand's acceptance of the ministry of foreign affairs, 97 and note.
 Orleans, the duke of, son of Louis Philippe, at Lyons during the insurrection, iv. 309—his heroic conduct during the cholera, 319—at the siege of Antwerp, 346—tonn of, through the south, 353—at the explosion of the infernal machine, v. 297—reception of, at Berlin and Vienna, 312—marriage of, negotiated, 326—preparations for it, 327—his marriage, and catastrophe at it, *ib*.—intercedes for Barbès, 364—operations of, in Africa, 1839, 371—attempted assassination of, vii. 148—declares against reform, 149—in Algeria, 177—death of, 155—its importance, *ib*.
 Orleans, duchess of, birth of her son, v. 350—arguments for the regency being conferred on, vii. 157 *et seq*.—394, 396—heroism of, 396—before the Chamber, and gained regent, 398—refused a hearing and compelled to retire, 399—her escape, 401.
 Orleans dynasty, decree banishing the, viii. 40.
 Orleans family, the, Charles X. and his jealousy of, iii. 71—formal restoration of their estates to, 77—pretensions of, in France, 159.
 Orleans, violence of the Radical speakers at, vii. 375—suspension of cash payments by bank of, viii. 13.
 Orleans railway, the, vii. 135—undertaken by government, *ib*.—sequestration of, 1848, viii. 15.
 Orloff, Count Alexis, ii. 64.
 Orloff, count, the expedition of, into the Morea, ii. 352—arranges treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, v. 256.
 Ormaiztegui, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 170.
 Ormond, the marquis d', made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 94.

- Orna, general, v. 166.
- Ornamental arts, slow progress of England in the, i. 216.
- Ornano, general, dismissed from service, iii. 76.
- Osborne, Sir John, motion by, on the Admiralty, ii. 204.
- Osma, general, operations against the Carlists assigned to, v. 166—defeat of, 167.
- Osman Pacha, defeat of, iii. 42—forces of, at Baibout, 48—defeated, *ib.*—forces under, against Ibrahim Pacha, v. 246.
- Osnaburg, petition from, for restoration of constitution of Hanover, and its rejection by the Diet, iv. 245.
- Osopo, surrendered to Austrians, viii. 106.
- Osorio, a Christiano leader, defeat of, v. 215.
- Ossa, scenery of, ii. 354.
- Ossanghiti, occupied by the Russians, iii. 37.
- Ossory, arrears of tithes in diocese of, v. 8—bill abolishing bishopric of, 23 note.
- Ostend, terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, i. 301.
- Ost-rode, revolutionary movement in, 1831, iv. 136.
- Ostrolenka, forces, &c., of parties at, iv. 204—battle of, *ib.*—its results, 205—excitement caused in Warsaw by the battle, 206.
- Ostrowski, Ladislaus, a Polish patriot, iv. 179—a member of the provisional government, 180—appointed member of national council, 185—at the funeral of Lafayette, 378.
- Otaheite, *see* Tahiti.
- Otho, prince, proposed as King of Belgium, iv. 131—election of, as King of Greece, v. 259—his arrival, and rejoicings on it, 260—despotic government of, and revolution of, 1843, vii. 334—quarrel with, 1850, viii. 318.
- Otrotschenko, general, at battle of Kouleffsch, iii. 56.
- Ottaviani, colonel, i. 136—desertion of Murat by, *ib.*
- Ottinger, general, viii. 243.
- Ouchla, occupation of, by the French, vii. 184.
- Oude, political arrangements with, 1834, vi. 205—annexation of, and circumstances which led to it, vii. 111 *et seq.*—reflections on it, 113.
- Oudinot, marshal, ii. 302, iii. 96—corps under for invasion of Spain, ii. 287—operations of, in Spain, 289—enters Madrid, 290—commands the expedition against Rome, viii. 127—its siege and capture, *ib. et seq.*—proceedings in Assembly regarding expedition of, 339.
- Oulema, or Ulema, the, in Turkey, ii. 328, iii. 4.
- Ourdabad, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 12.
- Out-door paupers, number of, under new poor-law, v. 77 note.
- Out-door relief, absence in system of, v. 73, 74—new law regarding, 75—resumption of, vi. 71—amount of, in Ireland, 1847, &c., vii. 245.
- Outram, Sir George, defeat of Ghazees by, vi. 234—pursuit of Dost Mahommed by, 236—urges advance to Cabul, vii. 36—efforts to provide carriage for the armies, 38—agent at Hyderabad, 58—views of, as to Scinde, *ib.*—his continued confidence in the Ameers, 56—attack on him, *ib.*
- Ouvard, M., undertakes the commissariat, &c., of the French in Spain, ii. 286.
- Overland route to India, opening of the, vi. 205.
- Over-population, influence of, in Ireland, v. 26.
- Over-trading, on, as the alleged cause of the crisis of 1825, iii. 291—absence of, in the crisis of 1847, vii. 262—the bank act of 1844 designed to check, 309—now fostered by it, 311.
- Overstone, lord, arguments of, for the bullion system, v. 403.
- Owen, admiral, vii. 184.
- Oxen, consumption of, in Paris, 1789-1840, iii. 172 note.
- Oxford, attack on the queen by, vi. 140.
- Oxford, the election of 1829 for, iii. 344—state of corporation of, vi. 5.
- Pac, general Lewis, a member of the provisional government of Poland, iv. 179, 180—operations of, against Kreutz, 201—joins Skrzynecki, 202—at Ostrolenka, 204.
- Pachas, the, universal venality and tyranny of, in Turkey, ii. 327—multitude of retainers upheld by, 331—practical independence of, in Turkey, 333.
- Pacifcators, the so-called Irish, v. 17. •
- Pacilio, don, the affair of, viii. 318.
- Packet service, the, now included in navy estimates, vi. 123.
- Padua, retreat of the Austrians from, viii. 75—capitulation of, 97—garrisoned by Radetsky, 98.
- Paez, Don Victor, confessor to Ferdinand VII., i. 358.
- Pages, Gurnier, connected with the Spanish liberals, iv. 108—returned to Deputies, in 1831, 147—arguments of, on the law against the Bourbons, 160—motion by, for a republic, 310—character and career of, 311—his arrest ordered, 334—arrest of, 338—violent language of, in the Deputies, 1834, 368—arguments of, against the law against associations, 370; 371—demanded as counsel by the prisoner for treason, v. 292—views of, on the suffrage, 1839, 372—and the Polish banquet, vii. 140—death of, 148.
- Pages, Garnier (the son), returned to Deputies, 1842, vii. 155—joins the coalition against the government, 372—nominated one of the provisional government, 400—appointed finance minister, 1848, and his measures, viii. 12—appointed member of College of France, 19—intrepidity of, during the demonstration of March 17th, 29—votes for, 1848, 34 note—a member of the executive commission, 86 note—resignation of, 41—and Lamartine, 66.

- Pages de l'Ariège, M., on the fortifying of Paris, v. 395.
 Paget, Sir Edward, suppression of the mutiny at Barrackpore by, vi. 194.
 Pagnerre, a revolutionary leader, 1847, vii. 572—petition for reform drawn up by, *ib.*
 Pahlen, general, occupies Madara, iii. 56—at battle of Koulefscha, 56—movements of, in Poland, iv. 192—at Grochow, *ib.*, 193—defeat of, at Iganie, 200—at assault of Warsaw, 212.
 Paid representatives, one of the objects of the Radicals, v. 1.
 Painters, recent British, i. 258 *et seq.*
 Painting, modern French school of, iii. 215—Le Gros, *ib.*—Vernet, *ib.*—the modern school of, in Germany, iv. 298.
 Paisley, seditious meeting at, 1819, ii. 151—fall of wages in, 1819, 153 note—violent reform meeting at, iv. 50—member given by reform bill to, 56—distress in, 1842, vi. 285—ratio of mortality in, vii. 271 note—intended outbreak in, 1843, 295.
 Paix, Faubourg du, destruction of the, viii. 22.
 Pajol, general, a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 112—commands the revolutionary force from Paris, iii. 155.
 Pakenham, Sir E., monument voted to, i. 69.
 Pakington, Sir John, arguments against free trade, viii. 298 *et seq.*—colonial secretary, 1852, 322 note, 323.
 Palafox, general, ii. 249.
 Palais de Justice, capture of, during the insurrection of 12th May 1839, v. 302.
 Palais Royal, the attack by the mob on, iv. 122—sack of, during the revolution of 1848, vii. 394, viii. 3.
 Palamide, capture of citadel of, ii. 392.
 Palamido, assault of, by the Greeks, ii. 377.
 Palatinat, insurrection in, 1843, viii. 184—its suppression, *ib.*
 Palermo, revolution in, i. 366—massacre at, *ib.*—suppression of the insurrection in, 368—commencement of revolt at, vii. 348—revolt at, viii. 76—bombardment of, *ib.*—capitulation of royalists at, 77—submission of, 126.
 Palermo Reale, capture of, by the Sicilian revolutionists, i. 366—recaptured, *ib.*
 Paley, archdeacon, the philosophical works of, i. 229—on an established church, v. 416.
 Palffy, general, governor of Venice, viii. 71—resigns, *ib.*
 Palgrave, Sir Francis, the historical works of, i. 241.
 Palma Nuova, surrender of, to the insurgents, viii. 75—garrisoned by Radetzky, 98.
 Palmella, count, communicates the revolution at Lisbon to the king at Brazil, i. 361—appointed premier, ii. 301, v. 89—ministry of, 116—joins the liberals at Oporto, 121—defeated, and retires to England, 122—his expedition to Terceira, 123—excluded from the ministry, 132.
 Palmerin, general, v. 120.
 Palmerston, lord, on the budget for 1816, i. 57—on the losses sustained by the intercourse with South America, 212, ii. 256—secretary at war, iii. 314 note—at first re-
 tains office under Wellington, 327—afterwards resigns, 328—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—opposes the proposed reductions in the army, 380—foreign secretary, 1830, iv. 3 note—European reputation of, 7—his character, 8 *et seq.*—pacific policy of, 1830, 132—views of, regarding Holland and Belgium, 149—answer of, to the proposals of the Poles in 1831, 184—convention regarding Antwerp signed by, 348—signs the quadruple alliance, v. 134—declines to interfere on behalf of Carlist prisoners, 172—on the death of Zumalacarrregui, 183—on the Carlist war, 184, 185—commercial treaty with Turkey concluded by, 263—declaration of, against Mehmet Ali, 1838, 264—views of, regarding the Turkish question, *ib.* note—arranges the treaty for settlement of the East, 269—anxiety of, on the French force in the Mediterranean, 271—ability of his course toward Turkey in 1840, 281—views, &c., of, on the Belgian question, 1838, 355—answer of, to the application for the remains of Napoleon, 379—communications from Guizot to, on the Eastern question, 388—ability of, during the Eastern crisis, 390—error of, in the treaty of February 13, 1841, 397 *et seq.*—foreign secretary in Melbourne ministry, 420 and note—in the debate on Russia, vi. 30—answer of, on the case of the Vixen, 40—votes against Mr Villiers's motion on the corn laws, 139—defence of the budget of 1841 by, 144—arguments of, against the sliding scale, 291—defends the right of search, 317—commission on the Maine boundary question sent out by, 320—declines the protectorate of Tahiti, 324—again declines interference there, *ib.*—recusal of Earl Grey to take office with, 361—foreign secretary, 1846, vii. 220—his cabinet minute on the defences of the country, 1846, 234—on the Polish question, 204—letter to Sir H. Bulwer on the Spanish marriages, 214—error of, regarding the Spanish marriages, 218—differences with France regarding treaty of Utrecht, 932—on the state of Greece in 1835, 334—disunion with France on it, 335—policy of, in Portugal, 336—encouragement of the Italian liberals by, 340—his instructions to Lord Minto regarding Italy, 344 note—credulity of, to the Italian liberals, 350—policy of, toward Switzerland, 355—divergence from France and Austria, 356—delays to join their intervention, 357—agrees too late to the mediation of the five powers, 359—causes of the revolutionary policy of, 361—declaration by, regarding the French republic, viii. 25—conduct of, during the Italian crisis, 133—views of, on the Schleswig question, 161—part taken in settlement of Schleswig question, 192—motion on free trade, 299—conduct of, in the affair of Don Pacifico, 318—his speech on it, 319—circumstances which led to his removal from office, 321—votes against ministers on militia bill, *ib.*—supports the embodying of the militia, 323.
 Pampeluna, attempt of Mina on, i. 335—proclamation of the constitution at, 350—contests between the royalists and republicans

Pampeluna, *continued*.

in, ii. 242—surrender of, to the French, 294

—attempt in favour of Don Carlos at, v. 142.

Pamphlets, law imposing stamp duty on, in France, iv. 369.

Panatiné, general defence of Bajazeth by, iii. 46.

Pancorvo, capture of, by the French, ii. 289.

Panintine, Russian division of, viii. 264—at

Pered, *ib.*—at battle of Acz, 267—and of

Komorn, 268—at battle of Szegedin, 275—at

Temesvar, *ib.*

Pankratieff, general, operations of, against the Persians, iii. 13—operations under, 1829, 41—at battle of Kainly, 44—operations under, in Gurief, 47.

Pantheon, the, at Paris, iii. 214—completion of it, iv. 380—grant for it, *ib.* note.

Papa Flessa, defence of Pass of Pedimon by, ii. 414.

Papal church, policy of the, in Spain, i. 325.

Papal court, the failure of the concordat with, i. 295—approves of the ordonnance against the Jesuits, iii. 105—influence exerted by, over the Irish voters, 335—negotiations between France and, 1845, vii. 195

Papal See, concordat of 1817 between France and the, i. 282.

Papal States, the, insurrection in, i. 369—democratic insurrection in, 1830, iv. 132—

excitement in, 1830, &c., and intervention of the Austrians, 314—renewed disturbances, 1832, and Austrians again intervene, 315—occupation of Ancona by the French, *ib.*—indignation of the government at this, 316—attempt of France to secure

reform in, v. 354—death of Gregory XVI, vii. 337—accession and character of Pius IX, *ib.*, 338—amnesty by him, 339—his

first acts, *ib.*—difficulties which beset the government, *ib.*—revolutionary movement in, 1847, 342—constitution proclaimed in, 349

Papantoni, a Hydriot, gallant exploit of, ii. 407.

Paper, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 260.

Paper currency, the, effects of, during the

revolutionary war, i. 18—contraction of, in

Great Britain, and its effects, 19, 49—its

amount, 1812-31, 20 note—reduction of, 1816, 65—an inconvertible, adopted by

Rome during the Punic war, ii. 135—dis-

covery and effects of a, 136—its advantages

when duly limited, *ib.*—Adam Smith on it, *ib.*—increase of, in Great Britain, 142 and

note—as the representative of or substitute

for gold, in 216—circulation of, in

England, 1824-5, 251—amounts of, 1818-32,

as compared with exports, &c., 294 note—

issues of, end of 1825, and their effects, 287—danger of excessive circulation of, v.

399—effects of, during the war, 403—great

advantages of, in the United States, vi. 47

—want of, in India, 170—regulation of, by

act of 1844, 329—alleged excess of, in

Great Britain, vii. 231—inconvertible, in

Belgium, 1844, viii. 147.

Papineau, the leader of the revolutionists in

Lower Canada, vi. 89—commencement of

the insurrection under, 90—his flight, 92.

Parant, M., minister of public instruction,

1839, v. 360 note.

Pardinas, a Christino chief, v. 224—defeat of Garcia by, 225—defeat and fall of, 226.

Parga, the cessation of, to Turkey, in 1819, ii.

359—its evacuation, *ib.*—debates in parliament on it, 360.

Paris, the archbishop of, his palace sacked,

iii. 149—opposes funeral service to the Duke

de Berri, 1831, iv. 141—sack of his palace,

142—and of his country seat, 146—during

the cholera, 319—at the reinforcement of Na-

poleon, v. 384—murder of, viii. 48.

Paris, count of, birth of, v. 350—narrow es-

cape of, from the mob, vii. 401.

Paris, the revolution of 1848 in, i. 8—bloody

suppression of the revolts of 1848 in, 11—

entry of Louis XVIII. into, 88—arrival of

the allied sovereigns in, 94—royalist char-

acter of the press of, 1815, 103—the treaty

of, 108—capitulation of, appealed to on be-

half of Ney, 128—conspiracy of the liberal

party in, 150—the elections of 1817 for, 289

—state of, in 1817, *ib.*—visit of the Empe-

ror Alexander to, in 1818, 304—brilliant ap-

pearance of, in 1819, ii. 78—designs of the

liberals in, 1819, 88—violence of the press

against government in, 1820, 103—disturb-

ances in, June 1820, 108 *et seq.*—their sup-

pression, 109—monetary crisis at, 1819, 142

—trial and execution of the Rochelle con-

spirators at, 227—reception of the Duke

d'Angoulême in, 301—losses of the liberals

in, by the elections of 1824, 306—rejoicings

in, on the rejection of the law for reducing

the interest of the debt, 310—public entry

of Charles X. into, ii. 72—prosperity in,

1821, 76—review of the National Guard, and

the king's reception, 96—disbanding of it,

ib.—the elections of 1827 for, and riots at

them, 100—circulation of royalist and liberal

newspapers of, 118 note—excitement in,

before the ordinances, 135—military force

in, 136—first effect of them, 137—com-

menecement of insurrection, 138—increas-

ing excitement, *ib.*—force under Marmont,

139—meetings of the liberal chiefs, 140—

Marmont's plan of operations, and com-

menecement of the conflict, *ib.*—contest

during the 28th July, 141—further con-

licts, 142 *et seq.*—feelings of the combat-

ants during the night, 145—forces on the

29th, and continued combats, 146 *et seq.*—

continued successes of the insurgents, 148

et seq.—evacuated by Marmont, 149—com-

pletion of the revolution at, 152—want of

preparation by the government in, 161—

legitimate and illegitimate children in, 169

note—proportion of the latter combatants

for revolution, 170—distress among the

working classes in, 171—consumption of

animal food in, *ib.*—architecture in, 214—

prosperity of the bankers and traders of,

iv. 81—movement at, in favour of the Duke

of Orleans, 86—meetings of the deputies

and peers, 87—meetings of the republicans,

88—scene at the Hotel de Ville, 89—arrival

of the Duke of Orleans in, 90—distress in,

after the revolution of 1830, 100—influence

of, over France, *ib.*—distress and distur-

ances in, 106—proceedings of government

against the popular societies, 107—attempt

to revolutionise Spain from, 108—excite-

Paris, *continued*.

—disturbances in, on the condemnation of the ex-ministers, 126—conduct of the National Guard, and misery in, 127—violence of parties, and misery in, 137—moral statistics of, 1831, 140—tumult in church of St Germain l'Auxerrois, 141—sack of the church, *ib.*—and of the archbishop's palace, 142—further disorders, and weakness of government, *ib.*—renewed disturbances in, 146—excitement in, from the events in Belgium and Portugal, 156—excitement in, on the fall of Warsaw, 159—depressed state of the workmen of, 1831, 302—the republican press in, 311—distress and pauperism in, 1831, *ib.*—conspiracies of Notre Dame and the Rue Provaires in, 313—first appearance of the cholera in, 316—commission at, on it, 318—its ravages in, *ib.* and note—*ib.* the royalist committee at, their measures on the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, 324—extreme discontent and democratic movement in, 329—funeral of Lamartine, *ib.*—preparations of government, 330—outbreak of the insurrection, *ib.* *et seq.*—vigorous measures of government against it, 332—meeting at Lafitte's, *ib.*—progress of the insurrection, 333—chances on both sides, *ib.*—forces of government, *ib.*—Soult's military measures, 334—great successes of the insurgents, and consternation of the military chiefs, *ib.*—forces on both sides, and scene of the struggle, 335—successes of the troops, 336—storming of the cloister of St Meri, *ib.*—results of the conflict, and conduct of the king, 337—losses of the parties in the conflict, *ib.*—placed in a state of siege, *ib.*—increased confidence in, after the suppression of the revolt, 340—how secured on behalf of government of Louis Philippe, 352—heinousness of the theories and romances, 354—project for fortification of, 358—opposition to it, and it is postponed, 359—portion of grant for public works appropriated to, 360—the Polish committee at, 362—extreme violence of the press in, 1833 and 1834, 367—law against public criers in, 369—insurrection in, 1834, 376—measures of government against it, 377—their victory, and massacre in the Rue Transnonain, 378—excitement in, on the treaty regarding the Eastern question, v. 271—fresh proposals for fortifying, *ib.*—excitement in, after the bombardment of Beyrout, 274—excitement in, during the trials for treason, 294—escape of the leaders of the revolt in, *ib.*—celebration of the fête of July in, 1835, 296—explosion of the infernal machine, 297—sensation caused by this conspiracy in, 298—catastrophe in, on the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, 327—distress among the working classes, 1837, 323—sums voted to theatres of, 1838, 342 and note—the elections of 1837, and the liberal committee in, 344—proposed railways from, 346—state of poor, and legitimate and illegitimate births, 1838, 350—the Société des Familles in, 361—that of des Saisons, *ib.*—insurrection of 12th May, 362—tone of the press of, 1839, 363—state of the

press of, 1840, 378—inauguration of pillar on the Place de la Bastille, 380—the reinterment of Napoleon in the Invalides, 384—political manifestations on the occasion, *ib.*—fortification of, agreed to on the Eastern crisis, 387—different views with regard to it, *ib.*—plan adopted, *ib.*—continuance of the fortification of, 394—Soult's views on this, 395—loan from bankers of, to Bank of England, 1839, vi. 66—review of National Guard of, 1840, and reform movement among them, vii. 130—commencement of combination and riot in, 1840, 133—measures of government for their suppression, *ib.*—and Bâle Railway, the, 135—the Polish banquet at, interrupted, 140—attempted assassination of the Duc d'Orleans at, 148—various railways from, planned under Guizot, 154—elections of 1842 for, *ib.*—measures of municipality to meet the scarcity of 1846, &c., 364—distress in, from the monetary crisis of 1847, 365—discontent of the National Guard of, 371—proposed reform banquet at, 1848, 382—agitation, 383—preparations for it, and compromise agreed to, *ib.*—proposed procession, 384—the liberals decide against it, 385—forces of the republicans in, 386—and of the government, 387—aspect of the people, *ib.*—policy of National Guard, 388—excitement on Guizot's resignation, 390—catastrophe before his house, 391—increased agitation, 392—successes of Marshal Bugeaud, *ib.*—withdrawal of the troops, 393—flight of the king and royal family, 397—state of, after the revolution of 1848, vii. 2—disorders round, 3—and in, 4—formation of the Ateliers Nationaux, 7—unemployed workmen in, 1848, 11—attempt to revolutionise Belgium from, 23—dissolution of the Compagnie d'Elite in, 27—counter demonstration of the extreme party, 28 *et seq.*—the elections in, 30—revolt of March, and its defeat, *ib.* *et seq.*—grand review in, April, 33—the elections for, *ib.*—insurrection of May 15th, 37 *et seq.*—Socialist leaders returned by, 41—the insurrection of June in, 43 *et seq.*—cruelty of insurgents, 49—heroism of the soldiers, 50—state of siege continued, 56—reception of the constitution of 1848 in, 60—election of Louis Napoleon for, 61—banquet agitation in, 62—conspiracy of January 29, 337—insurrection of June 13, and its defeat, 339—declared in state of siege, 340—feeling in, on the president's change of ministry, 341—election of March 1850 in, 342—the coup d'état, 354 *et seq.*—combat in, 356.

Paris, the comte de, his marriage, v. 137 note.

Parishes, number, &c., of, in England; in connection with education, ii. 165.

Parito, M., chosen president of the Sardinian Chamber, viii. 132.

Parker, Mr., defeats Lord John Russell in Devonshire, 1835, vi. 2.

Parker, Sir W., at capture of Ningpo, vii. 16.

Parker, admiral, threatens Greece in 1850, viii. 318.

Parker, Captain Hyde, arrests the murders at Barcelona, v. 195.

Parkhurst prison, statistics of, viii. 307 note.

Parliament, discussions in, on the property tax, i. 50—discussion on the budget, 1816, 56—vote for the army for 1816 by, 59—debate on agricultural distress in, *ib.* *et seq.*—discussion regarding the resumption of cash payments, 63 *et seq.*—motion regarding the Holy Alliance, 68—debate on bill for the detention of Napoleon, *ib.*—provision voted to the Princess Charlotte, &c., 69—votes for public monuments, *ib.* *et seq.*—votes to officers, &c., 70—reflections on the proceedings for 1816, 75—meeting in 1817, and measures proposed, 163—debates on trade and manufactures, 171—debates on the resumption of cash payments, 1818, 175 *et seq.*—discussion on bill of indemnity, 179—grant for building new churches, 181—treaty with Spain, &c., regarding the slave trade, 182—discussions on the alien act, *ib.*—committee on charities, *ib.*—acts relaxing the criminal code, 183—Sir James Macintosh in, 187—the royal speech on opening, in 1819, 188—debates on the currency question, 1819, *ib.*—on the bank restriction act, 190 *et seq.*—Mr Vansittart's finance resolution, 199—discussion on criminal law reform, 200 *et seq.*—debate on the foreign enlistment bill, 207 *et seq.*—the new Houses of, 258—discussions in, on the treatment of Napoleon, ii. 128—meeting of, 1819, and the royal speech, 153—Lord Sidmouth's six acts, *ib.*—meeting of, after the death of George III., and discussion on the queen, 156—meeting of the new, 1820, 162—increase of the yeomanry, 163—the budget for 1820, *ib.*—subjects debated during the session, 164—debate on the disfranchisement of Graupound, 167—the doctrine of free trade first broached in, 168—appointment of committee on agricultural distress, 170—Brongham's speech on it, *ib.* *et seq.*—and answer of the Free-traders, 171—the bill of pains and penalties against the queen, 177 *et seq.*—meeting of, 1821, 181—majority for ministers, *ib.*—debates on foreign affairs, *ib.*—debate on Catholic emancipation, 182—carried in the Commons and thrown out in the Peers, 183—Russell's motion for parliamentary reform, 184—committee of inquiry into agricultural distress, *ib.*—debate on bank cash payment bill, *ib.*—motion for reduction of taxation, and discussion on it, 185—measures regarding Ireland in 1822, 196—debate on the Catholic claims, 1822, *ib.*—increasing strength of the minority on it, *ib.*—and on parliamentary reform, 197—Sir J. Macintosh's motion regarding the criminal law, 198—discussion on the fall of prices, &c., *ib.*—measures to relieve the agricultural distress, 199—debate on the currency question, *ib.* *et seq.*—repeated defeats of ministers, 204—reductions of taxation, 1822, *ib.*—the budget, 205—reduction of the five per cents, *ib.*—equalisation of the dead-weight, 206—small notes bill, *ib.*—acts relating to commerce and navigation, 207—the king's speech on opening, 1823, 208—debate on the Spanish question, 270 *et seq.*—proceedings regarding Spain and the South American republics, 304—debates on the surrender of Parga, 360—meeting of, 1823, and

Parliament, *continued.*

king's speech, iii. 220—budget of 1823, 222—1824, *ib.*—conversion of dead-weight, 223—reduction of the four per cents, *ib.*—arrangements regarding the national debt, *ib.*—grants voted for new churches, Windsor Castle, &c., 224—debates in, on the reciprocity system, 229 *et seq.*—on the free-trade system, 237—its application to the silk trade, 242—reduction of duties on wool, 243—repeal of laws against combination and emigration of artisans, 244 *et seq.*—discussion on the recognition of the South American States, 252—budget of 1825, 256—taxes reduced, and public accounts, *ib.*—discussion on reduction of the duties on spirits, 257—further free-trade measures, 1825, 260—new laws regarding colonial shipping, *ib.*—measures to meet the monetary crisis, 262—proceedings regarding riot at Dublin Theatre, 275—renewal of Irish insurrection act, *ib.*—lithe composition act, *ib.*—debates on Irish corruption and Catholic emancipation, 276—Roman Catholic question in relation to England, 279—parliamentary reform, alien bill, and reversal of Scottish attainders, *ib.*—act for uniformity of weights and measures, 280—chancrey reform, *ib.*—bill to repress Catholic Association, 281—debate on Catholic emancipation, 1825, 285 *et seq.*—king's speech, 1826, and letting out of bonded grain, 287—debate on the bill for suppressing small notes, 288 *et seq.*—acts for relieving the distress, 296—debates on the emigration question in, 298—the budget, 300—debate on the corn laws, *ib.*—interim admission of foreign grain, 304—dissolution, and elections, 305—opening of the new, 306—temporary relaxation of the corn laws, 307—king's message regarding Portugal, *ib.*—debate on the subject, *ib.* *et seq.*—reception of the ministerial changes of 1827, 315—rejection of the Catholic bill, 317—Peel's speech against it, *ib.* *et seq.*—ministerial measures on the corn laws, 319 *et seq.*—proceedings on silk-weavers and shipowners, 322—Penryn and East Bedford convicted of bribery; commencement of the reform question, 322—royal speech on Navarino, and discussion on it, 328—grant to Mr Canning's family, 329—finance committee and Catholic question, *ib.*—corn law bill, 330—bill for suppression of small notes, *ib.*—repeal of test and corporation acts, 331 *et seq.*—the king's speech on the Catholic question, 344—debate on the bill, 345 *et seq.*—division on it, 351—Wellington's speech in the Lords, 352—bill carried there, *ib.*—bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, 353—O'Connell claims his seat in, 354—his re-election, *ib.*—want of representation of the great towns, 365—petition to, for reform in relation to state of the currency, 366 notes—motion on the distress of the silk-weavers, 369—budget for 1829, *ib.*—Mr Attwood on the causes of Irish distress, 370—Mr Walthman's exposition of the effects of the monetary system on manufactures, 371—meeting of, 1830, 375—debate on the public distress in the Lords, 376 *et seq.*—changes of party shown by the

Parliament, continued.

division, 377—motions for reducing salaries of public officers, 379—for reduction of the army and navy, 380—for a revision of the system of taxation, *ib.*—defeat of ministers on a minor question, 381—motion on the currency, *ib.*—financial measures, 382—taxes remitted, *ib.*—speech of Mr Baring on the abandonment of the sinking fund, 383—motions on reform during session of 1830, 387—debate on a regency, on the accession of William IV., 392—the West India question, and prosecutions of the press, *ib.*—its dissolution, *ib.*—results of the elections, 393—meeting of, and king's speech, 1830, 399—Lord Grey's declaration on reform, 400—and Wellington's against it, *ib.*—Brougham's plan of reform, 401—his speech on the postponement of the king's visit to the city, 403—ministers defeated and resign, *ib.*—Earl Grey's announcement of his principles of government, *ib.* 11—vote of, to relieve the distress in Ireland, 13—the budget, and defeat of ministers on it, 14—committee on the reform bill, 15—petitions, 16—introduction of the bill, and arguments for it, *ib.* *et seq.*—its reception in the House, 22—arguments against it, 23 *et seq.*—petitions for shortening the duration of, 16—leave given to bring in the bill, 26—petitions for it, 27—that of the London merchants and bankers against it, 28—majority of one for second reading, *ib.*—counter motion carried against ministers, 29—settlement on the crown, 30—means by which the ministry induce the king to dissolve, *ib.*—scene at the dissolution, 32—results of the elections, 34—meeting of, and king's speech, 36—majority for second reading of the bill, *ib.*—discussion on particular boroughs, *ib.*—motion to give members to the colonies negatived, 37—that on £50 tenants carried, 38—third reading of the bill carried, *ib.*—Earl Grey's speech in House of Peers, 39—majority against the bill in the House of Lords, 40—vote of confidence in ministers in the Commons, *ib.*—introduction of the new reform bill, 46—division on it, and Peel's speech against it, 46—majority on third reading, and Lord John Russell's closing declaration, 47—motion on the distress in the country, *ib.*—resolution to create peers, 49 *et seq.*—meetings to coerce the peers, 50—majority for second reading in Peers, 51—and for Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, *ib.*—resignation of ministers, *ib.*—Lord Ebrington's motion carried, 53—the king yields, and ministers resume office, 54—his circular to the opposition peers, *ib.*—the bill passed and receives the royal assent, 55—the Scotch and Irish bills passed, 56—general results of the reform bill on, 57—entrance of talent through the close boroughs, 64—the finances for 1832, *v.* 5—the Russo-Belgian loan, 6—the king's speech on Ireland, 7—committees appointed on it, and their recommendations, *ib.*—debate, &c., on the tithe question, 8 *et seq.*—the government tithe scheme carried, 9—prorogation of, 1832, 11—result of the elections for the first reformed, 13—

Parliament, continued.

meeting of it, and first proceedings, 14—its extreme wordiness, and regulations in consequence, 15—regulations for forenoon hours, *ib.*—coercion bill for Ireland, *ib.*—debates on the coercion bill, 16 *et seq.*—it is carried, 21—debates on bill for reducing Irish church establishment, 22 *et seq.*—new project regarding tithes in Ireland, 26—Mr Attwood's speech on state of country, 29—answer of government, 30—the budget, *ib.*—ministry defeated on malt tax, 31—this vote rescinded, 32—effects of these votes on public opinion, *ib.*—conduct of Conservative opposition, 33—debate on renewal of bank charter act, *ib.* *et seq.*—on India bill, 35 *et seq.*—resolutions in 1823, regarding slavery, 43—the colonists refuse to act on these, *ib.*—Mr Stanley's arguments for negro emancipation, 46 *et seq.*—grant of £20,000,000 to the slave-owners, 49—bill for regulating infant labour in factories, 55—close of session, and review of its proceedings, *ib.*—motion by, &c., regarding Baron Smith, 57—motion for repeal of Irish Union, and debate on it, 58 *et seq.*—divided state of, on the subject of Ireland and repeal, 63—motion by Mr Ward on the Irish church, 64—commission of inquiry on it appointed, 66—attempt to force on Mr Ward's motion, *ib.*—declaration of ministers on it, *ib.*—question before House of Lords, *ib.*—progress of the tithe bill, 67—opposition of all parties to it, 68—parting address of Lord Grey as minister in, 70—modified coercion bill for Ireland, 71—state of the Irish church bill, 72—poor-law amendment bill, *ib.*—debate on it, 74 *et seq.*—passing of it, 76—prorogation of, and king's speech on it, 78—burning of the Houses, 406—motion for repeal of malt tax, 412—debate on Lord Londonderry's appointment as ambassador to St Petersburg, 413 *et seq.*—debate on Irish church, 415 *et seq.*—division on it, and resignation of ministers, 420—predominance of the Irish members, 422—debate on municipal reform bill, *vi.* 5 *et seq.*—debate on Irish church bill, 10—motions on the currency, agricultural distress, and Orange lodges, 11—the budget, 12—opening of, 1836, and king's speech, 18—debate on the Irish corporation reform act, 19 *et seq.*—majority for Irish corporation bill in Commons, 22—modification of it in the Lords, and its final rejection, *ib.*—the Irish church bill again passed by the Commons and thrown out by the Lords, 23—danger from the collisions between the two Houses, *ib.*—commission by, on the Irish poor and its report, 26—English tithe bill, and bill for registration of births, &c., 27—agricultural distress committee, and refusal of currency investigation, 28—the budget, *ib.*—discussion on the army and navy, *ib.*—Lord Dudley Stuart's speech on the power of Russia, 29—meeting of, 1837, and debate on the address, 32—the Irish corporation bill, *ib.*—bill for abolishing church-rates, 36—vote of, on Lord Normanby's jail-delivery in Ireland, 37—discussions on the affair of the Vixen, 40—debate in, on the working of the new poor-

Parliament, *continued*.

law, 1839, 72—committee on combinations, 76—division against the charter, 81—Mr Villiers as the leader of the anti-corn-law movement in, 85—debate on the Canadian rebellion, 96—claim of Canada for representation in, *ib.*—debate on Lord Durham's ordinance in Canada, 99—and on the apprenticeship system, 109—Brougham on the increasing horrors of the slave trade, 110 *et seq.*—act regarding prisons in the West Indies, &c., 112—small majority of the Melbourne ministry in, 113—debate on the Jamaica bill, 114 *et seq.*—division on it, and resignation of ministers, 116—election of Speaker, and second Jamaica bill, 118—settlement on Prince Albert, 120—changes in criminal law, 122—important resolution regarding colonisation, 123—debate thereon, 124—the penny-postage system, 127—discussion, &c., of privilege of, in connection with Stockdale's case, 130 *et seq.*—statistics of Irish crime laid before, 132—discussion on Lord Normanby's liberation of prisoners, 134—additions voted to the army, 1839 and 1840, 137—debate on the state of the navy, *ib.*—motion of Mr Villiers on the corn laws, 139—new reform bill for Ireland, and its fate, 141—the budget, *ib.*—division on it, 142—vote of want of confidence, 146—dissolution, 147—result of the elections, *ib.*—defeats of ministers, and their resignation, 149—session of 1841, 287—opening of that of 1842, 288—Sir R. Peel's corn-law scheme, *ib.* *et seq.*—the sliding scale, 291—arguments against it, *ib.*—it is passed, 293—Sir R. Peel's proposed tariff and financial measures, 294 *et seq.*—arguments against the income tax, 297 *et seq.*—intelligence received of the Afghanistan disaster, 302—Lord Mahon's copyright bill, *ib.* *et seq.*—debate on the arms act for Ireland, 307—session of 1843, 312—Lord Ashley's bill for infant labour, *ib.*—Sir James Graham's factory and education bill, *ib.*—new factory bill, and ten hours amendment, 313—bill regarding turnpikes in Wales, 315—great Chartist petition to, 316—bill for reducing the 34 per cents, 326—budget for 1844, 327—reduction of taxes, *ib.*—and of the sugar duties, *ib.*—debate on bank charter act, 328—Scotch and Irish bills, 332—the railway committees in, and their decisions, 338—bill reducing railway deposits to a half, 341—budget of 1845, 343—income-tax continued, and indirect taxes repealed, *ib.*—bill for establishing secular colleges in Ireland, 347—enlarged grant to Maynooth, *ib.*—introduction of Scotch poor-law, 349—charge against Sir James Graham of opening letters, 352—passing of alien act, 354—motion by Mr Cobden on agricultural distress, *ib.*—motion of Mr Miles regarding it, 355—further divisions on corn laws, and close of session, *ib.*—meeting of, 1846, and queen's speech, 361—debate on repeal of the corn laws, 362 *et seq.*—Disraeli's attack on Peel, 366—arguments against the bill, 367—result of debate, 370—Wellington's speech on the bill, *ib.*—budget for 1846, 371—new coercion act for Ireland, 372—coalition against ministry, 373—

debate on bill, *ib.*—majority against ministers, 377—Disraeli's picture of the division scene, 378—Sir R. Peel's concluding address, announcing his resignation, 379—strength of the moneyed and manufacturing interest in, and its influence on the corn-law question, 381—meeting of, 1846, and government plan for the sugar duties, vii. 221—discussion on flogging in the army, 231 *et seq.*—arms bill for Ireland, 236—plans of, for relieving the Irish famine, 239—meeting of, on the Irish famine, and queen's speech, 241—Lord Brougham's picture of Ireland, 242—ministerial plans, *ib.*—amended poor and temporary relief act for Ireland, 243—absorption of, by the Irish famine, 252—debate on Lord G. Bentinck's Irish railway scheme, 253 *et seq.*—the budget for 1847, 259—debates in, on the commercial crisis of 1847, 262—debate on the navigation laws, 267—on Mr Fielden's bill to limit factory labour, *ib.*—introduction of limited-service system into army, 272—debates on public education, 273—new Irish coercion bill, 274—prorogation and dissolution of, 275—meeting of, 1847, and queen's speech on the suspension of the bank act, 280—discussion on the latter, 281 *et seq.*—report of committees on bank charter act, 284—prorogation of, 285—excitement in, on the Tahiti affair, 191—debate on the Polish question, 204—thanks voted on conquest of Meinde, 64—announcement of recall of Lord Ellenborough, 72—effects of absence of control of, in India, 114—dangers from its duct government there, 116—debate in, on repeal of navigation laws, 288 *et seq.*—motion for relief to agricultural classes, 293—debate on free trade, 297 *et seq.*—difficulty of direct representation of the colonies in, 308—continues suspension of habeas corpus act in Ireland, 314—the Irish encumbered estates bill, 315—proceedings in, on affair of Don Pacifico, 319—defeat of ministers on militia bill, 322—dissolved, and elections for new, 324—defeat of ministers on the budget, and their resignation, 325—the members of, at Wellington's funeral, 329.

Parliament, the proposed Austrian, viii. 207.
Parliament House, Edinburgh, banquet to George IV. in the, ii. 208.

Parliaments, annual, one of the points of the charter, vi. 80.

Parliamentary commission, report of the, 1846, on the potato failure in Ireland, vi. 381.
Parliamentary committee, report of, on opening letters, vi. 352.

Parliamentary proceedings, bill regarding publication of, vi. 132.

Parliamentary reform, motion by Lord John Russell on, 1820, ii. 167—and again, 1821, 184—increase of desire among the agriculturists for, 187—motion on, 1822, and increasing strength of the minority on it, 197—motion by Mr Abercromby on, 1823, iii. 279—commencement of the question of, 322—Canning the opponent of, 324—motion on, 1829, 368.—*See* Reform.

Parma, count, heads the revolutionists at Alessandria, i. 370.

- Parma, grand-duchess of, abdication of, iv. 132—applies for aid to Austria, 183—restored, and amnesty granted by, *ib.*
- Parma, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—treaty regarding duchy of, 340—democratic insurrection in, 1830, iv. 132—its suppression, 133—volunteers from, viii. 81—terms of armistice regarding, 106—occupation of, by the Austrians, 107—conditions of final armistice regarding, 120.
- Parmentier, M., the trial, &c., of, vii. 368.
- Parnassus, mount, defeat of the Turks in passes of, ii. 408.
- Parnell, Sir H., on the resumption of cash payments, i. 175—defence of the Catholic Association by, iii. 283—motion by, on the civil list, 1830, 403—treasurer of navy, 1835, v. 421 note.
- Parochial boards, the, under new Scotch poor law, vi. 850.
- Parochial school system of Scotland, the, and want of it in England, i. 183—its introduction into England proposed by Brougham, ii. 164.
- Parque, the duke del, a member of the Cortes of 1822, ii. 240.
- Parquin, colonel, accompanies Louis Napoleon to Boulogne, v. 381.
- Parthenon, purchase of the friezes from the, i. 70.
- Parti prêtre, the, undue ascendancy of, in France, ii. 126—increasing predominance of, 311—increasing influence of, with Charles X., iii. 74—denunciations of, by the press, 85—re-establishment of the censorship by the, 93—urge the disbanding of the National Guard, 96—compel the retirement of Labourdonnaire, 113—dangerous influence of, on the government of Charles X., 165.
- Party contests, cause of the violence of, in the United States, vi. 51.
- Paskewitch, field-marshal, the head of the Tchinn, ii. 13—anecdote of, 76 note—defeat of the Persians by, in 1826, 350—further successes, and peace, *ib.*—commands against the Persians, iii. 11—besieges Abbasabad, *ib.*—victory of Djewan-Boulak, *ib.*—capture of Abbasabad, *ib.*—captures Sardarabad and Erivan, *ib.*—proclamation to his army, 12—further successes, *ib.*—concludes peace, *ib.*—fresh successes of, and peace finally ratified, 13—forces under, for campaign of 1828, 30—his line of operations, 31—besieges Kars, *ib.*—its fall, 32—plague breaks out among his troops, 33—captures Akhalzikh, *ib.*—defeats the Turks, 34—capture of Akhalzikh, 36—further successes, 37—results of the campaign, *ib.*—his plans, and formation of Mohammedan corps, *ib.*—threatened hostilities with Persia, and measures in consequence, 40—forces under, and opening of campaign, *ib.*—defeats Hadgi Hassan, 41—his dispositions, and position of the Turks, *ib.*—subsequent movements, 42—battle of Kainly, 43 *et seq.*—storming of intrenched camp of Milli Duz, 44—results of these victories, 45—his advance and capture of Hassan Kale, 45—fall of Erzeroum, 46—further movements, *ib.*—submission of Pacha of Mush, and of Baibout, 47—combats at
- Khart, *ib.*—retreats to Erzeroum, *ib.*—again advances against Baibout, 48—defeats the Turks there, *ib.*—armistice, and results of campaign, 49—made field-marshal, *ib.*—appointed to the chief command in Poland, iv. 206—offensive plans of, 208—he crosses the Vistula, *ib.*—forces and position of, 210—assault of Warsaw, 211—refuses all terms, *ib.*—appointed to command the Russian army of intervention, viii. 258—movements assigned to, 262—sketch of his career, 263—forces under, 264—captures Debrezyn, 266—proposals to Georgey to capitulate, 269—movements against the latter, 271—battle of Debrezyn, *ib.*—capitulation of Georgey to, 273—attempts of, to save the Hungarian leaders, 281.
- Pasquier, M., Garde des Sceaux in 1815, i. 87—retires with Talleyrand, 115—character, &c., of, 115—in the Chamber of 1816, 275—chosen president, *ib.*—bill regarding the liberty of the press, introduced by, 1818, 294—views of, in 1818, 306—tenders his resignation, 307—becomes minister of foreign affairs, ii. 86—arguments of, for re-establishing the censorship, 101—efforts of, on behalf of the new electoral law, 104—circular to the electors drawn up by, 118—speech of, on the censorship, 1821, 125—the royalists on him, 124—arguments of, against the new law of succession, iii. 88 *et seq.*—presides at the trials for treason in 1834, v. 291—attack on Barbes by, 364.
- Passages, capture of, by the Christians, v. 199.
- Passengers, total railway, 1845 to 1849, vi. 338.
- Passy, M., becomes minister of finance, v. 285—minister of commerce under Thiers, 307 note—majority against, as president, 1839, 359—majority for, as president, 1839, 360—finance minister under Soult, 1829, 363 note—minister of finance, 1848, viii. 67—a member of Louis Napoleon's cabinet, 332—speech against reduction of salt duties, 333—proposed additional duty on successions, *ib.*
- Passy, cholera at, iv. 317 note.
- Pastor, El, operations of, against the Carlists, v. 149—joins Rodil, 161—pursuit of Don Carlos by, 163—forces under, 166—blockaded in St Sebastian, 179.
- Pastoriz, general, v. 188.
- Pastienzo, defeat of the Austrians at, viii. 87.
- Pasturage, increased direction of agriculture into, in old countries, vii. 315, 319.
- Patans, submission of the, 1817, vi. 179.
- Patents, abolition of tax on, in Belgium, viii. 147.
- Patras, capture of, by the insurgent Greeks, ii. 365—recapture of, by the Turks, 372—fearful massacre, *ib.*—blockade of, by the Greeks, 375—defeat of the Greeks near, 377—relieved by the Turks, 398—blockade of, by the Greeks, 410—capture of, by Greek insurgents, vii. 335.
- Patrickson, colonel, on the distress in Ireland in 1823, ii. 195 note.
- Patronage, distribution of, in France under Louis Philippe, iv. 352, 353—government

Patronage, continued.

- corruption by means of, in France, v. 349—church, advantages of, vi. 87.
- Pattle, colonel, at Meanee, vii. 58, 59.
- Paul, the emperor, ukase in favour of the serfs by, ii. 15—the succession made hereditary by, 56—bequest of Georgia to, 348—treaty with Napoleon for invasion of India, vi. 210.
- Pauloise, seizure of Louvel by, ii. 92.
- Paupers, out and in door, 1840-8, v. 77 and note—average number of, vi. 72—English number of, 1842-7, 313 note—proposed new regulations regarding removability of, 363—tables of, 1848-56, vi. 323 note.
- Pauper funerals, proportion of, in Glasgow, 1848, vii. 293 note.
- Pauperism, expenditure on, in Ireland, iii. 265—in Paris, 1831, iv. 311—abuses which had crept in with regard to, v. 72—increase of, by the old poor-law, 74—statistics of, under new poor-law, 76 and note—statistics of, 1836 to 1841, vi. 69—increase of, 1839, 71—and 1842, 283—1840-3, *ib.* note—history of, and law regarding, in Scotland, 349 *et seq.*—great increase of, 1847-8, vii. 219—increase of, in Glasgow and the neighbouring districts, 1848, 293—in Lanarkshire, 1847-8, *ib.* note—Great Britain, 1848 to 1852, viii. 286 and note.
- Pavia, insurrection in, viii. 74—occupation of, by the Austrians, 105—concentration of the Austrians at, 115.
- Pavillon Marsan, the, in the French Chamber, i. 114.
- Peace, the, stimulation of democratic passion by, i. 2—position of governments and peoples during it, *ib.*—state of Great Britain on the conclusion of, 43 *et seq.*—not the cause of the prevalent distress, 47—acquisitions of Russia by, ii. 1—influence of, on France, 77—effect of the continuance of, in France, iii. 166—moderation displayed by Germany on, iv. 216—development of the resources of Germany since, 219 *et seq.*—great effect of the changes in the currency laws during, v. 309—danger of unsuitable military appointments during, vi. 270—diminution of corporal punishment in the army during, vii. 232—prosperity of Germany during, viii. 139.
- Pearl fishery, joint-stock company for, 1825, in. 253 note.
- Peasantry, the, character and state of, in Spain, i. 325—in Russia, ii. 14—state of, in Ireland, 192—the Irish, recklessness, &c., of, iii. 360—government measures for ameliorating condition of, in Prussia, iv. 237—state of the Irish, and its causes, vi. 25—the French, depressed condition of, vii. 119—their state under Louis Philippe, 166—efforts of Russia to ameliorate their condition in Poland, 198—regulations regarding, in Prussian Poland, 197—and in Galicia, *ib.*—the French, feeling of, toward the revolution of 1848, viii. 16—the Hungarian, 143—representation of, in the Tyrol, *ib.*
- Pechlin, M., iv. 236 note.
- Pechonnet, M., v. 292.
- Pedimou, gallant defence of pass of, ii. 414.

- Pedro, Don, proclaimed emperor of Brazil, v. 86, 87—recognised as such, 111—settlement of the crown of Portugal by, 112—revolt in his favour, 119 *et seq.*—expedition to Portugal, 127—his forces, &c., 128—his prospects, 129—expedition into the Algarves, *ib.*—naval victory, 130—established at Lisbon, and first measures, 132—renewed attempts of the Miguelites, 133—by whom supported, 138—his final success, 156 *et seq.*—capitulation and amnesty, 157.
- Peel, the first Sir Robert, speech of, against the resumption of cash payments, i. 191—views of, regarding his son, vi. 276, 277.
- Peel, Sir Robert, his insurrection act for Ireland, 1817, i. 167—chairman of the committee on the bank restriction act, 188—his speech on the subject, 189—arguments of, for the resumption of cash payments, 192 *et seq.*—views of, as to the effect on prices of the resumption of cash payments, 199—on the standard of value, ii. 137—efforts of, for improvement of criminal law, 182—speech of, 1821, on Catholic emancipation, 183—succeeds Lord Sidmouth as home secretary, 191—on the expected fall of prices, 198—Arnold on, 203—opposes active intervention in Spain, 283—eulogium on, by Brougham, iii. 276—moves renewal of the alien act, 279—and reversal of Scottish attainders, 280—arguments of, against the Catholic Association, 281—opposes the Catholic emancipation bill of 1825, 285—on the Duke of York, 311—resignation of, on Canning's appointment, 313—reception of, in parliament after Canning's accession to power, 315—his speech against the Catholic claims, 1827, 317 *et seq.*—his sincerity in it, 318—on the probable export of corn from America, 320—reforms of criminal law introduced by, 321—becomes home secretary, 327—chairman of the finance committee, 329—arguments of, against repeal of the test and corporation laws, 333—yielding of, on the Catholic question, 343—attack of Sir Charles Wetherall on, 344—defeated at Oxford, *ib.*—speech of, for the Catholic emancipation bill, 345 *et seq.*—attack by O'Connell on, 354—arguments of, against proposed revision of system of taxation, 380—character of George IV. by, 389—intimates the resignation of ministers, 404—on Earl Grey's first intentions regarding reform, iv. 16 note—arguments of, against the reform bill, 23—reunion of the Tory party under, 26—supports Mr Wynn's motion on the details of the bill, 37—on the new reform bill, 46—his speech against it, *ib.*—refuses the premiership, 51—and declines office, 53—his opinion of Louis Philippe, 103—supports government on the address, 1833, v. 14—arguments of, for Irish coercion bill, 16—on the system of intimidation in Ireland, 17 note—arguments of, against the Irish church bill, 23 *et seq.*—arguments of, against the bank charter renewal act, 34—declaration of, on the Irish church, 67—applied to to form a ministry, 1834, 80—the monetary system of, its characteristics, 400—formation of his ministry, 406—his address to the eloc-

Peel, Sir Robert, continued.

tors of Tamworth, 407—division against, on the Speakership, 410—and on the address, 411—refuses to resign after being defeated on address, 412—opposes the repeal of the malt tax, *ib.*—on the diminished consumption of beer, 413—on the appointment of Lord Londonderry ambassador to Russia, 413—measures for relief of Dissenters, &c., 414—attack on his ministry, on the Irish church question, 415—arguments of, against the Irish church motion, 418 *et seq.*—resigns, 420—importance of the administration of, 421— it averted the danger of revolution, *ib.*—its effect in restoring the House of Lords to its functions, 422—its pernicious effects on Ireland, *ib.*—his rise in public estimation from it, 423—arguments of, against corporate reform bill, vi. 6 *et seq.*—motion by, on Irish church bill, 10—details by, on the state of the Irish church, 11 note—Lord Amherst appointed governor of Canada by, 17—arguments of, against Irish corporation bill, 20—again opposes appropriation clause in Irish church bill, 23—opposes Lord Chandos' motion for agricultural relief, 28—supports the increase of the navy, 1836, 29—banquet to, at Glasgow, 1836, 31—anxiety of, for compromise between the two Houses, 37—motion by, on the Irish title bill, 1838, 38—motion by, on the Irish municipal bill, 39—votes for it, 1839, *ib.*—views of, on the case of the Vixen, 40—on Canada, 88—conduct, &c., of, in opposition, 114—arguments of, against the Jamaica bill, 115—negotiations with, for forming a government, 117—broken off on the household question, *ib.*—his true reasons for declining office, 118—again opposes the Jamaica bill, 119—on the state of the finances, 1841, 135—opposes the reduction of the Irish franchise, 141—arguments of, against the budget of 1841, 142 *et seq.*—want of confidence motion by, 146—majority for, by elections of 1841, 147—speech of, on amendment to address, 1841, 149—sent for to form a ministry, *ib.*—effect of his free-trade measures on India, 156 note—appoints Lord Heytesbury governor-general of India, 207—character of, 272—causes of the diversity of opinion regarding him, *ib.*—injustice of the extreme views on both sides, 273—did not want political courage, *ib.*—but was not a leader of thought, 274—his style of oratory, *ib.*—his administrative powers, 275—merit of his opposition to reform, 276—ambition not the cause of his versatility of principle, *ib.*—real explanation of his conduct, 277—his views on the currency, *ib.*—explanation thus afforded of his career, 278—his private character, *ib.*—formation of his ministry, 279—their foreign difficulties, 280—use made of the general distress in 1842 against them, 286—financial difficulties of, 294—his speech introducing his tariff and financial measures, *ib. et seq.*—it is passed, 299—heroic conduct of, on the Afghanistan disaster, 302—measures of, against the repeal agitation, arrest, trial, &c., of O'Connell, and effect of these pro-

ceedings, 307 *et seq.*—measures of, for suppressing the Rebecca riots, 315—and act for removing their cause, 316—murder of Mr Drummond, his secretary, *ib.*—charge by, against Cobden, *ib.*—settlement of the Maine boundary question under, 320—his conduct in it, 321—on the seizure, &c., of Mr Pritchard at Tahiti, 325—on the proposed reduction of the army and navy, 1844, 327—his bank charter act, 328—arguments for it, *ib. et seq.*—his resolutions on the subject, 330 note—it is passed, 331—Scotch and Irish bills, 332—on the bank act as the cause of the prosperity which followed, 335—on the improved state of the working classes during the railway mania, 340 note—bill reducing railway deposits to a half, 341—opening of Trent Valley line by him, 342—financial statement of, 1845, 343—views of, regarding Catholic clergy of Ireland, 347—enlarged grant to Maynooth College, *ib.*—the repeal of the corn laws by him only the continuation of former policy, 356—resignation of ministry, 360—their restoration, *ib.*—arguments of, in support of corn-law repeal, 362 *et seq.*—reception of his proposed measures in the country, 366—Disraeli's attack on him, *ib.*—the budget for 1846, 371—determination of protectionists to drive him from power, 372—life preservation bill for Ireland, *ib.*—coalition of parties against, 373—majority against, on the Irish bill, 377—courses open to him, and resolves on resignation, 378—his concluding address, 379—reflections on his free-trade measures, 380 *et seq.*—his measures not free trade, but withdrawal of protection from agriculture, 382—review of his conduct with regard to repeal of the corn laws, 385—the alleviating circumstances in his case, 386—the Tory party destroyed by, vii 219—course taken by, on the slave-sugar question, 226—measures of, for the relief of Ireland, 237—arguments of, against Lord George Bentinck's Irish railway scheme, 255 *et seq.*—motives of his opposition, 256—arguments of, on the monetary crisis of 1847, 264—supports motion for committee on navigation laws, 267—arguments of, against Mr Fielden's factory bill, 269—supports the Irish coercion bill of 1847, 274—endeavours to maintain the bank charter act, 1847, 277—review of his arguments on the bank act, 284—the monetary crisis of 1848 due to his monetary system, 304—object of, in the bank charter act, 309—free trade was forced on him, 321—efforts of, to secure ratification of the slave-trade treaty, 139—language of, on the Tahiti affair, 191—his pacific policy, 192—views of, on the Spanish marriages, 211 and note—announces the recall of Lord Ellenborough, 72—appointment of Sir H. Hardinge governor general, 73—adherence of Lord Dalhousie to, 98—the Irish encumbered estates bill, viii. 314—death of, 320.

Peel, lady, refusal of a peerage by, vi. 279—threatening letter to, 1842, 285, viii. 520.

Peel, Mr, large grant to, at Swan River, vi. 124.

- Peel, colonel, surveyor-general of ordnance, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Peerage, the, made hereditary in France, i. 94—state of, in France, iii. 104.
- Peers, House of, *see* Lords.
- Peers, Chamber of, in France, ordinance regarding it in 1815, i. 93—composition of, in 1815, 115—discussion on law of arrest in, 121—on that against seditious cries, *ib.*—trial of Ney before the, 127—the royalist law of elections thrown out by, 144—discussion on the new law of elections 278—vote in, on the law for recruiting the army, 294—rejection of the new law regarding the press by, 295—movement against the electoral law in, 309—discussion on it, 311 *et seq.*—great creation of, 314—vote in, on the law of arrest, ii. 100—and on the re-establishment of the censorship, 102—vote of, on the new electoral law, 110—vote of, on the censorship, 1821, 123—throw out the law for reducing the interest on the debt, 309—strength of the Jesuit party in, iii. 75—majority in, for the law against sacrilege, 83—majority in, for reduction of the debt, 84—defeat of the new law of succession in, 91—division in, on the new law regarding the censorship, 95—new creation of, 98—vote of, on the exclusion of government employes from the suffrage, 104—debate on the address in, 1829, 106—character of, 168—great creations of, by Louis XVIII., 177—meeting of, after the fall of Charles X., iv. 88—their proceedings, *ib.*—speech of Chateaubriand in, in defence of the rights of Charles X., 94—vote of the, in favour of the Duke of Orleans, 97—creations of, by Charles X., made null by constitution of 1830, 99—resignations of, under Louis Philippe, *ib.*—trial of the ministers of Charles X. ordered before, 121—commencement of it, 123—creation of, to force the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 167—repeated creations of, 168—great creation of, by Louis Philippe, 342, 355—created a court for trial of insurgents, 1834, 378—commencement of the treason trials before, 1834, v. 290—contest with the Bar, 291—commencement of proceedings, 292—charges against, by Audrey de Puyraveau, 293—continuation of the trials, and violent scenes, 294—the trials disjoined, *ib.*—conclusion of them, 295—trial of Alibaud before, 313—fresh creation of, 1837, 343—vote in, 1837, on reduction of interest, 345—fresh creation of, 1839, 372—debate on infant labour in, 378—trial of Louis Napoleon before, 382—trial of Darnès before, 383—vote of, on the fortifications of Paris, 395—character, want of consideration, &c., vii. 122—adopt the doctrine of moral complicity, 149—vote in, on the regency question, 158—discredited into which fallen, 164—bill regarding Jesuit schools carried in, 193—trial of Teste, Cubières, &c., before, 368.
- Peers, Chamber of, in Prussia, its functions, &c., iv. 255.
- Peerage, demands of Lafayette regarding the, iv. 127—the hereditary question of the abolition of the, 162—arguments for the abolition, *ib. et seq.*—and against it, 164 *et seq.*—it passed by the Deputies, 166—and forced through the Upper House by creation of Peers, 167—reflections on this, *ib.*—its previous degradation, 168.
- Pegu, the revolt of the Burmese from, vi. 183—capture of, by the British, vii. 110—province of, annexed, *ib.*
- Peishwah, the, defeat of, before Poonah, vi. 179—second defeat of, *ib.*—further successes against him, and his surrender, 180.
- Pekin, population of, vii. 3.
- Pelet, general, the writings of, iii. 190.
- Pelet de Lozère, M., minister of public instruction under Thiers, v. 307 note—finance minister, 376 note.
- Peling mountains, the, vii. 3.
- Pelissier, marshal, character of, vii. 175.
- Pellapra, M., the trial, &c., of, vii. 368.
- Pellow, *see* Exmouth.
- Peloponnesus, *see* Morea.
- Pelta, defeat of Bozzaris at, ii. 358.
- Penal code, the amelioration of the, by Peel, v. 275.
- Penenden Heath, great Protestant meeting at, ii. 339.
- Penninsular army, grant voted to the, i. 70.
- Pennefather, colonel, at Meanez, vii. 57—wounded, 58.
- Pennefather, Mr., attorney-general for Ireland, 1830, iv. 4 note—and 1835, v. 407.
- Pennicik, at assault of Khelet, vi. 239.
- Pennsylvania, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note—majority against Van Buren in, 59—miles of railway in, vii. 290 note.
- Penny, brigadier, at Goojerat, vii. 105.
- Penny postage system, introduction of the, vi. 127—its results, 128—causes of its failure as a source of revenue, *ib.*—Peel on the results of, 295.
- Perry, conviction of, for bribery, and its disfranchisement, iii. 322—partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Pensions, naval and military, conversion of, 1824, ii. 223.
- Pensioners, the, calling out of, 1819, ii. 152—measure of Wellington for enrolling, vii. 236—number of, 272—conduct of, at Glasgow, 1848, 295.
- Pentonville prison, statistics of, viii. 307 note.
- Pepe, general, heads the Neapolitan revolutionists, i. 364—appointed commander-in-chief, 365—operations of, against the Austrians, ii. 40—dismissed from Portugal, v. 89—escapes, *ib.*—revolt of, 1848, viii. 91—defence of Venice by, 131.
- Pepe, General Floridan, suppression of the insurrection at Palermo by, i. 367—the capitulation annulled, and renewal of hostilities, 368—dismissed from command, *ib.*
- Pepin, an accomplice of Fieschi's, execution of, v. 299.
- Pepinus, George, a Greek naval leader, ii. 386.
- Pepper, increased consumption of, during railway mania, vi. 340 note.
- Pera, the suburb of, ii. 335—great fire at, 395—naval school established at, v. 268.
- Perceval, Peel's views against emancipation borrowed from, vi. 274.
- Pervzel, general, defeated by Jellachich, viii. 342—successes of, 261—forces under, 264—battle of Tzombor, 269.
- Perdita, mistress of George IV., iii. 390.

- Pered, battle of, viii. 265.
- Perier, Camille, iii. 140 note.
- Perier, Casimir, returned to the Deputies in 1817, i. 289—protests against the expulsion of Manuel, ii. 282—returned for Paris, 1821, 307—subscription for General Foy's family, iii. 86—returned for Paris in 1827, 100, 106—votes for, for the presidency, 1829, 107—joins the royalists against Martignac, *ib.*—votes for, for the presidency, 118—meeting of liberal chiefs at his house, 149—appointed minister of the interior, 151—a member of Louis Philippe's first cabinet, iv. 99—resigns presidency of Chamber, 107—party and views of, in the ministry, 121—resignation of, 124—becomes premier, 143—feeling of parties on his appointment, *ib.*—denunciations of, by the liberal press, 144—his speech on the principles of his government, 145—outvoted in Chamber, and tenders his resignation, 148—defence of the foreign policy of ministers by, 158 *et seq.*—during the debate on Poland, 159—attack by the mob on him, 160—supports the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 162—views of, regarding Poland, 184—measures of, against the revolt at Lyons, 308—resolves on the expedition to Ancona, 314—his preparations for it, and its success, 315—heroism of, during the cholera, 319—his death, 320—his character, *ib.*
- Pérignon, the marquis de, iv. 99.
- Perin, general, viii. 266.
- Periodical literature, state of, in France since the Revolution, iii. 210—class of writers for it compared with that in England, 211—effects of the destruction of property on it, *ib.*—and of the facility of revolution, 212.
- Perishable incomes, injustice of the income tax on, vi. 301.
- Perpignan, insurrection at, 1834, iv. 376—reform banquet at, vii. 131.
- Periegau, general, wounded at assault of Constantine, v. 341.
- Perrin, Mr, attorney-general for Ireland, 1835, v. 421 note.
- Perrot, general, during the insurrection of June, viii. 47—appointed to command of National Guard, 348.
- Persecution, religious, invariable results of, iii. 358.
- Persia, peace between, and Russia, ii. 81—conquests of Peter the Great from, 348—treaty of Gulistan, 349—war with Russia in 1826, *ib.*—peace, and losses by it, 350—war declared against Turkey by, 1821, 378—advantages gained by Russia over, iii. 2—hostile preparations of, *ib.*—repeated defeats of her troops, *ib.*—operations in, 1827, 10—peace concluded with Russia, 12—fresh rupture, and peace of Tourkmanchai, 13—assassination of the Russian minister, 38—threatened hostilities with, 1829, 40—as the barrier of India on the north, vi. 208—treaty with, in 1801, 211—rupture with her, *ib.*—and renewed alliance, 212—war of, with Russia, and her defeat, *ib.*—acquisitions of Russia from, 215—subservience of, to Russia, 215—hatred of the Affghans to, *ib.*—subservience of, to Russia with regard to Herat, 217—claim of, over Afghanistan, *ib.*—treaty of, regarding Herat, 220—siege of that place, 221 *et seq.*—raising of it on the interference of England, 224—her influence again predominant at, *ib.*—intrigues of Vazier of Herat with, 241.
- Persians, successes of, over the Turks in 1823, ii. 384.
- Persigny, M. de, a partisan of Louis Napoleon's, v. 322.
- Persil, M., iii. 140 note—becomes keeper of the seals, iv. 372—minister of justice, v. 285—again, 316 note—removed from the ministry of justice, 326.
- Persoir, Don Francisco, revolt of, at Oporto, v. 129.
- Personal freedom, proposed new law regarding, in France, i. 279 *et seq.*—expiry of the laws against, in France, 295.
- Personal property, abolition of tax on, in Belgium, viii. 147.
- Perspective Newski, the, at St Petersburg, ii. 48.
- Perth, reversal of attainder of family of, iii. 280—member given by reform bill to, iv. 56—ratio of mortality in, vii. 271 note.
- Pern, British consul appointed to, ii. 305—and exports to, *ib.* note—origin of the potato in, vi. 356.
- Peschiera, Austrian preparations at, viii. 84—siege of, by the Sardians, 87, 88—movements of Raletskey to relieve it, 92—its fall, 94—invested by the Austrians, 104—surrendered by amnesty, 106.
- Peshawar, acquisition of, by Runjeet Singh, vi. 218—cession of, to Runjeet Singh agreed to by Shah Soojah, 226—collection of forces under Pollock at, vii. 21—their depressed state, 24—road from Calcutta to, 108 note.
- Pestel, colonel, a leader in the Russian conspiracy, ii. 59—the leader of the revolt in the army of the south, his character, &c., 67—his denunciation on execution, 69—his execution, 70—generosity of Nicholas to the father of, 71.
- Pesth, Hungarian movement organised at, viii. 206—meeting of the Hungarian deputies at, 213—murder of count Lamberg at, 224—city of, 211—advance of the Austrians to, 243—inactivity of Windschgantz in, 247—occupied by the Hungarians, 259.
- Peter the Great, establishment of the Tehinn by, ii. 12—Russia under, 20—gains of Russia under, 29 note—the erection of St Petersburg by, 47—the statue of, 48—parallel between Nicholas and, 75—his system of foreign intervention, 318—his progress toward the Caspian, *ib.*—progress of Russia since, vi. 213.
- Peterloo, the meeting at, in 147—great excitement at, and its objects, *ib.*—its dispersion by the military, 148—reflections on it, 150—and on the conduct of the magistrates on the occasion, *ib.*
- Petersfield, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Peterwaradein, fortress of, viii. 241—blockaded, 243—surrender of, to the Austrians, 280.
- Petit, M., affair of, vii. 376.
- Petition, right of, accorded to Prussia, iv. 255.

- Petito's collection of military memoirs, iii 197.
- Peupin, M., attack on Louis Blanc by, viii. 36.
- Peyron, abbé, vii. 341.
- Peyronnet, M., returned as member to the Deputies, ii. 119—becomes secretary of state and minister of justice, 124—character of, 222—new law regarding the press brought forward by, 223—supports Montmorency on the Spanish question, 266—arguments of, for the new law of succession, iii. 90, 101—becomes minister of the interior, 131—arrest of, iv. 107—demeanour of, before trial, 122—and at it, 123—Martignac counsel for, 125—sentence of, 126—liberation of, v. 317.
- Pfuel, general, viii. 165—becomes minister, 166—resigns, 168.
- Phanagars or Thugs, destruction of the, in India, vi. 204.
- Philadelphia, the crash of 1837 in, vi. 59.
- Philhellens, the, ii. 360—formation of the corps of, 402.
- Phillipville, surrendered by France to the allies, i. 108—terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, 301.
- Phillips, Mr., arguments of, for repeal of the corn laws, iii. 301.
- Phillips, Mr., mayor of Newport, measures of, during the Chartist rising, vi. 83—knighted, 84.
- Phillips, captain, dispersion of the Derbyshire insurgents by, i. 165.
- Phillips, major-general, i. 136 note.
- Phillips, Mr., anecdote of, at Candahar, vii. 33 note.
- Phillips, major, at Maharajpore, vii. 70.
- Philorthodox, party called, in Greece, vii. 334.
- Philosophers, error of, regarding institutions and national character, i. 34.
- Philosophical writers, the leading, of England since the peace, i. 228 *et seq.*
- Philosophy, schools of, in Germany, iv. 291.
- Physical deformity, prevalence of, in the manufacturing districts of France, iv. 304.
- Piave, passage of, by the Austrians, viii. 90.
- Pickersgill, the paintings of, i. 260.
- Piræus, cemetery of, interment of Lafayette in, iv. 379.
- Picton, Sir Thomas, monument to, i. 69.
- Piedmont, *see* Sardinia.
- Piet, M., on the endowment of the clergy, i. 147.
- Pietra, capitulation of Turks at, iii. 64.
- Pila Caucasica and Albama, the, ii. 345.
- Pillersdorf, Austrian minister, vii. 211.
- Pimento, produce of, West Indies, 1828 41, v. 52 note—imports of, from West Indies, 1847-9, vii. 227 note.
- Pindarres, origin of the war with, and their outrages, vi. 177—the war with, 178 *et seq.*—their final defeat, and conclusion of the war, 181.
- Pindarree war, reflections on the, vi. 192.
- Pindus, mount, defeat of Chourelid Pacha in, ii. 376—and of Hassan, *ib.*
- Pinkar, M., viii. 239.
- Piombini, movement of, at Rome, vii. 342.
- Piræv, prevalence of, among the Algerine states, i. 73.
- Piscatory, M., French ambassador to Greece, vii. 334, 335—opposes the king's abdication, 396.
- Pitmilly, lord, defence of old Scotch poor-law by, vi. 350 note.
- Pitt, Mr., his system of borrowing in the three per cents, ii. 205—Canning enters public life under, 214 note—intimacy of Huskisson with, iii. 227 note—his alleged accession to Catholic emancipation, 317—on the establishment of the sinking fund, 383—the overthrow of the coalition ministry by, compared with that of the Wellington ministry, iv. 1—on the dangers of reform, 26—comparison between his course and Earl Grey's, 69—measures of, to arrest Russia in 1789, v. 281—error of, in borrowing in the three per cents, vi. 326.
- Pius VIII., death of, iv. 118.
- Pius IX., election and character of, vii. 337 *et seq.*—state of opinion in Italy, 338—general amnesty, 339—his first acts, *ib.*—difficulties which beset him, *ib.*—declaration against liberalism, 341—revolutionary movement in Rome, 342—admission of laymen to the council, 347—riot in Rome, 348—constitution proclaimed by, 349—insult by the mob to, viii. 70—concessions of, on the French revolution, *ib.*—constitution granted by, 79—compelled to declare war against Austria, 80—the troops of, 81—new ministry under Rossi, 108—revolution, and his flight, 109—excommunicates his subjects, 110—recapture of Rome, and amnesty, 129.
- Pizarro, M., minister of finance, v. 218.
- Pizzo, landing of Murat at, i. 136.
- Placemen, alleged corruption of parliament by, iv. 25.
- Placentia, treaty regarding duchy of, i. 340—terms of armistice regarding, viii. 106, 120.
- Plague, ravages of the, in Canea, ii. 400—among the Russians, iii. 33.
- Planters, rejection of progressive emancipation by the, v. 43—they refuse to act on the resolutions of parliament, *ib.*
- Plaongolin, M., procureur-general of Toulouse, vii. 147.
- Plater, mademoiselle, iv. 206.
- Playfair, Dr Lyon, report by, on the potato failure in Ireland, vi. 381.
- Playfair, the works of, i. 234.
- Playfair, the architect, i. 258.
- Plaza, colonel, a Chartist leader, v. 174.
- Pledges, commencement of system of requiring, in England, v. 12.
- Pleignier, arrest and execution of, i. 151.
- Pleignier, lieutenant, resistance of, to Louis Napoleon at Strasbourg, v. 822.
- Plensia, captured by the Chartists, v. 197.
- Plunkett, Mr., afterwards lord, motion by, on Catholic emancipation, 1821, ii. 182—becomes attorney-general for Ireland, 192—lord chancellor of Ireland, 1830, iv. 4 note—and again, 1835, v. 421 note—Peel's arguments for emancipation borrowed from, vi. 374.
- Plymouth, Canning's speech in 1823 at, ii. 306—bank, failure of, 1825, iii. 262—expedition of Portuguese refugees from, 372—garrison of, 1846, vii. 234—that needed by it, 235 note.

Plympton, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
 Po, the, passage of, by the Austrians, *viii.* 107—military position of, 114.
 Podgorze, capture of, by the Austrians, *vii.* 293.
 Podolia, acquisition of, by Russia, *iv.* 173—originally a province of Poland, 173—demands of the Poles regarding, 183—statistics of, 190—insurrection in, and its suppression, 202.
 Podlachia, successes of the Poles in, *iv.* 210.
 Poetry, decline of, in France, *iii.* 206.
 Poitiers, insurrection at, 1834, *iv.* 376.
 Poix, the Prince de, *i.* 128.
 Poland, acquisition of, by Russia in 1815, *ii.* 2—establishment of the kingdom of, 3—first measures of Constantine in, 4—advantages to it from the union with Russia, 5—increase of its military strength, *ib.*—failure of the representative system, 6—the Russian army of, 25—arrival of Alexander in, 1818, 32—his speech to the Diet, 33—preparations for establishing military colonies in, 34—suppression of secret societies in, 46—revolt in the army of, 68—its suppression, *ib.*—the Russian intervention in, 347—conspiracy in, 1826, *iii.* 10—distrust of Russia toward, 1830, *iv.* 120—excitement caused in Hungary by the war in, 184—measures of Prussia against, 135—scene in the French Deputies during debate on, 159—disastrous effects of the partition of, 172—sin of Europe in it, *ib.*—increase of power of Russia from it, *ib.*—faults of the inhabitants which led to it, 173—its former power, resources, and extent, *ib.*—ruined by impatience of taxation, *ib.*—connection between it and the cause of democracy, 174—its prosperity under Russia from 1815 to 1830, 175—increase of the passion for independence, *ib.*—secret societies, 176—plans of the conspirators, *ib.*—original plan, which proves abortive, 177—supineness of Constantine, and progress of the conspiracy, *ib.*—insurrection at Warsaw, 177—its rapid progress, and retreat of Constantine from Warsaw, *ib.*—appointment of provisional government, 179—its first act, and negotiations with Constantine, *ib.*—he sends back the Polish troops, and retreats into Russia, *ib.*—enthusiasm on their arrival in Warsaw, 180—new provisional government, and seizure of the dictatorship by, Chlopicki, *ib.*—military preparations, 182—conduct of Constantine, *ib.*—negotiations with Nicholas, 183—preparations and conference of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, *ib.*—secret views of France and Austria regarding, *ib.*—England declines to join France on behalf of, 184—meeting of the Diet, resignation and reappointment of Chlopicki, 185—his first acts, *ib.*—proclamation and preparations of the Czar, *ib.*—manifesto of the Diet, 186 *et seq.*—vain efforts of Chlopicki at accommodation, 188—the Czar dethroned by the Diet, 189—statistics of kingdom, *ib.*—of Austrian and Prussian, 190—and of Lithuania and Russian, *ib.*—population of, 1831, 189 note—military forces of, 191—strategical advantages, *ib.*—history of the war, 192 *et seq.*—results of the war to, 212—conduct of

Nicholas in, after it, 213—reflections on her fall, *ib.*—excess of democracy the cause of her ruin, 214—and it has prevented her restoration, *ib.*—her restoration essential to the independence of Europe, 215—the revolution in, its effect in Germany, 238—progress of the cholera over, 316—mission of Lord Durham, &c., to Russia on behalf of, *v.* 254—its formal incorporation with Russia, *ib.*—acquisitions of Russia from, *vi.* 213—state of, since the termination of the war, *vii.* 196—beneficial changes in Prussian, 197—state of Galicia, *ib.*—disputes about the Corvées, 198—spread of socialism, 199—influence of the Jews, *ib.*—and of the disbanded soldiers, *ib.*—the insurrection in Galicia, 200 *et seq.*—its horrors, 201—disturbances at Cracow, 202—its recapture, 203—and annexation, *ib.*—embarrassment of the French and English governments on the question of, 204—effects of the disunion between France and England on, 331—Prussian, Slavonic population of, *viii.* 139.
 Pole and Co., banking-house of, its failure, 1825, *iii.* 262.

Poles, character of the, *ii.* 2—faults of, which led to their subjugation, *iv.* 173—the refugee at Lamarque's funeral, 330—declaration of Lamartine to, *vii.* 23—movement of, in Posen, 1848, 152—their revolt there, 164—sympathy of, with the Hungarians, 258.

Police, the, increase of, in Ireland, *ii.* 196—proposed, for the suppression of strikes, *iii.* 248 *et seq.*—Ireland, supported by Great Britain, 267—the Dublin grant for, *ib.* note—enactments of municipal reform bill regarding, *vi.* 4—the Irish, remodelling of, 1837, 36—new organisation of them, 132—relations of, to increase of crime, *vii.* 304.

Polignac, Armand de, *i.* 114.

Polignac, Jules de, made member of Chamber of Peers, *i.* 94—in the Chamber of Peers, 116—refuses the oath of fidelity, 117.

Polignac, the prince de, agreement of, regarding Portugal, *ii.* 302—proposal of, regarding the South American States, 305—a member of the Cammilla, *iii.* 72—sent for by the king, 105—speech of, during the debate on the address, 106—becomes premier, and his ministry, 109—sketch of the career of, *ib.*—his character, 110—disunion between, and Labourdonnaye, 113—memoir on the state of the country by, 115 *et seq.*—views of, regarding the charter, 122—resolves on the expedition to Algiers, 126—appoints Bourmont to command it, 127—at the signing of the ordonnances, 135—want of preparation on the part of, 136—during the Three Days, 145—reception of the liberal envoys by, 148—ordered to retire from St Cloud, 152—fidelity of, to Charles X., 157—last interview of, with Charles X., *ib.*—supineness of, during the conflict, 161—the Revolution directed against, as the organ of the Jesuits, *iv.* 80—arrest of, 106—demeanour of, before trial, 122—sentence of, 126—the measures of, vindicated under Louis Philippe, 350—liberation of, *v.* 317.

- Polignac ministry, the, characters of the leading members of, *iii.* 109 *et seq.*—attacks of the press on it, 112—retirement of La Bourdonnaye, 113—vehemence of the press against, 117—measures of, on the address, 122—prorogation of the chambers, 123—prosecutions of the press, *ib.*—report of finance minister, 124—dissolve the Chambers, 131—majority against them, 132—resolve on a coup d'état, *ib.*—report on the ordinances, 133 *et seq.*—the ordinances, 135—their security on the first disturbances, 139—dismissal of, 151—want of preparation by, 161—their political reasons for the project of advancing France to the Rhine, 168—their conduct with regard to the ordinances, 177—trial of the members of, ordered, *iv.* 121—their conduct before it, 122—their trial, 123—their condemnation and sentence, 126—conveyed to Vincennes and thence to Ham, *ib.*
- Polish banquet, interdiction of the, at Paris, *vii.* 139.
- Polish committee, the, at Paris, and remonstrances of Russia and Prussia against it, *iv.* 362.
- Polish Diet, Alexander's speech to the, 1818, *ii.* 33—meeting and dissolution of the, 1820, 35—meeting of the, and reappoint Chlopicki to the dictatorship, *iv.* 185—manifesto of the, 186 *et seq.*—rejection of the terms of Nicholas, 188—formally dethrone him, 189—appoint Skrzynecki commander-in-chief, 196.
- Polish emigrants, propagandist spirit of the, *iv.* 362.
- Polish refugees, efforts of the, in Switzerland and Italy, *iv.* 363.
- Political agents, employment of military officers as, in India, *vi.* 268.
- Political associations, interdiction of, in Germany, *iv.* 239.
- Political change, true causes of the passion for, *iii.* 293—how induced by fall of prices, 294.
- Political consistency, dangers of, *vi.* 273.
- Political economists, the, resistance of, to an Irish poor-law, *vi.* 26—views of, on emigration, 134.
- Political offences, inexpediency of punishing with death, *i.* 158—punishment of death abolished for, in France, *viii.* 19, 60.
- Political prisoners, punishment of, in Spain in 1815, *i.* 336—number of, on the accession of Pius IX., *vii.* 339—liberation of, in Paris, 1848, *viii.* 6.
- Political societies, formation of fresh, in France, 1837, *v.* 328.
- Political Union, the National, formation and declaration of, *iv.* 45.
- Political unions, the rise of, and their influence, *iii.* 388—general formation of, *iv.* 16—preparations of, for insurrection, 1831, 84—great meeting of, at Birmingham, 41—proclamation against, 45—efforts of, to coerce the Peers, 50.
- Pollastron, madame de, *iii.* 71, 72.
- Polling, restriction of time of, under the reform act, *v.* 12.
- Follock, Sir F., attorney-general, 1835, *v.* 407 note—and again, 1841, *vi.* 280 note.
- Follock, general, heroism of, *vi.* 267—appointed to command at Peshawur, *vii.* 22—his career and character, *ib.*—depressed state of the troops on his arrival, 25—advance of, from Peshawur, 26—passage of the Khyber, 27 *et seq.*—advance to Jellalabad, 28—orders to retire sent to, 35—urges advance to Cabul, 36—improved condition of his troops, 38—expedition into the Shinwaree Valley, *ib.*—advance toward Cabul, 39—victory at Jugdulluck, 40—advances to Tezreen, *ib.*—victory there, 41—junction with Nott at Cabul, 43—destruction of the bazaar, 44—expedition to Istaliff, *ib.*—measures for deliverance of the captives, 45 *et seq.*
- Poltenberg, Colonel Ernest von, execution of, *viii.* 281.
- Polygamy, influence of, in Constantinople, *ii.* 335.
- Polytechnic School, the scholars of the, during the Three Days, *iii.* 143—threatening aspect of pupils on the trial of the examiners, *iv.* 127—the pupils of the, at Lamarque's funeral, *iv.* 331—decree dissolving, 334.
- Pomare, queen, applies for the protectorate of Great Britain, *vi.* 323—interference of the French missionaries, &c., 324—convention with the French admiral, *ib.*—compelled to submit to the French, *ib.*
- Pomerania, resistance to the revolution in, *viii.* 152.
- Pommier, trial and execution of, for the Rochelle conspiracy, *ii.* 227.
- Ponce de Leon, Vincent, attempt on Don Carlos by, *v.* 164.
- Ponsonby, Mr., arguments of, against the continuance of the income-tax, *i.* 50—on the budget for 1816, 56—arguments of, 1816, for the resumption of cash payments, 64—death of, 172.
- Ponsonby, captain, wounded at Purwandurrah, *vi.* 244.
- Ponsonby, lord, declaration of, regarding Luxembourg, *iv.* 151—leaves Brussels on the declaration of the Belgians not to be bound by the act of separation, 152—and the affair of the Vixen, *vi.* 40.
- Pont de la Concorde, grant for, *iv.* 360 note.
- Pontevedra, revolt at, *i.* 349.
- Poonah, defeat of the Peishwah before, *vi.* 179—surrenders to the British, *ib.*
- Poor, the, sums raised for, in England and Ireland, *iii.* 265—want of employment for, in Ireland, 270—necessity of assisting the emigration of, 299—state of, in Paris, 1838, *v.* 350—expenditure on, 1836-41, *vi.* 69—expenditure on, 1847-8, *vii.* 291 and note—want of legal provision for, in France, and its effects, 134.
- Poor and temporary relief act for Ireland amended, the, 1847, *vii.* 243—expenditure under it, and relief afforded, *ib.*
- Poor law, advantage which would have accrued to Ireland from a, *iii.* 273—commission of inquiry into working of the, and its report, 1839, *vi.* 72—demand for a, in Ireland, 25—history of it, and causes of its long abeyance, *ib.*—Mr Nicholl's report on it, 26—for Scotland, introduction of, 349—history of the subject, *ib.*—causes of the old law being evaded, *ib.*—evils which ensued, *ib.*—provisions of the bill, 351—good

- Poor law, *continued*.
 effected by it, 352—its efficient working during the famine, vii. 251.
- Poor laws, effects of the want of, in Ireland, iii. 270—influence of want of, in Ireland, v. 26—the, sketch of history and operation of, 72—abuses which had crept in, *ib.*—effect of the contraction of the currency, 73—abuses of, 74—inefficient operation of, in Ireland and the Highlands, on the commencement of the famine, vii. 230—amount levied in former, 1840-6, *ib.* note.
- Poor-law act, effect of the crisis of 1837, &c., on its administration, vi. 71—dissatisfaction with it, and changes induced by distress of 1839, *ib.*—debates in parliament on it, 72.
- Poor-law administration, Scottish, 1840-56, vi. 353 note.
- Poor-law amendment bill, the, v. 72—brought in, 74—arguments for it, *ib.* *et seq.*—it is carried, 75—further progress of it, 76—it becomes law, *ib.*—its effect as to amount of poor rates, 77.
- Poor-law cases, various law decisions on, in Scotland, vi. 351.
- Poor-law commissioners, report of the, v. 74—board of, their proposed powers, &c., 75—views of the, and struggle between them and the guardians, vi. 71.
- Poor-law guardians, views of the, vi. 71.
- Poor-law unions, proposed formation of the, v. 75.
- Poor rates, the, at the close of the war, i. 44—unequal pressure of, on agriculture, 62—increase of, 1811 to 1822, *ib.* 204 note—increase of, in England, 1823-30, iii. 373 and note—class by which paid, iv. 60—pressure, &c., of, 1833, v. 39—increased pressure of, from contraction of the currency, 73—comparison of them with population and prices of wheat, 1901-36, *ib.* note—amount of, under the new poor-law, 77—compared with population and price of wheat, 1834-49, *ib.* note—England, 1842-7, vi. 343 note—proposed new regulations regarding, 1846, 363—amount of, in Scotland, 1846 to 1850, vii. 251 note—relative amount of, in England and Ireland, 260.
- Pope, brigadier, at Chilianwallah, vii. 103.
- Pope, the, insurrection against, in 1830, iv. 132—applies for aid to Austria, 133—dispute with Prussia regarding mixed marriages, 246—manifesto of, on the arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne, 247—adjustment of the dispute between Prussia and, 249—movement headed by Ronge, &c., against, 253—excitement in his dominions, 1881 and 1882, and intervention of the Austrians, 314 *et seq.*—his indignation on the seizure of Ancona by the French, 316.
- Popery, check given to, by Catholic emancipation, iii. 358—reaction against, in Great Britain, 363—and in America, *ib.*
- Popish clergy, influence of the, in Ireland, ii. 269—falling off in numbers of, in Ireland, 362—of Flanders, iv. 410—views of, in Belgium and Rhenish Prussia, v. 354.
- Popoff, general, forces under, iii. 34—defence of Bajazeth by, 46.
- Popular government, adaptation of, to new colonies, vi. 107.
- Popular movements, objects to which directed, iv. 80.
- Popular societies, proceedings of government of Louis Philippe against the, iv. 107—speech of the minister of the interior on the subject, 108.
- Population, decrease of, in Great Britain, i. 6—increase of, in the United States, 6—causes of the diffusion of, 24 *et seq.*—diminution of, in Great Britain, 32 note—British, 1792 and 1815, 44—Malthus's doctrine of, 230—surplus, advantages of colonies as outlets for, 317, 318—of Russia, ii. 8—ratio of its increase there and in Great Britain, 9—advances of, in France from the peace, 77—causes of the excess of, in Ireland, 192—state of, in the Turkish empire, 321—its general decrease there, 323—Russia, 1826, iii. 3—France, 1830, 124—Algiers, 130—crowding of, into towns in France, 175—redundance of, in Ireland, and its effects, 266—diminution of, in Ireland, 274 note—effects of free trade, &c., on, in Ireland, 362—table of, 1805-51, *ib.* note—Great Britain, increase in, 1814 to 1825, 378 note—not the original basis of representation, iv. 23—ratio of, dependent on agriculture and on commerce, &c., 77—how limited in old communities, 80—Russia, 1831, 189—Poland, 1831, *ib.*—Gallicia and Posen, 190—Russian Poland, *ib.*—progress of, in Prussia since the peace, 220—decline of, in Jamaica, &c., v. 47—comparison of poor-rates with, 1801-36, 73 note—and 1834-49, 77 note—cause of rapid increase of, in Ireland, vi. 35—rapid increase of, in the United States, 48—ratio of crime and mortality to, in Glasgow, 1822-38, 77 note—comparative increase of, in the United States and in Canada, 105—comparison of navy with, 1792 and 1838, 138 note—Great Britain, 1815 and 1845, 333 note—effects of destitution in promoting increase of, 350—diminution of, in Ireland, vii. 248—ratio of mortality to density of, 271 note—decline of, in Great Britain, 291 and note—how affected by influx into towns, 314—increase of, in France, 1841-6, 118 and note—Algeria, 169, 180—China, 2—India, 1857, 114—Great Britain, 1851, viii. 301—arrest of, by the European convulsions, 361—influence of monetary measures in arresting it, 362.
- Porcelain, reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 260.
- Pork, fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note.
- Portier, general, revolt of, in Spain, i. 336—its failure and his death, *ib.*—execution of officers concerned with, 345.
- Poros, fort of, Missolonghi, ii. 415.
- Poroszo, combat at, viii. 271.
- Port-Glasgow, intended rising in, 1848, vii. 295.
- Ports, opening of the, proposed by Sir R. Peel on the potato failure, vi. 360.
- Portal, baron, minister of the marine in 1818, i. 308—views of, on the electoral law, ii. 86—the royalists on, 124—appointed member of the Privy Council, 125.
- Portalis, M., called to the Council of State, i. 309—a member of the Richelieu ministry in 1820, ii. 96—becomes keeper of the

Portalis, M., *continued*.

seals, iii. 101–107—becomes minister of foreign affairs, 108—dismissed from office, *ib.*—moves the trial of Louis Blanc, viii. 40.

Porter, Mr., on the depreciation of British shipping, iii. 252—tables of British and foreign shipping from, *ib.*

Portland, duke of, lord privy seal, iii. 314 note—becomes president of the council, 326.

Portland prison, statistics of, viii. 307 note.

Porto Bello, seizure of, by British adventurers, i. 207.

Porto Rico, increased production, &c., of sugar, vii. 227 note.

Portsmouth, garrison of, 1846, vii. 234—that needed by it, 235 note—prison, statistics of, viii. 307 note.

Portugal, effect of representative institutions in, i. 31—situation of, after the peace, 330—influence of the removal of the seat of government to the Brazils, *ib.*—predominance of English habits, &c., in, *ib.*—double marriages between its royal family and that of Spain, 338—creation of the kingdom of Brazil, 339—identity of its recent history with that of Spain, 359—revolution at Oporto, *ib.*—followed by one at Lisbon, 360—effect of the banishment of the British from, 361—violent proposals, *ib.*—subsequent reaction, 362—character of the revolution of 1820 in, ii. 212—state of, during 1823, and royalist insurrection, 300—counter revolution in, 301—retaliatory measures for the navigation laws by, iii. 230—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—king's message regarding, 1826, 307—causes of the differences with France regarding, *ib.*—Mr Canning's speech on it, *ib.* *et seq.*—sailing of the expedition, 309—justification of the expedition to, 325—relations with, 1829, and declination of the Wellington government to interfere, 371—the expedition to Terceira, 372—which is intercepted by the British cruisers, *ib.*—the royal speech on, 1830, 399—grounds of complaint of France against, and her intervention, iv. 155—submission of the government, 156—state of, during 1823, v. 86—democratic revolution, *ib.*—separation of Brazil, *ib.*, 87—royalist reaction, 87 *et seq.*—proclamation by the king, 89—position of England toward, 90—arbitrary proceedings, 91—liberal revolution, 92—independence of Brazil recognised, 111—death of the king, and proceedings on it, 112—movement in favour of Don Miguel, 113—its suppression, 114—Don Miguel regent, 116—he assumes the crown, 118 *et seq.*—the war of succession in, 120 *et seq.*—meeting and proceedings of the Cortes, 121—effect of the French revolution in, 125—changed position of France and England toward, 126—expedition of Don Pedro to, 127 *et seq.*—final success of the liberals, 132 *et seq.*—the quadruple alliance, 134—state of parties in, 138—ultimate overthrow of Don Miguel, 156 *et seq.*—aid given the Christians by, 161—affairs of, 1847, and differences between France and England regarding, vii. 336—final results of French revolution toward, viii. 358.

Portuguese, the, and the slave trade, vi. 110.

Portuguese refugees, expedition of the, from England against Don Miguel, iii. 372—its failure, *ib.*

Portuguese slave-ships, the, vii. 425.

Posen, grand-duchy of, assigned in 1815 to Prussia, ii. 8—spread of the secret societies to, iv. 176—preparations of Prussia in, 1831, 183—statistics of, 190—the archbishop of, restored by Prussia, 249—states of, debate in, on the liberty of the press, 250—demands of the estates of, 254—insurrection in, 1846, and its suppression, 255—beneficial changes in, vii. 197—movement in, 1848, viii. 152—revolt of the Poles in, 164.

Pospolite, the Polish, iv. 174

Pospolite Ruzseni, the, called out in Poland, iv. 208.

Post Office, the, motion on, and defeat of ministers on it, ii. 204—statistics connected with, vi. 128 note.

Post-office reform, Mr Hill's plan of, vi. 127—its results, 128—causes of its failure as a source of revenue, 130.

Potato, the, the food of the Irish, iii. 265—advantages and dangers of, as the food of man, vi. 356—first appearance of the rot, 357.

Potato crop, failure of the, in France, 1846, vii. 864.

Potato disease, the, committee of inquiry on, vi. 358—Lord John Russell on, 359—Peel on the possible results of, 364—cessation of the alarm from it, 366—first exaggerations of, 1846, 381—partiality of, in 1845, vii. 237—its extent in 1846, 238—and famine, in Scotland, 251—means taken to combat it, *ib.*—relations of, to the monetary crisis, 304.

Potato failure, alleged influence of the, on the crisis of 1847, vii. 265.

Potato ground, dependence of the Irish poor on their, iii. 270

Potatoes, pernicious effects of, in Ireland, iii. 270—produce of, in France, 173 note—price of, in Ireland, 1845–6, vi. 381 and note—increased produce of, in Ireland, 1849–53, vii. 316 note.

Poli, ceded to Russia, iii. 62.

Potocki, general, death of, iv. 178.

Potosi, decay of city of, i. 48.

Pott, general, viii. 266.

Potter, M., viii. 147.

Potteries, riots at the, 1842, vi. 284

Pottinger, Eldred, at the defence of Herat, vi. 222 *et seq.*—succeeds Macnaghten, and treaty opposed by him, 262—the surrender of the guns, 263—treaty for liberation of the captives in Afghanistan, vii. 46.

Pottinger, Colonel Henry, created a baronet, vi. 237—defence of, at Charekar, and his escape, 256—appointed plenipotentiary to China, vii. 12, 15—treaty concluded, 19.

Ponqueville, M., French consul at Patras, ii. 372.

Pownall, captain, anecdotes of, i. 73 note.

Pozzo di Borgo, count, i. 86, 153, 284, ii. 300—declines office in 1815, i. 87—at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—at the Congress of Verona, ii. 258—secret despatches of, re-

Pozzo di Borgo, count, *continued*.
 guarding Louis Philippe, iv. 102—and Casimier Perier, 320—remonstrance of, against the Polish committee at Paris, 362—becomes French ambassador to London, v. 288.
 Pradt, the abbe de, opposed to the ultramontane party, iii. 75.
 Praga, defensive works at, iv. 185—fortress of, 191—battle of, 193.
 Pragmatic sanction, the, in Spain, v. 103.
 Prague, residence of Charles X., &c., at, v. 318—commencement of agitation in, viii. 203—Slave assembly convoked at, 204—outbreak at, 205—desperate conflict, and capitulation, *ib*.
 Praslin, the duc de, murder of the duchesse by, and his death, vii. 869.
 Pratt, major, capture of Wang-tong by, vii. 13.
 Pravadi, repulse of the Turks before, iii. 49—attempt of Badschid Pacha on, 53—fresh attempt by him on it, 54—description of it, 55.
 Precious metals, the, diminished supply of, from America, and its effects, i. 48—policy of the Spanish government regarding, 323—views of Adam Smith on, ii. 134—instability of a currency founded on, 138—and its danger, 140—diminished supply of, from the state of South America, 141—paper as the representative of or substitute for, iii. 216—expected increase in production of, from South American independence, 218—increased supply of, from South America, v. 56—danger of a currency depending on retention of, 400—increased supplies of, from South America, 404—the diminished supply of, vi. 46—drain of, from England to India, 171—drain of, from England, 1839, &c., 282—Peel on, as the standard of value, 329—drain of, 1845-7, from Bank of England, vii. 260—export of, caused by the imports of grain, 261—increased supply of, and its effects, viii. 327 *et seq*.
 Precursor Association, the, its objects, &c., vi. 133—converted into that for repeal, 305.
 Prefects, the, power given to, by the electoral ordinance of 1815, i. 91—Soult's circular to, iv. 355.
 Prerau, railway between, and Olmutz, iv. 251.
 Prérion, one of Napoleon's attendants at St Helena, ii. 129.
 Prerogative, the contest of Charles X. for, iii. 160.
 Presburg, commencement of agitation in, viii. 203—insurrection organised in, 206—excitement in, on the French revolution, *ib*.—retreat of the Austrians to, 261.
 Presbyterians, number of, in Ireland, vi. 11 note.
 Prescott, defeat of the American sympathisers at, vi. 102.
 President, discussion regarding election of, in France, viii. 58 *et seq*—principles of constitution regarding, 60—election of Louis Napoleon as, 66.
 Press, ease with which converted to support of despotism, i. 29—freedom of the, restored in France, except to the journals, 92—royalist character of the French, 1816,

Press, continued.

103—the laws regarding, continued in 1816, 274—liberty of the, proposed new law regarding, in France, 279—tone of, in France in 1817, 290—law regarding, 1818, 294—new law regarding, in France, ii. 80—increasing violence and exasperation of, in France, 82—attacks of, on the ministry in 1819, 86—violence against the new electoral law, 89—re-establishment of censorship, 100 *et seq*.
 —violence of, against the government in 1820, 103—new law regarding the censorship of, in France, 122—discussion on it, 123—increasing influence of, 211—new law regarding, in France, 222—proposed law against, in Spain, 239—new law regarding, 242—censorship of, abolished by Charles X., iii. 73—re-establishment of the censorship, 93 *et seq*.—ordonnance for it, 98—efforts of, in France against the Jesuit party, 99—new law regarding, 104—violence of, against the Polignac ministry, 112, 117—influence of, in France, 117—ordonnance regarding, 135—hostility of, against the restoration, 168—the working classes in France disregarded by, 177—prosecutions of, under the Wellington ministry, 392—violence of, on the reform question, iv. 27, 28—violence of, during the elections of 1831, 33—absorption of talent by, and danger of this, 74—efforts of, to popularise the Orleans dynasty, 94—subjection of crimes of, to juries in France, 99—edicts coercing, in Bavaria, 135—rigorous censorship of, in Poland, 175—regulations of the Germanic confederacy regarding, 217—censorship of, in Rhenish Prussia, 225—resolutions of the Germanic Diet regarding, 227—measures against it, 228—repressive measures against, in Germany, 231—decision of the Germanic Diet regarding, 232, 239—decree of 5th July against it, 239—liberty of, its suppression in Germany, *ib*.—concessions to, in Prussia, 250—partial liberation of, in Prussia, 252—freedom of, demands of the estates of Prussia for, 254—the republican, in Paris, 311—prosecutions of, under Louis Philippe, 340—how secured on behalf of government of Louis Philippe, 352—union for liberty of, in Germany, 1833, 363—violence of, in Paris, 1833-4, 367—state of, under Louis Philippe, 382—attacks of, on the Melbourne ministry, v. 79—freedom of, in Greece, 260—the French, violence of, against England in 1840, 274—violence of, on the treason trials, 1835, 204—proposed further measures of repression against, in France, 299—new law against, 333—effects of the passion for gain in France on, 348—state of, in France, 1840, 378—violence of, in France on the Eastern question, 387—tone of, in England, 1835, 408—in the United States, war of, against the banks, vi. 52—liberation of, in India, 206—position of, 1841, toward Louis Philippe, vii. 117—prosecutions of, in France, 1841, 141—indignation of, against the Chamber of Peers, 149—state of, under Louis Philippe, 166—violence of, on the settlement of the Tahiti affair, 192—liberation of, in Tuscany, 340—censorship of, relaxed in

Press, continued.

Piedmont, 346—removal of the restrictions on, in Naples, 349—measures of Cavaignac against, viii. 51—restrictions on, in France, 1848, 55—freedom of, proclaimed in Naples, 77—freedom of, in Prussia by constitution of 1848, 172—abolition of restrictions on, in Austria, 202—liberty of, decreed in Austria, 207—provisions of Austrian constitution of 1849 regarding, 239.

Presse, la, tone of, 1839, v. 364—opposed to Thiers, 1840, 378.

Preston, the great strikes at, iii. 247—elections of 1835 in, v. 400—the great strike of 1854 in, vi. 80 note—rates of mortality in, 1841, 283 note.

Prévost, M., heads the revolution of 1830 at Lyons, iv. 100.

Prévôtal courts, law passed in France establishing, i. 120—continued, 274—expiry of the law establishing, 295.

Price, Mr., bears the Burmese proposals of peace, vi. 192.

Prices, effects of an abundant currency on, i. 17—fall of, from reduction of currency, 19—rise of, during the war, and its causes, 60—fall of, agricultural distress attributed to, 62—alleged causes of the, 64—anticipated and real change of, from resumption of cash payments, 199—effects of increased supplies of the precious metals on, ii. 134—influence of expanded currency on, 140—fall of, on the Continent, 1818, &c., 141—rise of, in England, 1818, 143—rapid fall of, on the resumption of cash payments, 144, 145, 198—Huskisson on this, 200—and Mr Attwood, 201—rise of, from the paper currency during the war, and their fall after 1819, in. 217—rise of, from expanded currency not immediate, 218—rise in 1823 and 1824 in England, 219—rapid fall of, 1825, 262—effect of fall in Ireland, 266—effects of rise in 1824 in Ireland, 276—influence of the monetary act of 1826 on, 298—how it acts in inducing passion for change, 294—invariable effect of contraction of currency on, 295—Influence of high, in securing community of interest, 366—effect of the fall of, caused by contraction of currency in inducing the desire for reform, *ib.*—the fall compels the remission of taxes, 386—fall of, effects of it in inducing the passion for reform, iv. 62—how it did so, *ib.*—amount of it, 1824, 64—in principal articles of commerce, 63 note—fall of, distress arising from, 1833, v. 29—rise of, in United States, vi. 48—the fall of, the cause of the suffering in Great Britain, 70—table of it, 1782-1837, *ib.* note—fall of, origin of the anti-corn-law agitation from it, 84—the fall of, from contraction of the currency, made the new tariff necessary, 300—improvement in, 1843, &c., 311—rise in, encouragement to speculation by, 1844, 336—fall of, under new tariff, 1845, 355 and note—fall of, made abolition of the corn laws inevitable, 356—losses by fall in, during crisis of 1847, vii. 286—rise of, caused by increased supplies of gold, 308, 325—viii. 327—effect of growth of wealth in raising, 362—cry for free trade induced by, *ib.*

Priests, numbers, &c., of, in Spain, i. 325—resistance of the king to the decree against, 356—reception of the decree in the country, 369—party of the, under Secandary of, in France, ii. 126—secret camarilla of, under Charles X., iii. 72—dangerous influence of, on government, 165—interference of, in the elections of 1826 in Ireland, 306—entire supremacy of, there, 334—they support the system of multiplying voters, 335—efforts of, to bias the voters, *ib.*—diminished number of, in Ireland, 362—violent measures of Don Pedro against, v. 132—effect of education at Maynooth on, vi. 348.

Priestly domination, jealousy of, in France, iii. 169.

Primary Assemblies, proposed abolition of the, in France, i. 142.

Primary instruction, measures regarding, in France in 1819, ii. 70—and in 1848, viii. 335.

Primary schools, number, &c., of, in France, vii. 123.

Primogeniture, defeat of attempt to re-establish, in France, iii. 91.

Prince, colonel, defeat of the American sympathisers by, vi. 102.

Prince Edward's Island, malappropriation of lands in, vi. 124.

Princes, proposed council of, for Germany, viii. 185.

Principalities, the, treaties between Russia and Turkey regarding, ii. 351 note—negotiations regarding, in 1823, 394—demands of Russia, regarding, at Ackerman, ii. 8—provisions of convention of Ackerman regarding, *ib.*—overrun by the Russians, 15—terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding, 62.—Ser Moldavia, Wallachia.

Pringle, Alex., a lord of the Treasury, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Printed calicoes, proposed reduction of duties on, iv. 15 and note.

Printing, early knowledge of, in China, vii. 7.

Prisons, Council - general of, formed in France, ii. 79—state of, in Paris under Louis Philippe, iv. 367—bill regarding, in Jamaica, vi. 114.

Prison labour, laws regarding, in France, viii. 334.

Prisoners, number of, under Louis Philippe, iv. 382—bill regarding counsel to, vi. 27.

Pritchard, Mr., the outrage by the French on, at Tahiti, vi. 325—reparation to him agreed to, *ib.*—excitement caused by his arrest, vii. 2—indemnity from France to him, 192.

Private banks, necessity for restriction on, v. 404.

Privilege of parliament, the, in connection with the Stockdale case, vi. 180 *et seq.*

Privileges, abolition of, in Spain in 1820, i. 352—exclusive, in Hungary, viii. 143—abolition of, in Holland, 1848, 148—surrender of, by the Hungarian nobility, 207.

Privy Council, the, speech of Queen Victoria to, on her accession, vi. 41—grants for education by, vii. 273.

Probate duty, increase of, in Ireland, v. 62 note.

Produce, decline of, in West Indies from exhaustion of soil, v. 50—heavy duties on it, *ib.*—increase of, in India, vi. 161.

- Producers, the, policy of government toward, in Turkey, ii. 326—alleged influence of free trade on the interests of, iii. 239—and consumers, collision of interests between, 366—diminished away of, in Great Britain, iv. 1—interests of the, overbalanced by those of the consumers, 61—their distress one cause of the reform bill, 62—the interests of the capitalists opposed to, 64—effects of the reform bill on the interests of, 65—still a majority in England, 77—predominance of the moneyed over, and how obtained, 78—their influence destroyed with the nomination boroughs, vi. 382.
- Producing interests, proof of their disfranchisement by the reform bill, vii. 230.
- Production, identification of interests of, with those of the aristocracy in England, iv. 169—effect of the contraction of the currency in lowering the cost of, vi. 300—comparative effect of capital on, in agriculture and manufactures, vii. 311.
- Progresistas, the, in Spain, v. 100, 190, 191.
- Prolegat, governor of Bologna, indecision of, on the insurance there, iv. 132.
- Proletaires, the, Louis Blanc on, in France, iv. 303—schism between, and employers in France, 383—secret society called, 373 note.
- Prome, advance of the British on, vi. 188—its capture, *ib*—defeat of the Burmese before, 190—capture of, by the British, vii. 110.
- Prondzynski, general, plans urged by, iv. 199—at Iganie, 200.
- Propagande, secret society called, iv. 373 note.
- Propagandism, new forms of, in France, 1832, iv. 362—resolution of Congress of Muntz-Graetz against, 365.
- Properties, excessive division of, in France, iii. 88—and proprietors, number, income, &c., of, in France, 173 note—number of, in Ireland, 269.
- Property, destruction of, in Great Britain by popular ascendancy, i. 32 note— influence of the destruction of, in France, on periodical literature, iii. 211—principles of the St Simonians regarding, iv. 140—Proudhon's views on, viii. 54.
- Property qualification, abolition of, one of the points of the charter, vi. 80.
- Property tax, discussion in parliament on the, i. 50—its abolition, 53—reflections on the subject, *ib*.—See Income tax.
- Proprietors, the, discontent among in France, iii. 125—poverty of the small, 168—destruction of, by the Revolution, iv. 81—schism between, and proletaires, 383.
- Proprietary clergy, discussion in the Deputies on a, i. 236 *et seq*.
- Proscribed, return of, to France, ii. 30—debate in the Deputies on it, 81.
- Prosperity, anticipations of, in Great Britain on the peace, i. 44—influence of, in inducing discontent, iv. 223.
- Protected states in India, rapid decline of the, vi. 170—causes of this, *ib*.
- Protection, system of, under the old constitution of England, iv. 60—a result of uniform representation in France, 79—Lord Palmerston's definition of, vi. 144—excitement against, 1811, 147—the system of young and growing states, vii. 324—results of, to France, 325 note—struggle for, in France, 144—circumstances which weakened the cause of, 1849, viii. 293.
- Protectionists, the, arguments of, against free trade, iii. 239 *et seq*.—oppose the sliding scale, vi. 293—declaration of, 1846, 355—arguments of, against the abolition of the coin laws, 367—determination of, to drive Sir R. Peel from power, 372—oppose the Irish coercion bill, 377—conduct of the leaders of, 384—the accession of, breaks up the Tory party, vii. 219—party of, in the Commons, 227—support Lord George Bentinck's railway scheme, 250—support Mr Fielden's factory bill, 270—arguments of, against Mr Villher's motion, vii. 298 *et seq*.
- Protective duties, Sir R. Peel on entire abrogation of, vi. 362.
- Protective system, arguments of the London merchants against the, iii. 237 *et seq*.—growth of the industrial interests under the, iv. 2—use made of the distress of 1833, &c., against the, vi. 286—influence of the, on British shipping, viii. 292 and note.
- Protestant Charter School, Ireland, grant to the, iii. 267 note.
- Protestantism and Catholicism, jealousy caused by, in the Netherlands, iv. 110—alleged diminution of, in Ireland, v. 416—establishment of, in Prussia, viii. 139.
- Protestants, persecution of, in the south of France, i. 102—the Irish, origin of Orange lodges among, ii. 271— proportion of, to Catholics in Ireland, 277—great meeting of, on Penenden Heath, 339—increased ratio of, in Ireland, 362—conflicts between, and Catholics in Ireland, 1829, 375—total number of, in Germany, iv. 258—outcry among, against the Irish secular colleges, vi. 347—and Catholics, disunion between, in Germany, viii. 137—number of, in Austria, 140 note—disensions between, and the Catholics in Prussia, 1848, 152.
- Proudhon, M., appointed by mob to provisional government, viii. 39—returned to Assembly, 41—implicated in the revolt of June, 54 and note—heads the Socialists, and his views, 54—trial and sentence of, 55—opposes the constitution of 1848, 60—heads conspiracy of January 29, 336.
- Provinces, the revolt of, the cause of decay in eastern monarchies, v. 242.
- Provincial assemblies, introduction of, into Naples, i. 363.
- Provincial Diets, illusory edict of Prussia regarding, iv. 233—import of the constitution of these, 234—Count Bernstorff's circular regarding them, *ib*.—their real worth, 235.
- Provincial estates, opening of the, in Prussia, 1841, and excitement attending it, iv. 250.
- Provins, resistance to the valuation in, vii. 146.
- Provisions, low price of, not indicative of prosperity, vi. 290—great variations in prices of, 1847, vii. 287—effects of free trade on prices of, 316.

Provisional government, the French, first acts of, 1848, viii. 2—pressure on the, &c., 3—institution of the Garde Mobile, 5—decree against ex-ministers, &c., *ib.*—formation of the Ateliers Nationaux, 7—suspension of cash payments, 13—financial measures, 15—decree convoking National Assembly, 16—and postponing it, 17—measures to sway the elections, *ib. et seq.*—military preparations of, 24—grand review by, 33—new, appointed by insurgents of May 15th, 89.

Provoas, general, defeat of the Pedroitcs by, v. 122.

Prudhommes, the, at Lyons, iv. 305—the council called, proceedings of, regarding the tariff of wages, 306.

Prussia, effects of the alliance of France and England on, i. 4—violence of the revolution of 1848 in, 10—standing army of, 12—relations of crime and education in, 26—position of the forces of, in France, 98—contributions from France to, 109 note—convention of, with Russia, &c., regarding France, 109—a party to the Holy Alliance, 111—representatives of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—acquisitions of, from Poland in 1815, ii. 3—population per square mile in, 10 note—representatives of, at the Congress of Troppau, 36—loans raised by, 1817, 142 note—number of children receiving education in, 165—exports from England per head to, 173 note—representatives of, at the Congress of Verona, 258—her views, 259—views adopted by, on the Spanish question, 263—note of, on it, 263 note—withdraws her ambassador from Spain, 267—the note of, on the Spanish constitution, 271—the prince-royal of, iii. 14—designs of France regarding, 131—formation of the Zollverein by, 235—exports to, 1840-9, 236 note—measures adopted by, in retaliation for the navigation laws, 229—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—shipping employed in trade with, 233—recognition of Louis Philippe by, iv. 102—want of representative institutions, and state of political feeling in, 115—disturbances in, 116—jealousy of France in, caused by the revolution in Belgium, 120—a party to convention for separation of Belgium and Holland, 129, 130—state of feeling in, 1830, and measures of the government, 135—a party to the partition of Poland, 172—originally a part of Poland, 173—preparations of, and conference with Russia, &c., regarding Poland, 183—retreat of Gielgud, &c., into, 207—subservience of, to Russia, and measures to aid her against the Poles, 208—retreat of the Polish army into, 212—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 and note—prosperity and advances of, since the peace, 220—education in, 221—statistics of it in relation to crime, *ib.*—declaration of, 1815, regarding constitutional government, 224—breach of faith on the part of the government, *ib.*—further promises, 225—resistance of, to representative assemblies, 228—circular by cabinet of, on Kotzebue's murder, 229 *et seq.*—increasing influence of, in the Diet, 232—illusory edict

Prussia, *continued.*

of, regarding provincial Diets, 238—import of the constitution of these, 234—Bernstorff's circular regarding them, *ib.*—regulations regarding secret societies, 235—the real worth of the provincial estates, *ib.*—causes which prevented an outbreak, 236—wisdom of internal government of, *ib.*—specific measures introduced, *ib.*—ultimate effect of these on freedom, 237—military preparations of, on the French revolution of 1830, *ib.*—effect of the Belgian and Polish revolutions, 238—formation, &c., of the Zollverein, 241 *et seq.*—dispute between, and the Pope regarding Archbishop of Cologne, 246—manifesto of, on his arrest, *ib.*—internal regulations of, 247—amnesty, and reciprocity treaty with Holland, 248—death of the king, and revival of the question of the constitution, *ib.*—answer of the king to demand for a constitution, 249—adjustment of the dispute with the See of Rome, *ib.*—opening of the provincial estates, and excitement attending it, *ib.*—extension of Zollverein, and her increasing intellectual strength, 250—extension of railways, *ib.*—inauguration of cathedral of Cologne, and king's speech, 251—meeting of general estates of, *ib.*—secret views of the government in this, *ib.*—progress of constitutional ideas in 1843, 252—religious movement in, 253—constitutional progress in 1845, *ib.*—and in 1846, 254—increased demand for reform, 255—progress in 1847, and convocation of general Diet, *ib.*—opening of States-general, and king's speech, *ib.*—effect of the long evasion of the promise of a constitution in, 257—influence of Russia on, and its effects, 259—attitude of, toward France, 1832, 314—attitude of, regarding the cession of Antwerp, 314—but compelled to remain quiet, 348—memoir by, against the Polish committee at Paris, 362—measures of, against the Polish refugees in Switzerland, 363—a party to the Congress of Muntz-Gratz, 364—statistics of army of, 365 note—declines to recognise the Queen of Spain, v. 111—a party to treaty for settlement of the East, 269—a party to the treaty of March 1841, regarding the Dardanelles, 280—a party to the occupation of Cracow, 311—declaration by, regarding Belgium, 1838, 355—warlike preparations of, 356—sides with England on the Eastern question, 385—proportion of army to population in, vi. 167—visit of king of, 1842, to England, 288—condition of the labouring classes in, 290—proportion of children at school in, 314 note—the Protectionists on, 368—class from which the army is drawn in, vii. 233—details of army of, 236 note—exports to, 1846-9, 287 note—effects of the monetary crisis in England on, 303—increased protective system of, 324—exports and imports with, *ib.* note—negotiations with, regarding the slave trade, 138—changes introduced by, into her Polish provinces, 197—capture of Cracow by troops of, 203—indemnity for Cracow received by, 332—a party to the proposed league against Great Britain, 359—acknowledgment of the

Prussia, *continued*.

French republic by, viii. 25—state of, 1848, 138—statistics of, 140 *note*—statistics of education in, 141—the military system of, *ib.*—objects, &c., of the Zollverein, 144—its effects, 145—first disturbances in, 1848, 150—proclamation by the king, *ib.*—tumult in Berlin, 151—conflict there, and submission of the king, *ib.*—division in, on these changes, 152—new constitution, 153 *et seq.*—dispute with the general Diet, 154—meeting at Heidelberg, *ib.*—elections for general Diet, 155—invasion of Schleswig-Holstein by, 158 *et seq.*—armistice, 161—dissatisfaction with the election of the Archduke John, 162—revolt in Posen, and its suppression, 164—new constitution of, 1848, 165—riots in Berlin, and change of ministry, *ib.*—ministry again changed, measures of the king, 166—disorders in Berlin, and conduct of the burgher guard, 167—ministry again changed, 168—the Assembly resolve to resist, *ib.*—is dissolved by force, 170—final victory of the crown, 171—king's constitution, 172—address of the king to the troops, *ib.*—breach with the Assembly at Frankfurt, 181—aims in suppressing the revolt in Saxony, 183—and in Baden, 184—Germanic constitution agreed to by, 185 *et seq.*—proceedings of new Chamber, 186—new electoral law, *ib.*—ascendancy of moderate party in it, *ib.*—affairs in 1850, 187—dissension with Austria regarding Hesse-Cassel, 188—intervention of Russia, and her demands, 189—the Olmutz convention, 190—renewal of hostilities in Schleswig-Holstein, 191—treaty, 192—renewal of war, 193 *et seq.*—final settlement, 195—effects of the representation by classes in, 198.

Prussian commercial league, the, *see* Zollverein.

Pruth, the crossing of, by the Russians in 1823, iii. 15.

Psaniado, death of, at Sphaacteria, and gallant escape of his vessel, ii. 412.

Psarlotes, glorious resistance of the, ii. 405.—*See* Ipsara.

Ptolemais, military importance of, in time of the Crusaders, v. 245.

Public burdens, equal distribution of, in England, under the old system, iv. 60.

Public companies, increase of, in France, 1837, v. 346.

Public criers, law against, in Paris, iv. 369.

Public instruction, ordonnance regarding, in France, ii. 118—society for advancing, in France, iv. 373.

Public meeting, right of, secured by French constitution of 1848, viii. 60.

Public meetings, act for regulating, 1819, ii. 152.

Public monuments, votes for, in England, i. 69.

Public officers, motion for reducing salaries of, iii. 279.

Public works, various, 1825, iii. 250—grant voted for, 1833, in France, iv. 369—distribution of it, 360—influence of want of, in Ireland, v. 26—former, in India, vi. 158—difficulties of the British government in India with regard to, 159—in Ireland, for relief of the distress in 1846, vii. 237—increasing numbers employed on them, 240—insufficiency of relief afforded on these, 242—Lord George Bentinck on them, 253—sum required for, in France, 1840, 136—diminished expenditure on, in France, 1847, 365—under Lord Dalhousie in India, 107.

Public works act, the Irish, 1846, vii. 237—expenditure under it, 246 *note*.

Puckner, general, viii. 222—forces under. 241—operations against Bem, 244, 249, 250.

Puente de la Reyna, siege of, by the Carlists, v. 195.

Puerto Rico, acceptance of the constitution in, i. 354—increased production of, since emancipation, v. 53.

Puffen, colonel, defeat of, viii. 261.

Puna, road from Rangoon to, vii. 108 *note*.

Punishment, necessity for certainty in, i. 206—arbitrariness of, in Russia, ii. 19.

Punjab, the, the kingdom of the Sikhs in, vi. 217—displays, &c., in, before the march into Afghanistan, 228—death of Runjeet, and threatening aspect of affairs in, 241—state of, after Runjeet Singh's death, vii. 66—origin, &c., of the Sikhs, 76—geographical description of, *ib.*—Runjeet Singh, 77—position of affairs in, 80—hostile movements, 81—advantages on side of Sikhs, 82—movements of both parties, 83—battle of Moodkee, *ib.*—battle of Ferozeshah, 85—of Alhwal, 91—advance toward Lahore, 95—treaty, *ib.*—renewed hostile appearances, 96—tranquillity during 1847, 97—renewed disturbances, murder of Agnew, &c., 98—first operations, 99—defection of Shere Singh, 100—battle of Ramnuggur, *ib.*—operations of Gough and Shere Singh, 101—battle of Chilianwallah, 102 *et seq.*—battle of Goojerat, 104 *et seq.*—capture of Mooltan, 103 *et seq.*—its incorporation, 106—canals in, 108 *note*—reflections on the war in, 113.

Pura Republicains, secret society called, iv. 373 *note*.

Purwandurrah, defeat of the British at, vi. 244.

Pussy, M., v. 108.

Puteaux, cholera at, iv. 317 *note*.

Puyecorda, defeat of the Spanish royalists at, ii. 343.

Puyraveau, Audry de, *see* Audry.

Puya de Dome, grain riots in, 1817, i. 281.

Puyzellier, captain, opposes Louis Napoleon at Boulogne, v. 381.

Q

Quadruple alliance, the, vii. 209—its objects and effects, v. 133 *et seq.*
 Questors, what, in the French Assembly, viii. 351 note—motion by the, 352—its rejection, 353.
 Qual d'Orsay, Hotel du, grant for, iv. 360 note—excess of expenditure on it, v. 311.
 Quarterly Review, rise of the, i. 236—picture of the state of England in 1825 from, iii. 250—opposes the reform bill, iv. 35.
 Quear, ensign, viii. 326 note.
 Quebec, suspension of cash payments by bank of, vi. 90.
 Queen's Bench, the Court of, in Ireland, confirms O'Connell's sentence, vi. 308.
 Queen's County, effects of the coercion act in, v. 22 note—proclaimed in 1848, vii. 301.
 Queenborough, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
 Quelen, archbishop of Paris, a member of the Camarilla, iii. 72.
 Quenisset, François, attempted assassination of the Duc d'Orléans by, vii. 149.
 Querelles, lieutenant, a partisan of Louis Napoleon's, v. 323.
 Quesada, heads the royalists in Navarre, ii. 242—renewed outbreak of, 245—defeat of, by Lopez, 251—successes of, *ib.*—defeated, and retires to Bayonne, 252—operations of, in concert with the French, 259—defeats

of, by the Carlists, v. 153, 154—further movements, 154—again defeated, 155—suppression of the revolt of La Granja by, 189—vigour of, against the revolutionists, 208, 210—dismissed from office, 209—murdered, 210.

Quettah, arrival of the Affghanistan expedition at, vi. 231—siege of, by the insurgents, 242—advance of England to, vii. 33—second advance of England from, 38.

Quiberon, monument of, defaced, iv. 322.

Quiévrain, check of French revolutionists at, viii. 23.

Quilez, a Carlist leader, v. 201.

Quimperlé, bribery at election for, vii. 367.

Quinette, M., indemnity to, ii. 122 note.

Quinsonnas, general, during the Three Days, iii. 143.

Quiroga, general, one of the leaders of the insurrection at Cadiz, i. 346—measures of, as commander of the insurgents, 347—his difficulties, 348—his perilous situation, *ib.*—elected to the Cortes of 1820, 353—pension bestowed on, 356—denounced by the revolutionists, *ib.*—made captain-general of Galicia, i. 249—v. 189.

Quotidienne, the, circulation of, iii. 118 note—suppression of, iv. 334—publication of the alleged letters of Louis Philippe by, vii. 140.

R

Raab, fortress of, viii. 241—advance of the Austrians to, 242—evacuated by the Austrians, 264—captured by them, 266—capture of, by Klapka, 276.

Raban, ensign, death of, at Cabul, vi. 252.

Race, persistence of the character of, i. 33—relations of, to religious faith, 323—wars of, in the East, ii. 316—and in the east of Europe, 318—vehemence of these in the Turkish empire, *ib.*—disunion from, in Germany, viii. 137—diversity of, in Austria, 138.

Races, modern wars of, in Europe, i. 34—variety of, in the Turkish empire, ii. 318—influence of diversity of, in Turkey on government, 320—animosity of, in the Austrian empire, viii. 208.

Rachel, mademoiselle, the actress, iii. 213—first appearance of, v. 348.

Radcliffe, Mrs. the novels of, i. 249.

Radetsky, marshal, measures of, against revolt in Milan, 1830, iv. 132—occupation of Bologna by, 315—biography of, viii. 71—retreats from Milan, 73 *et seq.*—proclamation by, 74—retreats to the Mincio, *ib.*—forces and position of, 32—measures to secure the Tyrol, *ib.*—retires behind the Adige, 84—invasion of the Tyrol, 85—movements of, 86—defeated at Pastrengo, 87—retreats behind the Adige, *ib.*—battle of Sta Lucia, 88—views of, subsequently,

89—joined by the army of reserve, 90—position on the Adige, 91—movements to relieve Peschiera, 92—victory at Curtatone, 93—repulse at Goito, *ib.*—fall of Peschiera, 94—dangerous position and difficulties of, *ib.*—movements, and their aim, 95—marches on Vicenza, *ib.*—victory there, *ib.*—returns to Verona, and loss of Rivoli, 96—importance of the capture of Vicenza, 97—position and further preparations of, 98—reinforcements, *ib.*—his difficulties from the state of the country, 99—relieves Ferrara, 100—Mantua blockaded, *ib.*—repulsed before Rivoli, *ib.*—further movements, 101—battle of Custoza, *ib.*—danger after it, and his subsequent movements, 102—defeat at the Somma Campagna, *ib.*—subsequent operations, 103—battle of Valleggio, *ib.*—movements in pursuit, 104—terms of armistice demanded by, *ib.*—capitulation of Milan, 105—armistice, 106—forces of, on renewal of the war, 112—their spirit, 113—his proclamation, *ib.*—note—plans, 114—first movements, *ib.*—concentrates his forces at Pavia, 115—first combats, *ib.*—battle of Novara, 117 *et seq.*—armistice concluded, 120—enters Milan, 121—military conduct of, 133.

Radicals, the, objects and proceedings of, 1819, ii. 146—the meeting of, at Peterloo, *ib.* *et seq.*—continuance of military training among, 1820, 160—views of, regarding the

Radicals, the, *continued*.

- case of the queen, 175—objects of, in desiring reform, *iii.* 401—efforts of, to coerce the Peers, *iv.* 50—objects of, in Great Britain, *v.* 1—defeats of, on the address, 1833, 14—split between, and the Whigs on the Irish coercion bill, 21—resistance of the Grey ministry to, 55—difficulties of the Grey ministry from, 57—views and objects of, 63—feeling of, against the Lords, *vi.* 13—attacks on the Melbourne ministry by, 32—oppose the additions to the navy, 1836, 23—and again, 1839, 137—clamour of, on the letter-opening question, 352—intended rising of, in Scotland, 1843, *vii.* 295.
- Radicals, the Swiss, supported by England, *vii.* 355—their excitement, 357—forces of, 358—their easy victory, *ib.*—decline the mediation of the five powers, 359.
- Radical leaders, impression made by Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh on the, *ii.* 154.
- Radical press, the, attacks on Thiers by, 1840, *v.* 378.
- Radicalism, growth of, in the Swiss cities, *vii.* 352.
- Radowitz, general, negotiations by, for league against England, *vii.* 359—resignation of, *viii.* 190.
- Radziwiłł, Prince Michael, a member of the provisional government of Poland, *iv.* 179—appointed member of national council, 185—appointed commander-in-chief, 189—retires before Dieblich, 192—position and forces of, at Grochow, *ib.*—battle of Grochow, 193—battle of Piaga, *ib.*—removed from the command, 196.
- Rae, Sir Wm., lord advocate, *iii.* 378—and again, 1835, *v.* 407 note—and in 1841, *vi.* 280 note.
- Raeburn, Sir H., the paintings of, *i.* 260—created a baronet, *ii.* 208.
- Raffé, colonel, killed by the explosion of the infernal machine, *v.* 297.
- Railways, companies for, 1825, *iii.* 253 note—capital invested in, 396—losses sustained in, *ib.*—the first continental, *iv.* 245—regulations of the Prussian government regarding, 247—vast system of, in Northern Germany, 250—further extension of, in Germany, 1844, 252—discussions in the Deputies on, 1839, *v.* 366—speculation in, 1835 *6.* 400—rapid increase of, in Canada, *vi.* 108—importance of constructing, in India, 163—passion for, in England, 1844, &c., 336—plans, &c., lodged with board of trade, *ib.*—total preliminary expenses, 338—sums authorised for, 1843 to 1849, receipts, passengers, miles completed, &c., *ib.* note—bill reducing to a half the deposits on, 342—effects of this, *ib.*—employment afforded by, in England, *vii.* 252, 253—Lord George Bentinck's scheme for their extension to Ireland, 253 *et seq.*—as the alleged cause of the crisis of 1847, 264—expenditure on, 1845-7, 275 and note—this alleged as the cause of the crisis, 282—losses on, 1847, &c., 285, 288—fall in value of shares, 289 note—benefits of expenditure on them, 289—number of miles in Great Britain compared with other countries, 290 note—diminished traffic on, 1845 to 1849, 292—expenditure on, in France, 1841-7, 118—government loan for, in France, 1841, 120—failure of the attempt to form, by private enterprise in France, 135—taken up by government, *ib.*—embarrassment caused to the French finances by, 136—extension of system of, in France, 154—diminished expenditure on, in France, 1847, 365—importance of, in India, and measures for furthering them, 75—Indian, under Lord Dalhousie, 107 and note—government sequestration of, in France, 1848, *viii.* 15—influence of, on wages, &c., 293—expenditure on, 295—influence of, on emigration, 364.
- Railway committees, the decisions of the, *vi.* 339.
- Railway companies, rapid increase of, in France, *v.* 346.
- Railway crisis, losses of the middle classes by the, *vii.* 288.
- Railway lines, Arago's report on, *v.* 346.
- Railway mania, extension of the, to Germany, *iv.* 245—commencement of the, in France, *v.* 304—commencement of the, in England, *vi.* 336—effects of it on society, *ib.*—and on the public mind, 337—its benefits to some classes, *ib.*—effect of the speculations in the country, 338—division in landed interest occasioned by it, 339—its good effect on the labouring classes, *ib.*
- Railway scheme, Lord George Bentinck's, for Ireland, *vii.* 253.
- Railway stations, destruction of the, round Paris, 1848, *viii.* 3.
- Railway system, rapid growth of the, in England, *iii.* 396—its great and lasting monetary effects, *ib.*—its moral effects, *ib.*—and political, 397—its evils and dangers in the undue sway of the capital, *ib.*—its influence on great cities, *ib.*—its military results, 398—it augments the means of defending nations, *ib.*—effects of, on commerce and manufactures, *vi.* 340—indirect benefit to working classes from, 341—magnitude and perfection of, in Great Britain, *vii.* 290—effects of, on agriculture, *viii.* 295—and on political parties, *ib.*
- Railway Times, picture of the crisis from the, *vii.* 288 note.
- Rainey, flight of the Duke of Orleans to, *iv.* 87.
- Rains, severity of the, in Great Britain, 1838, *vi.* 63—the season of, in India, 156.
- Rajgah, capture of fort of, by the British, *vi.* 242—evacuated, 243.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, the prose of, *iv.* 282.
- Ralfé, Mr., solicitor-general, 1835, *v.* 421 note.
- Rambouillet, retreat of Charles X. to, *iii.* 154—his abdication there, *ib.*—march of the revolutionists on, 155.
- Ramel, general, murder of, *i.* 101.
- Rangurh, capture of, by the British, *vi.* 176.
- Rannuggur, battle of, *vii.* 100.
- Ramond, M., made a councillor of state, *i.* 309.
- Ramoo, defeat of the British at, *vi.* 186.
- Ramorino, general, defeat of Rosen by, *iv.* 210—retreats into Austria, 212—forces under, *vii.* 114—movements of, 115.
- Ramree, cession of, to the British, *vi.* 192.
- Randon, general, war minister, *viii.* 350 note.

- Rangoon, capture of, by the British, vi. 184—successes of the British near, 186—siege of, by the Burmese, 187—victories of the British before it, 188—road to Puna from, vii. 103 note—storming of, 109.
- Rank, peculiarities of, in Russia, ii. 12—privileges of, the first French revolution directed against, iv. 80.
- Ranke, the works of, iv. 285.
- Rapatel, general, operations of, in Algeria, v. 334.
- Raphael frigate, captured by the Turks, iii. 52.
- Raphoe, bill abolishing bishopric of, v. 23 note.
- Rapp, general, made a peer, i. 314—appointment of, to the household, ii. 117.
- Rapp, new sect headed by, in Prussia, iv. 254.
- Ruspal, M., demanded as counsel by the prisoners for treason, v. 292—a leader of the Socialist demonstration, viii. 28, 29—a party to insurrection of May 16th, 37—appointed by mob to provisional government, 39—votes for, as president, 60.
- Rastadt, surrender of the Baden insurgents at, viii. 184.
- Rateau, M., proposition of, for dissolution of Assembly, viii. 336.
- Rathemack, not at, v. 79.
- Rationalism, rise of, in Germany, iv. 294.
- Rattray, Mr., murder of, at Charekur, vi. 256.
- Rausch, the works of, iv. 296.
- Rautre, trial and execution of, for the Rochelle conspiracy, ii. 227.
- Ravee river, the, vii. 77.
- Ravenna, capture of, by the papal troops, iv. 315.
- Ravez, M., i. 272—elected president of the Deputies in 1819, ii. 87—again, 1823, 280—and again, 1824, iii. 77—outvoted for the presidency, 1828, 103.
- Raw materials, proposed reduction of duties on, vii. 296—Sir R. Peel on reduction of duties on, 362.
- Rawlinson, major, afterwards Sir Henry, political agent in Candahar, vi. 245—orders from Macnaghten, regarding the troops at Candahar, 254—proceedings of, in Candahar, vii. 31—measures for security of Candahar, 32—defence of it, 33—urges co-operation with England, 34.
- Rayneval, M. de, interim foreign minister, iii. 105.
- Razen, the, revolt of, viii. 220, 223.
- Réad, general, defeat of cavalry under, iii. 21.
- Real Basso, capture of, by the Sicilian insurgents, viii. 78.
- Real de Monte Mining Company, the, iii. 253 note.
- Rancey, M., circular to the electors by, 1846, vii. 208.
- Rebecca riots, the, vi. 315 *et seq.*
- Recamier, madame, ii. 222.
- Recart, M., presides at reform banquet at Chatillon, vi. 131—minister of public works under Cavaignac, vii. 51 note.
- Reciprocity system, the, Lord Liverpool on, ii. 169—begun by Huskisson, iii. 227—introduction of, 229—effects of, 231 *et seq.*—cause of its failure, 236—influence of, on British shipping, viii. 292 and note.
- Reciprocity treaties, countries with which concluded, iii. 231.
- Recount, a revolutionary leader, 1847, vii. 372.
- Recruiting, new law of, in France, i. 291 *et seq.*
- Recruits, inefficiency of, shown in Afghanistan, vi. 268—annual number of, in the army, vii. 231.
- Recsey, count, viii. 225.
- Recult, M., minister of interior, 1848, viii. 36 note.
- Red Sea route to India, opening of the, vi. 205.
- Redschid Effendi, iii. 5.
- Redschid Pacha, siege of Missolonghi assigned to, ii. 411—invests Missolonghi, 412—its siege and capture by, 415 *et seq.*—defeat of the Greeks near Athens by, 424—assumes the command against the Russians, and his first movements, iii. 53—combats of Eski-Arnautlar, and retires to Schumla, *ib.*—again advances on Pravadi, 54—his subsequent movements, 55—battle of Koulefscha, 56—retreats to Schumla, and his losses, 57—demonstrations against, in Schumla, 58—movements of, after passing the Balkan, 59—appointed to command against Ibrahim Pacha, v. 248—forces under him, 249—battle of Konieh, *ib. et seq.*—language of Admiral Roussin to, 1838, 264.
- Redwitz, the poems of, iv. 281.
- Reform, effects of, in Ireland, iii. 274—growing passion for, in Great Britain, 365—fostered by the want of representation for the commercial towns, *ib.*—by the interests of the boroughs being now at variance with those of the country, 366—by the effects of the contraction of the currency, *ib.*—by the success of the Catholic agitation, 367—desire of, promoted by Catholic emancipation, *ib.*—by the effect of the suppression of small notes, 368—the cry for, caused by the contraction of the currency and general distress, 368—the Whigs generally disinclined to it, *ib.*—motions on it during session of 1830, 387—Lord Grey's declaration on, 1830, 400—Wellington's against it, *ib.*—Brougham's plan of, 401—importance of Wellington's declaration against, iv. 2—consistency of Earl Grey on, 4—Earl Grey's official declaration on, 11—the passion for, as induced by the fall of prices, 62—how this ensued, *ib.*—the Duke of Wellington's declaration against, and its effects, 68—error of the Whigs in forcing it on at that time, 69.
- Reform, general demand for, in France, vii. 126—Arago's speech on, 128 *et seq.*—debate on, 1841, 143—debate on, in the Council of State, 149—movement in favour of it in the Deputies, 150—general coalition in favour of, 1847, 370—discussion on, 1848, 376 *et seq.*—banquet in favour of, resolved on, 383—resolution of the king against it, *ib.*—preparations for banquet, *ib.*—compromise proposed, 384.
- Reform, increasing demands for, in Prussia, iv. 255.

- Reform agitation, effect of the firmness of the Conservatives during, v. 3—general distress which followed the, 29—effect of the, on the West India question, 44.
- Reform bill, the, the result of low prices and general distress, iii. 294—Earl Grey misled as to the effects of, iv. 5—committee on, 15—feelings in the country, and petitions on it, 16—brought into the House, *ib.*—arguments in favour of it, 17 *et seq.*—its details, 20—feeling in the House, 22—arguments against it, 23—leave granted to bring it in, 26—agitation on it, 27—petition from the London merchants against it, 28—majority of one for second reading, *ib.*—delusions among the people regarding, 35—examples of resistance to those, *ib.*—king's speech, 36—majority for second reading, *ib.*—discussion on particular boroughs, *ib.*—motion to give members to colonies, 37—motion on 450 tenants, 38—third reading carried, *ib.*—efforts to intimidate the Peers, 39—Earl Grey's speech in the Peers, *ib.*—thrown out in the Peers, 40—introduction of the new, 45—its increased democratic character, 46—division on it, and Peel's speech against it, *ib.*—majority on third reading, and Lord John Russell's closing declaration, 47—resolution to create peers, 49—negotiations with the waverers, 50—meetings to coerce the Peers, *ib.*—majority for second reading in Peers, 51—and for Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, *ib.*—resignation of ministers and further proceedings, *ib. et seq.*—circular of the king to the opposition peers, to withdraw their opposition, 54—danger of civil war from its rejection, 55—passes and receives the royal assent, *ib.*—those for Scotland and Ireland passed, 56—effects of these, *ib.*—and of the bill generally, *ib.*—its results on the imperial parliament, 57—on our external relations, *ib.*—and on internal and social state, 58—the great emigration due ultimately to it, *ib.*—an effect of the increase of realised wealth, 62—error in the estimate of its effects, 65—predominance given to shopkeepers by, 66—error committed in its system of uniform representation, 69—failure of, to give representation to the colonies, 71—labour unrepresented under, 72—intelligence and education unrepresented under, 73—increase of corruption under it, 74—fault of the liberals in the way it was carried, 75—faults on both sides in connection with, 76—has strengthened government by enlarging its basis, 77—political truth evolved by, 79—danger of the country on the passing of, v. 1—power given to the Whigs by, 2—moderation of the government after the passing of it, and its effect, 4—the registration of electors under, 12—first elections under it, and their result, 13—character of the House elected, 14—effects of, on the foreign relations of the country, 127—Peel's declaration on it, 1835, 407—experienced failure of, vi. 46—new, for Ireland, and its fate, 141—the fall of the Whigs due to, 150—how it destroyed the supremacy of England, *ib.*—merit of Peel's opposition to, 276—preponderance given to the commercial interest by, 380—the Whig party destroyed by, vii. 219—proof of its having disfranchised the colonies, 230—Lord George Bentinck's support of, 257—colonial discontent produced by the results of, viii. 309.
- Reform Club, subscription at the, for reform, iv. 32.
- Reform excitement, reaction from the, v. 421.
- Reform mania, influence of the cholera in checking the, v. 5.
- Reform ministry, the, effect of the moderation of, v. 4—reflections on the fall of, 81—their merit in resisting further change, *ib.*—review of their career, *ib.*
- Reform movement, the, headed by the aristocracy, v. 8.
- Reform party, divisions in the, v. 78.
- Reformateur, prosecution of the, v. 294.
- Reformation, the, amnesty in Prussia on 300th anniversary of, iv. 248—influence of, in Germany, 293—effects of, on pauperism in Scotland, vi. 349 *et seq.*—spread of, in Prussia, viii. 139.
- Reform, the, on the proposed reform procession, &c., vii. 336.
- Reformed clergy in Russia, the, ii. 12 note.
- Reformed parliament, the elections for the, v. 13.
- Reformers, the, and Conservatives, clear division of, iv. 26—division among, from the greatness of their triumph, v. 63.
- Refugees, foreign, true principles of legislation regarding, iii. 280—expulsion of the, from Cracow, v. 311—organisation, &c., of, in Switzerland, 314—measures of France and Austria against the, *ib.*—opening of letters of, by Sir James Graham, vi. 352—number, &c., of, in Switzerland, vii. 351.
- Refugee question, reflections on the, v. 315.
- Regency, debate on a, in the event of William IV.'s death, iii. 392.
- Regency question, debate on the, in France, after the death of the Duc d'Orleans, vii. 156.
- Regent Street, London, the architecture of, i. 257.
- Regent's Park, the architecture of, i. 253.
- Reggio, democratic insurrection in, 1830, iv. 132.
- Regicides, continued exclusion of the, from France, ii. 80—discussion and excitement regarding it, 81.
- Regis, colonel, heads the revolutionists at Alexandria, i. 370.
- Registration bill, the, passed, vi. 27.
- Registration of electors act, results of the, v. 12.
- Registration courts, the struggle in the, v. 12.
- Regnault on the banquet agitation, vii. 375.
- Regnault, colonel, murder of, viii. 47, 50.
- Regnault de l'Angely, general, minister-at-war, viii. 348.
- Reichstadt, duke of (Napoleon's son), character and death of, iv. 356.
- Reid, major, force under, vi. 33—at Meanee, 57.
- Reidi, defeat of the Neapolitans at, ii. 40.
- Reigate, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Reille, general, made a peer, i. 314.

- Religion, increasing influence of, in Europe, i. 41—state of, in Russia, ii. 12—undue representation of, in France, 126—division caused by, in the Turkish empire, 319—absence of the restraints of, in the towns of France, iii. 169—influence of Chateaubriand's writings in favour of, 184—Popish effects of, in Ireland, 269—character of, in Germany, and its origin, iv. 293—separation of education from, in France, vii. 123—state, &c., of, in China, 6—Proudhon's views on, viii. 34—disunion from, in Germany, 137—provisions of Austrian constitution regarding, 239.
- Religious belief, impossibility of unity of, iii. 359.
- Religious differences, not a ground of political exclusion, iii. 358—they are unavoidable, 359.
- Religious disputes, origin, &c., of the, in Switzerland, vii. 352.
- Religious education, measures for, in France, vii. 193.
- Religious faith, relations of, to national character, i. 323.
- Religious feeling, prevalence and power of, in Russia, ii. 12.
- Religious instruction, difficulties arising from, in the education question, ii. 166.
- Religious parties, indifference of, to strikes, vi. 78.
- Religious societies of women, law regarding, in France, iii. 84.
- Religious toleration, agitation in Germany for, 1846, iv. 254—prevalence of, in India, vi. 204.
- Romusat, M., arguments of, for the abolition of the hereditary peerage, iv. 162—minister of interior under Thiers, v. 376 note—at the last council of Louis Philippe, vii. 895—votes against revision of constitution, viii. 351.
- Rendsburg, meeting of the estates of Schleswig at, viii. 153—captured by the Prussians, 159.
- Rennes, reactionary meeting at, viii. 335.
- Renneville, M. de, iii. 75.
- Rennie, the engineer, i. 233.
- Rennion, the marquis de la, appointed governor of Cadiz, ii. 237.
- Rent, effect of over-population in raising, in Ireland, iii. 267.
- Rent-charge, proposed substitution of, for tithes in Ireland, v. 7, 8.
- Rental, total annual, of Ireland, iii. 273—increase of, in Dublin since the Union, v. 62 note.
- Repeal agitation, commencement of the, in Ireland, vi. 305—the monster meetings, and language used at them, 306—measures of government, 307—the Clontarf meeting stopped, and O'Connell arrested, 308—effects of these proceedings, 309.
- Repeal Association, organisation of the, vi. 305—arrest of the leaders of the, 308—their trial and sentence, *ib.*
- Representation, the working classes excluded from the, in France, iii. 176—want of, for the great commercial towns, 365—dangers of uniform, iv. 24—system of, under the old constitution of England, 59—right of the manufacturing towns to, 67—varied, secured through the nomination boroughs, 70—system of, in the provincial estates of Prussia, 234—extension of, demands of the estates of Prussia for, 254—substitution of delegation for, under the reform bill, v. 12—danger of basing it on numbers vi. 9—claims of Canada for, 96—division of parties in, in Germany, viii. 142—by classes, effects of, in Prussia, 198.
- Representatives, paid, one of the points of the charter, vi. 80.
- Representatives, House of, demands of the • Canadian revolutionists regarding the, vi. 88.
- Representative Assemblies, establishment of, in Hanover, Baden, &c., iv. 225—establishment of, in the colonies, viii. 310.
- Representative government, selection of ministry under a, iii. 159—pledge of the Prussian government regarding, iv. 224—delay in redeeming this, *ib.*—final act of the Germanic Diet regarding, 232—its effect, 233—establishment of, in Prussia, 255.
- Representative institutions, general longing for, i. 30—their general failure *ib.*—doubts which this has excited, 31—their effect in Great Britain, *ib.*—and in America, 32—doubts as to the wisdom of, 34—on their real character, 35—thorough establishment of in France, ii. 78.
- Representative system, the, entire failure of, in Poland, ii. 6—defects of, in France, 126—causes of the difficulties of, iv. 61—in the kingdom of the Netherlands, 110.
- Republicans, the, views of, in the conspiracy of 1815, i. 149—their views, 1830, in France, iii. 159, 160—after the fall of Charles X., and their chances of success, iv. 83—meeting and proceedings of, at the Hotel de Ville, 86—meeting of, at Lomtiers', 88—their proceedings at the Hotel de Ville, 89—opposition of, to the Duke of Orleans, 92—interview between, and the Duke of Orleans, 94—efforts of, against Louis Philippe, 98—their estimate of Louis Philippe, 103—denunciations of Lafayette by, 123—views of, regarding Belgium, 131—discontent of, under Louis Philippe, 137—extravagances adopted by, 140—renewed efforts of, after the Lyons insurrection, and their leaders, 310—renewed conspiracies among, in France, 313—results of Louis Philippe's victory over, 351—state and views of, after the defeat of St Meri, 356—opposition of, to the fortification of Paris, 359—organisation of secret societies by, in France, 373—losses of, by the elections of 1834, 381—on the failure of the revolution of 1830, 382—repeated defeats of, to 1834 in France, v. 283—changed views of, 1839, 385—objects of, 1847, vii. 371—strength of, in Paris, 1848, 386.
- Republicans, conspiracy of, at Cadiz, ii. 249.
- Republican institutions, necessity of, to colonial settlements, i. 39.
- Republican party, the, in the Broglie ministry, iv. 121—their views, *ib.*
- Republican press, the, strength of, in France, 1831, iv. 311—violence of, in Paris, 1835-4, 367—attacks on Thiers by, 1840, v. 378.
- Republican states, aggressive character of, vi. 323.

- Republicanism, repression of, by Chlopicki, in Poland, iv. 181—new laws regarding avowal of, in France, v. 383—increasing, in France, 1842, vii. 154.
- Republique Universelle, Egalité, Fraternité, secret society called, iv. 373 note.
- Repudiation, origin of, in the United States, vi. 61.
- Requena, repulse of Gomez at, v. 201.
- Resinde, the marquis de, v. 121.
- Restoration, the, peculiarities of France during, i. 3—the first, state, &c., of France during, 84—cause of the fall of the government of, ii. 230—danger to the government of, from the Spanish revolution, 253—progress of France under, iii. 124 *et seq.*—reflections on the fall of, 158—vehement opposition to the government of, 165—it identified with the national disasters, 166—literature of France during, 179—Chateaubriand's influence on, 182—repeated degradations of the peerage under, iv. 168—results of the overthrow of the government of, 381.
- Resumption of cash payments, causes which led to it, ii. 139—dangers with which attended, 141—disastrous effects of the act for, 144—debate on, 1821, 184—discussion on, 1822, 199 *et seq.*—political changes in progress from, 210—fall of prices on, iii. 217.
- Retainers, multitude of, in Turkey, ii. 331.
- Retiring allowances, importance of, to aged officers, vi. 271.
- Retrenchment, undue extent of, in India after Burmese war, vi. 199.
- Retuerta, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 220.
- Renss, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note.
- Revenue, the, rise of, in Great Britain, between 1792 and 1815, i. 43—rise of, in 1818, 174—falling off of, in Great Britain in 1819, 188—improvement of the Polish, under Russia, ii. 5—the French, statistics of, 1816 to 1822, 78 note—the Turkish, 331—British, 1820-5, iii. 221 note—influence of the revolution of 1830 on, in France, iv. 137—amount of, derived from West Indies, v. 46—how raised in India, vi. 165—Great Britain, effects of the distress of 1841, &c., on, 282—France, 1840 to 1847, vii. 118 note.—See Finances.
- Reviews, the modern, and their essays, i. 235—want of, in France, iii. 210.
- Revocation of Edict of Nantes, permanent effects of the, ii. 230.
- Revolution, effects of the alliance of France and England on, i. 4—of 1848, calamitous effects of, 9—its extreme violence in Germany, 10—dangers accruing from it, 12—its effects on the cause of freedom, *ib.*—rapidity of reaction against the, 30—the Spanish, of 1820, reflections on, 350—general character of, 371—causes of its failure, 372—effects of, on the Emperor Alexander, ii. 35—effects of the Spanish, in France and Europe, 253—wars of, in the West, 316—the thirst for, in France, iii. 158—the passions of, opposed to peace, 166—destruction of commercial capital during the, 175—of 1688, contrasted with the French, 178—effects of, on the literature of France, 179—reaction against, in France, *ib.*—facilities of, in France, its effects on the daily press, 212—effect of Piel's administration in 1836 in averting, v. 421—reaction against, in France, viii. 335.—See also French Revolution.
- Revolution newspaper, a republic advocated by the, iv. 311.
- Revolutionary governments, reason of the rigour of, v. 342.
- Revolutionary spirit, simultaneous outbreak of, in 1819-20, ii. 211.
- Revolutionary war, resumé of the, i. 1—effects of the expansion of the currency during, 18— influence of, on Germany, iv. 256—its effect in increasing the passion for freedom, 257.
- Revue des Deux Mondes, the, iii. 210.
- Revue Française, essays by Guizot in the, v. 348.
- Rey, colonel, during the revolt of 17th March, viii. 29.
- Reybell, general, at meeting in favour of Louis Napoleon, viii. 354.
- Reyna, colonel, v. 181.
- Reyna, colonel Vincent, death of, v. 185.
- Reynell, general, at the assault of Bhurtapore, vi. 198.
- Reynell, Sir Thomas, on the character of the Sepoys, vi. 195.
- Reynosa, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 200.
- Rheims, coronation of Charles X. at, iii. 85—Louis Napoleon at, 1850, viii. 346.
- Rhenish Bavaria, address from, against the measures of the Diet, iv. 240 note—societies for liberty of the press in, 363.
- Rhenish Mercury, suppression of the, iv. 223.
- Rhenish Prussia, despotic measures of government in, iv. 225—remonstrances of the local assemblies, and answer of the king, *ib.*—excitement in, on the arrest of the archbishop of Cologne, 247—states of, demand of the freedom of the press by, 250—petitions for the States-general from, 252—visit of Queen Victoria to, 254—increasing demands for reform in, 255—views of the Belgian Republicans on, v. 354.
- Rhine, the, agreement with Russia for extending the French frontier to, iii. 131—scheme for advancing France to, 167—political reasons for this, 168—fortresses of, provisions of the Diet regarding, iv. 218—regulations regarding the free navigation of, 236—proposed railway between the Mediterranean and, vii. 154.
- Rhode Island, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Rhodes, population of, ii. 331 note—the conquest of, by the Turks, 332—still excluded from Greece, v. 260.
- Rhone, the, inundation of, 1841, vii. 140.
- Ribbon societies, powerlessness of the law against, 1823, iii. 275.
- Ribbonism, origin, &c., of, in Ireland, i. 363—increase of, in Ireland, vi. 73.
- Ribbonmen, origin and objects of, in Ireland, iii. 271—suppression of the, aimed at by the Catholic Association, 278.
- Ribero, general, movements of, against Gomez, v. 203.

- Ricardo, Mr, views of, on the resumption of cash payments, i. 199—the works of, 238—speech of, on the agricultural distress question, ii. 171 *et seq.*—on the fall of prices, 198—resolutions on the agricultural distress proposed by, 199—sliding scale proposed by, iii. 819—on the fall of prices occasioned by the resumption of cash payments, vi. 67 note—the views of, adopted by Peel, 274, 277—motion by, on the navigation laws, 1847, vii. 267.
- Rice, fall in, 1818 to 1822, ii. 145 note—increased consumption of, during railway mania, vi. 339 note.
- Richards, colonel, successes of, against the Burmese, vi. 189.
- Richards, lieutenant, at the battle of Algiers, i. 79.
- Richardson, the novels of, i. 249.
- Richelieu, the duke de, appointed to the king's household in 1815, i. 87—becomes premier, and his ministry, 105—sketch of his life, *ib.*—his character, *ib.*—views of, with regard to the allies, 107—efforts of, for the escape of the proscribed Napoleonists, 123—efforts of, for change of sentence on Ney, 129—supposed privy to the escape of Lavalette, 133—general amnesty proclaimed by, 140—views of, as to the electoral law, 151—views of, as to the ordinance of Sept. 5, 154—efforts of, with regard to the indemnities, 283—loan negotiated by, in 1817, 284—concordat proposed by, 295—on the evacuation of France, and the settlement of the indemnities, 297—represents France at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—conversations of, with the Emperor Alexander, *ib.*—his proceedings at the conference, 300 *et seq.*—feeling of, on the elections of 1818, 305—difficulties of, in the ministry, 306—breaking up of his ministry, *ib.*—offers his resignation, 307—resigns, 308—recompense voted to him, but declined, *ib.*—formation of a new ministry by, ii. 95—arguments of, for the government law of arrest, 100—rupture of, with the Doctrinaires, 115—views and aims of, 116—on the result of the elections of 1820, 119—difficulties of, 121, 123—fall of his ministry, 124—reflections on it, 125—coalition by which overthrown, 222—course of, regarding the slave-trade, vii. 137.
- Richelieu, dispersion of the Canadian insurgents on the, vi. 91.
- Richmond, the duke of, on the agricultural disturbances in 1830, iii. 399—postmaster-general in the Grey ministry, iv. 3—resignation of, v. 64.
- Richmond, colonel, vii. 44.
- Richmond, partially disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Richmond Lunatic Asylum, Dublin, grant to the, iii. 267 note.
- Richter, Jean Paul, the novels of, iv. 290.
- Richter, the grenadiers of, during the insurrection at Vienna, vii. 225, 226.
- Rickabashee fort, Cabul, storming of the, vi. 253.
- Rico, the monk, a member of the Cortes of 1822, ii. 240.
- Ridley, Sir M. W., on the crisis of 1825, iii. 204.
- Riego, Don Louis de, v. 87.
- Riego, Raphael y Nuñez de, sketch of the career of, ii. 346 note—heads the revolt of the army at Cadiz, 346—movements of the insurgents under, 347—disasters sustained by him, 348—delivered by the revolution at Madrid, 351—appointed to command in the Isle of Leon, 353—revolutionary measures of, and his dismissal, 356—pension to him, *ib.*—made captain general of Aragon, 358—plot of, at Saragossa, and his arrest, ii. 236—his arrest denounced by the clubs, 237—elected to the Cortes of 1822, and becomes its president, 240—as president of the Cortes, 242—urges attacking the insurgent guards, 247—at their attack on Madrid, 248—efforts of, to rouse the population against the French, 292—operations of, in the rear of the French at Cadiz, 295—his defeat and capture, 296—trial and sentence of, 299—his execution, *ib.*
- Riga, population of, ii. 11 note.
- Rigaudie, M. de la, i. 118, iii. 77.
- Righetti, M., viii. 108.
- Right of search, question of the, between England and America, vi. 317—its adjustment, 318—mutual, agreed to, by France and England, vii. 137, 138—treaty with France regarding, 196.
- Rights of man, declaration of the, adopted by the French republicans, iv. 373.
- Rights of Man, club of the, viii. 53.
- Rignaro, movement of, at Rome, vii. 342.
- Rigny, admiral de, naval force under, ii. 426—forces under, at Navarino, 428—the battle, *ib.* *et seq.*—declines the ministry of marine, iii. 109—becomes minister of marine, iv. 143—becomes minister of foreign affairs, 372—made minister-at-war, v. 285—resigns, *ib.*—interim war minister, 1834, 287.
- Rio Janeiro, removal of the royal family of Portugal to, and its effects, i. 330—annual importation of slaves into, vi. 111, vii. 225.
- Rio de la Plata, reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note.
- Rio Pardo, count, made war minister, v. 118.
- Ripon, earl of, resignation of, v. 64—president of board of trade, 1841, vi. 280 note—on the recall of Lord Ellenborough, vii. 72.
- Ripon, bill creating bishopric of, v. 415.
- Rippon, Mr, motion by, against the bishops, vi. 13.
- Riva, defeat of the Free Corps at, viii. 85.
- Rivas, duke de, a member of the Spanish committee in France, iv. 108.
- Rivers, regulations regarding navigation of, in Germany, iv. 236—of India, importance of, as means of irrigation, vi. 158.
- Rivet, M., returned to Assembly, viii. 41.
- Rivière, marquis de, made member of Chamber of Peers, i. 94—duke de, a member of the Camarilla, iii. 72—a leader of the Parti-prêtre, 75—appointed comptroller of the household, 92—on the disbanding of the National Guard, 97—attack on Villèle by, 100.
- Rivoli, repulse of the Sardinians at, viii. 87—capture of, by the Sardinians, 96—repulse of the Austrians at, 100.

- Roads, the want of, in Spain, and its effects, i. 322—want of, in Russia, and effect of this on the cultivators, *ib.* 17—effects of the want of, in Turkey, 326—want of, in Asia Minor, 346—state of, in Greece, 354—expenditure on, in Ireland, and their state, *ib.* 270—grant for, in France, 1838, *ib.* 860 and note—military in Algeria, *v.* 235—state of, in Ireland, *vii.* 238—Indian, under Lord Dalhousie, 107.
- Road trusts, consolidation of, in Wales, *vi.* 315—saving effected by this, *ib.* note—proposed new regulations regarding, 1846, 363.
- Roanne, railway to, *vii.* 135.
- Roberin, M. de, massacre of dependants of, *iv.* 326.
- Robert le Diable, opera of, *iv.* 354.
- Robert Macaire, the popularity of, *v.* 348.
- Roberts, colonel, *vii.* 64.
- Robertson, lord, supports right of able-bodied poor to relief, *vi.* 351 note.
- Robertson, the works of, prohibited in Spain, i. 339—comparison between, and Guizot, *iii.* 187.
- Robinson, Mr, arrangements of, 1823, regarding the accounts of the national debt, *iii.* 223—becomes chancellor of the exchequer, 225—arguments of, against the reciprocity system, 231—budget for 1825, 256—reductions of taxation, &c., *ib.*—his arguments in favour of reducing the duties on spirits, 257—arguments of, for suppression of small notes, 288—on the small-note system in Scotland, 297 note—created Viscount Goderich, 314—*See* Goderich.
- Robinson, lieutenant, *viii.* 326 note.
- Robinson, Sir George, chief commissioner at Canton, *vii.* 9.
- Rocca d'Anfo, surrendered to Austrians, *viii.* 106—capture of, by the insurgents, 75.
- Rochechouart, M. de la, presides at Ney's execution, i. 130.
- Rochefort, speculations, &c., in naval department at, *vi.* 867.
- Rochefoucauld, M. de la, arguments of, against change in the electoral law, i. 312—a member of the Council of Agriculture, *ii.* 79—introduces Madame du Cayla to Louis XVIII., 96—share of the indemnity received by, *iii.* 83—death of, and riot at his funeral, 95.
- Rochefoucauld, Count Jules de, created a peer, *v.* 372.
- Rochefoucauld, the Memoirs of, the authorship of, *iii.* 193.
- Rochefoucauld, the count de la, *ii.* 302.
- Rochelle, the conspiracy at, *ii.* 224.
- Rockites, outrages, &c., of the, in Ireland, 1822, *ii.* 194.
- Rodil, general, mode of warfare adopted by Zumalacarrqui against, *v.* 146—appointed commander-in-chief, 155—defeat of the Miguelites by, 156—his forces for the Carlist war, 158—repulsed at Artaza, 159—seizure of Zumalacarrqui's infant by, 160—further operations, *ib. et seq.*—his atrocities, 161—pursuit and expected capture of Don Carlos, 163—new plans, 165—is superseded, *ib.*—measures of, against Gomez, 200, 202, 203—displaced, 203—becomes minister-at-war, 209.
- Rodrigues, M., trial of, *iv.* 854.
- Roebuck, Mr, on the effect of distress in inducing the call for reform, *iii.* 366—on Brougham's plan of reform, 401 note—account of O'Connell's proceedings in 1830, *iv.* 12—anedote by, regarding the reform bill, 23 note—on the debate in the Peers on the reform bill, 39—on the views of the majority regarding the bill, 50—on the danger of civil war from rejection of the reform bill, 55—on Wellington's withdrawal on the third reading of the bill, 76 note—motion by, against the Lords, *vi.* 13—agent for the Canadian Assembly, 18—attack on the Melbourne ministry by, 32—motion by, on the case of the Vixen, 40—motion by, on affair of Don Pacifico, *viii.* 319.
- Roederer, M., pamphlet by, on the right of the king as to the choice of his ministers, *v.* 288.
- Roemer, M., *viii.* 187.
- Roger, insurrection at Colmar under, *ii.* 228.
- Rogers, Samuel, the poems of, i. 222.
- Roguet, general, attempts to fix tariff of wages at Lyons, *iv.* 305—forces under, at Lyons, 306—his false security, 307—efforts of, to bring about accommodation, *ib.*—measures against the insurgents, 308—compelled to retreat, *ib.*—reinforcements received by, and joined by Soult, 309—operations of, against the Moors, *vii.* 183.
- Roland, a Polish general, retreat of, into Prussia, *iv.* 207.
- Rolleston, Mr, dispersion of the Derbyshire insurgents by, i. 165.
- Rolt, cornet, *viii.* 326 note.
- Romagna, disturbances in, 1830, and entry of the Austrians, *iv.* 314—renewed disturbances, 1832, and again occupied by the Austrians, 315—entry of the French, 330.
- Romagnosa, a royalist leader, *n.* 245.
- Romaldola, defeat of the Austrians at, *viii.* 87.
- Romans, conquests of the, over the Arabs of Africa, *v.* 330.
- Roman Catholics, the, effects of former intolerance of, in France, *iii.* 169—the Irish, their secret associations, 271—the English, bill for enfranchising, thrown out, 276, 279—proportion of, to Protestants, in Ireland, 277—oppose the bill for repressing the Catholic Association, 281—effects of the extension of the franchise to, in Ireland, 335—increased violence of the leaders in Ireland, 342—the Irish, unworthy spirit in which emancipation was received by, 359—diminished ratio of, in Ireland, 362—conflicts between, and Protestants in Ireland, 1829, 375—effect of the preponderance of, in the Germanic confederacy, *iv.* 258—attacks of the, on the Irish church, and effects of these, *v.* 4—resistance of, to the government arrangement of the tithe question, 1832, 9—numbers of, in Ireland, 23—objects, &c., of, in agitating for repeal of the Union, 57—views of the, in advocating repeal of the Union, 63—their views after the reform bill, *ib.*—junction of, with the liberals in Ireland, 409—alleged proportions of, in Ireland, 416—number of, in Ireland, *vi.* 11 note—discontent of the, in Lower Canada, 16—exclusion of, from the Irish

Roman Catholics, continued.

corporations, 19—the Irish, measures to conciliate, 86—outcry among, against the Irish secular colleges, 347—advantages of, from the enlarged grant to Maynooth, 348—views of Lord George Bentinck on the, vii. 257—electoral circular to the, in France, 1846, 208—the Swiss, measures of, 353—form the Sunderland, 354—and Protestants, disunion between, in Germany, viii. 137—number of, Germany, 140 note—and Austria, *ib.*—See also Catholic emancipation, &c.

Roman Catholic ascendancy, effects of, in Ireland, vi. 151.

Roman Catholic clergy, in Russia, numbers of, li. 12 note—effects of their influence in Ireland in bringing about Catholic emancipation, iii. 358—unanimity of, for repeal, vi. 306—position and movements of the, in France, 1841, &c., vii. 128—attempted encroachments of the, in France, 193.

Roman Catholic faith, influence of, on O'Connell's character, iii. 356—check given to, by Catholic emancipation, 358.

Roman Catholic members, dependence of the ministry on the, vi. 2—resistance of, to the poor law for Ireland, 35—oppose Lord George Bentinck's railway scheme, vii. 256.

Roman Catholic missionaries, the, in Tahiti, vi. 324.

Roman Catholic party, conduct of the, with regard to Ireland in supporting free trade, vi. 363.

Roman Catholic priests, encouragement of marriages by, in Ireland, iii. 360—objects of, in the temperance movement, vi. 304—effects of education at Maynooth on the, 343.

Roman Catholic religion, effects of, in Ireland, iii. 269.

Romance, as the characteristic of modern French literature, iii. 179.

Romances, modern French, flagitious character of, iii. 181, iv. 354—German, characteristics of, 288.

Romance writers, modern French, iii. 208.

Romantic school of French literature, character of the, iii. 180.

Rome, influence of contraction of currency on, i. 17—paper circulation in ancient, 18 note—contributions from France to, 109 note—concordat between France and, 1817, 282—failure of the concordat with, 295—advantages of her colonies to, 318—bull from, regarding contribution from Spanish church, 340—revolutionary conspiracy at, 360—adoption of a paper currency by, during the Punic war, and cause of her final fall, ii. 135—introduction of military despotism in ancient, iii. 159—influence exerted by the court of, over the Irish voters, 335—the system of representation in, iv. 79—the king of (son of Napoleon), 84—revolutionary excitement in, 1830, and death of the pope, 118—the court of, their advocacy of repeal of the union in Ireland, v. 63—support given the Absolutists in Spain by, 100—representation by classes in, vi. 0—cause of the decay of the colonies of, 107—peculiarities of the conquests of, 152—negotiations between France and, on the

Jesuits, vii. 195—revolutionary movement in, 342—enthusiasm in, on the accession, &c., of Pius IX., 337, 339—general concourse of liberals at, 340—reception of Lord Minto at, 345, 346—riot at, 348—embarrassment of the French government from the events in, viii. 65—insult to the Pope at, 70—effects of the French revolution at, *ib.*—change of ministry in, 79—war declared against Austria, 80—excitement in, on the invasion of Austria, 107—new ministry under Rossi, 108—his murder, *ib.*—revolution, and flight of the Pope, 109—republic proclaimed at, and defection of Swiss Guards, 110—general confluence of insurgents at, 126—intervention of the French, 127—its siege and capture, 128 *et seq.*—proceedings of the French Assembly regarding expedition to, 338—return of the Pope to, 342.

Romilly, Sir S., efforts of, against the seditious meetings act, i. 165—efforts of, for relaxation of the criminal code, 183—his death, *ib.*—his character, *ib.*—the views of, on criminal law, adopted by Peel, vi. 275.

Romilly, lady, i. 183.

Romish church, effects of the alliance of the French royalists with the, ii. 230—reaction against the pretensions of the, iii. 363.

Romish faith, effects of the, in Spain, i. 323.

Romish influence, beneficial effects of, in Ireland after the reform bill, v. 4.

Romney disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Romorate, Don Jacinti, becomes minister of marine, ii. 241.

Romorino, the attempt of, organised in Switzerland, vii. 252.

Romero, a leader in the Cortes of 1820, i. 355.

Roncesvalles, monastery of, reception of Don Carlos in, and its destruction, v. 163.

Ronge, Johann, religious movement headed by, iv. 253.

Ronge, M., a member of the Diet, viii. 155.

Roostam Khan, Ameer of Khyrpore, vii. 53, 55.

Rosa, Martinez de la, in the Cortes of 1820, i. 355—denounces the murder of Vinuesa, 233—new society headed by, 239—supports the law against the press, 240—threatened by the mob, *ib.*—becomes prime-minister, 241.

Rosa, the tomb of Sultan Mahmoud at, vii. 43.

Rosambo, madame, sister to Chateaubriand, ii. 217 note.

Rosamel, admiral, becomes minister of marine, v. 316 note.

Rosas, a revolutionary chief at La Plata, vii. 336.

Roscommon, disturbances in, 1831, iv. 86—agrarian outrages in, 1846, vi. 374, 375 note.

Rose, ensign, death of, vi. 256.

Rosen, general, movements of, in Poland, iv. 192—at Grochow, *ib.*, 193—defeat of, at Dembe, 198—and again at Iganie, 200—defeat of, by Ramorino, 210.

Rospigliosi, the, movement of, at Rome, vii. 342.

Ross, the paintings of, i. 260.

Rosse, lord, the discoveries of, i. 234.

- Rossi, M., negotiations with Rome regarding the Jesuits, vii. 195—French ambassador at Rome, 338—opposition of, to the Italian liberals, 340—views and policy of, 342—measures of, of the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, *ib.*—views of Guizot as expressed to, 344—counsels of, to the Pope, 347—on the riot at Rome, 348—at the head of a commission for the constitution in Rome, viii. 70—ministry of, at Rome, 108—his murder, *ib.*
- Rossini, at Verona, during the congress, ii. 250.
- Rosslyn, lord, president of the council, v. 407 note.
- Roth, general, corps under, 1823, iii. 14 note—operations assigned to, 16—blockades Silistria, 22—abandons the blockade of Silistria, 29—forces under, 1829, 50—position of, 1829, 53—measures of, for defence of Pravadi, 54—operations against Red-schid, 55—at battle of Koulefscha, 56—passage of the Balkan by, 59—forces of, in Volhynia, iv. 202—suppression of the insurrection in Podolia by, *ib.*—defeat and capture of, by the Hungarians, viii. 225.
- Rothenthurn, pass of, forced by the Russians, viii. 272.
- Rotherhithe, first appearance of cholera in, v. 5.
- Rothschild, Mr., at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 298—French loan taken by, 1824, ii. 307—and 1847, vii. 365—chateau of, sacked by the mob, 1848, viii. 2.
- Rotteck, M., protest by, against the coercion of the press in Germany, iv. 135.
- Roundschuck, loss in the assault of, ii. 340—the fortress of, 341.
- Rouen, prosperous condition of, 1824, iii. 76—prosperity of cotton-spinners of, iv. 81—efforts of the Orleanists to win, 86—the revolution of 1830 at, 101—Louis Philippe at, 146—distressed state of the cotton-spinners of, 1831, 303—reception of Louis Philippe at, 1832, 361—reform banquet at, vii. 131—railway to, 136—unemployed workmen in, 1848, viii. 11—suspension of cash payments by bank of, 13—disorders in, 1848, 32—insurrection at, 51.
- Rouher, M., viii. 353.
- Roumelia, pacha of, ii. 397—operations assigned to, in campaign of 1824, 404—terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding, iii. 62—secret proposals of Russia regarding, vi. 334.
- Roundzewitch, general, forces under, iii. 14 note—operations assigned to, 16.
- Rous, captain, returned for Westminster, 1841, vi. 148.
- Rousseau, one of Napoleon's attendants at St Helena, ii. 129.
- Roussin, admiral, intervention of, in Portugal, iv. 156—becomes minister of marine, 372—intervention of, between Turkey and Egypt, v. 253—language of, toward Turkey, 1838, 264—minister of marine under Thiers, 376 note.
- Rovigo, duke of, proscribed in 1815, i. 93—takes the command in Algeria, iv. 366—sent as governor of Algiers, v. 284 note—his arrival there, illness and death, 331.
- Rovigo, revolt in, viii. 74.
- Roxburghshire, the elections of 1835 in, v. 406.
- Roy, M., returned to the Deputies in 1817, i. 289—becomes finance minister in 1818, 306, ii. 86—a leader of the conspiracy in the army, 111—the royalists on, 124—appointed member of the privy council, 125—resignation of, *ib.* 109.
- Royal Bank of Liverpool, failure of the, 1847, vii. 277.
- Royal Guard, the Spanish, murder of Landabura by, ii. 246—the strife between them and the garrison, *ib.*—their departure from the city, 247—attack it, and are defeated, *ib.*—their destruction, 248.
- Royal household, changes in the organisation of the, in France, ii. 116.
- Royal Tar, the case of the, v. 171.
- Royalists, the, violence of, after the second restoration, i. 89—massacres by, at Marseilles, 99—and in the south of France, 100—predominance of the ultra, during the elections of 1815, 102—violence of, against Ney, &c., 123—views of, with regard to the new law of elections, 143—opposition of, to the ministerial budget, and difficulties of the government from them, 146—views of, as to the ordinance of September 5th, 154—efforts of, in the French elections of 1815, 272—their success, 273—in the new Chamber of Deputies, 275—arguments of, against the new law of elections, 277—measures advocated in 1817 by, regarding the press, &c., 279—feelings of, on the appointment of St Cyr, 289—losses of, by the elections of 1817, *ib.*—opposition of, to the new law of recruiting, 293—secret memoir of, to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 301—losses of, in the elections of 1818, 305—losses of, in France by the elections of 1819, ii. 84—proceedings of, on the law regarding the press, 80—position of, in the Deputies after the fall of Decazes, 98—proposed union of, with the Richelieu ministry, 114—their views, 115—excitement of, 1820, 116—views and objects of, 118—gains of, by the elections of 1820, 119—oppose the indemnity to the imperial donatories, 123—dissatisfaction of, with the ministry, 1821, 123—accession of ministry from, 124—views of the French, on the Spanish revolution, 213—gains of, by the elections of 1821, 229—alliance of, with the church, and its results, 230—the French, effects of the Spanish revolution on, 253—attack on Manuel by, 280—they secure his expulsion, *ib.*—strength of, in France in 1824, 306—rejoicings of, on the disbanding of the National Guard, iii. 96—coalition of, with the liberals, to overthrow Martignac, 107—views of, on Louis Philippe, iv. 103—funeral service by, for the Duke de Berri, 1831, and tumult caused by it, 141—opposition of, to the proscription of the Bourbons, 144—policy of, in France during elections of 1831, 147—conspiracy of, 1832, 313—arrest of leaders of, 338—results of Louis Philippe's victory over, 351—result of the elections of 1834 to, 381—victories of Louis Philippe over, v. 283—insurrection of, in Portugal, iii. 307—general arrest of, in Spain, ii. 232—the Spanish, insurrection of, in the north, 239—success

Royalists, the, continued.

—siege disasters of, in Catalonia, &c., 262—
violence of, in Seville, 292—violence of, in
Saragossa, &c., 298—their irritation over
the country, 294—cruelties of, in Spain,
298.

Royalist committee of Paris, secret circular
issued by, ii. 104—measures of, on the at-
tempt of the Duchess de Berri, iv. 324.

Royalist journals, the, in 1819 in Paris, ii. 82
—circulation of, in France, iii. 118 note, 168.

Royalist peers, resignations of, under Louis
Philippe, iv. 99.

Royalist reaction, causes of the, in France,
ii. 127.

Royer-Collard, M., character, &c., of, i. 115
—supports the establishment of courts-
martial, 120—one of the presidents of col-
leges, 154—arguments of, for the new law
of elections, 276—arguments of, for the
new law of recruiting, 292—called to the
Council of State, 309—a leader of the Doc-
trinaires, ii. 82, 87—arguments of, against
the new electoral law, 104—dismissed from
the Council of State, 115—returned for
Paris in 1827, iii. 100—chosen vice-president
of the Deputies, 103—elected president,
1829, 107—president of the Chambers,
1830, 118—presentation of the address to
the king, 122, 132—arguments of, against
the abolition of the hereditary peerage, iv.
164—eulogy on Casimir Perier by, 320—ma-
jority against, as president, 1834, 381—
votes for, as president, 1834, v. 284—op-
poses the new laws against the press, 1836,
303—character of Barrot by, vii. 162—op-
position of, to the Jesuits, 185.

Rozycke, retreat of, into Galicia, iv. 212.

Ruckhart, the poems of, iv. 280.

Rudiger general, operations under, in 1828,
iii. 18—defeat of, 21—near Schumla, 24—
attack by the Turks on, at Esiki-Stamboul,
24, 25—passage of the Balkan by, 59—ad-
vance of, to Midiah, &c., 61—defeat of
Dwernicki by, iv. 208—forces and position
of, *ib.*—at Waitzen, viii. 268—capitulation
of Georgey to, 279 *et seq.*

Rue Prouvaires, conspiracy of the, iv. 313.

Ruffo, cardinal, ii. 39.

Ruhlères, general, at siege of Constantine,
v. 340—suppression of revolt at Toulouse
by, vii. 147—returned to National Assem-
bly, viii. 41—war minister under Louis Na-
poleon, 67—at Bugeaud's funeral, 341.

Rukawina, general, defence of Temesvar by,
viii. 276.

Rully, the Countess de, ii. 96.

**Rum, remission of duties on, iii. 222—pro-
duce of, Jamaica, before and after emanci-
pation, v. 52 note—and the West Indies,
1828-41, *ib.*—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi.
70 note—exports of, from West Indies, be-
fore and after emancipation, 113 note—pro-
posed reduction of duties on, vii. 223—im-
ports of, from West Indies, 1847-49, 227 and
note—modification of duties on, during
Irish famine, 243.**

Rumigny, general, during the insurrection of
1834, iv. 378.

Rungpoor, defeat of the Burmese at, vi. 189.

Runjit Singh, threatened collision with,
1813, vi. 174—flight of Shah Soojah to, 216

—rise of the Sikh kingdom under, 217—a
party to treaty for restoration of Shah So-
jah, 226—reception, &c., of the governor-
general at Lahore, 228—death of, 241—
treaty with Scinde regarding, vii. 51—state
of the Punjab after the death of, 66—army
of, 76—his rise and character, 77.

Runjore Singh, operations against Sir H.
Smith under, vii. 50.

Rural classes, alienation of the, from the
Wellington ministry, iv. 2.

Rural districts, representatives of, in States-
general of Prussia, iv. 255 note—diminu-
tion of population in, in France, vii. 314.

Rural labour, want of demand for, in France,
iii. 173.

Rural labourers, failure of the French revo-
lution with regard to the, iv. 81.

Rural population, influence of the feeling of
race among the, i. 34—excess of, in Russia,
ii. 8, 11.

Rush, Mr. American minister at London, vi.
321—settlement of the Oregon question by,
322—acknowledgment of the French repub-
lic by, viii. 24.

Russell, ensign, viii. 326 note.

Russell, Lord John, his life of Moore, i. 221
—motion by, for parliamentary reform,
1821, ii. 184—his motion on parliamentary
reform in 1822, 197—defeat of, in the elec-
tions of 1826, iii. 306—arguments of, for
the repeal of the test and corporation acts,
332—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—
declaration by, against reform, 387 note—
motion on it, 1830, 387—and amendment
on it, 388—character of, iv. 9 *et seq.*—one
of the committee for preparing the reform
bill, 15—the details of the reform bill ar-
ranged by, 16—its introduction by him
into the House, *ib.*—his arguments in its
favour, 17—motion by, on the reform bill,
and its defeat, 29—answer of, to the politi-
cal unionist, 41—introduces the new re-
form bill, 45—declaration of, on the Irish
church, v. 66—proposed as chancellor of
the exchequer, 80—motion by, against the
Peel ministry, 412—declines to bring for-
ward want of confidence motion in Peel,
415—motion by, on the Irish church, *ib.*—
his arguments for it, 416—further motion
of, and majority for it, 420—announces
the formation of the Melbourne ministry, *ib.*—
home secretary, *ib.* and note—merits of his
motion on the Irish church, 423—defeated
in Devonshire, 1835, vi. 2—arguments of,
for corporate reform bill, 5—motions by,
on the Irish corporation bill, 22—on the
Irish church bill, 23—moves committee on
agricultural distress, 28—the Irish corpora-
tion bill again brought forward by, 1837,
32—Irish poor-law bill brought in by, 33—
new Irish church bill introduced by, 38—
brings in the Irish municipal bill, 1838, *ib.*
—and again in 1839, 39—arguments of,
for the Jamaica bill, 114—announces the re-
signation of ministers, 116—bill for ameli-
oration of criminal law brought in by, 122
—moves the committal of the sheriffs, 131
—bill brought in by, regarding publication
of parliamentary proceedings, 132—ap-
proves of Lord Normanby's liberation of
prisoners, 134—on the corn laws, 189—

Russell, Lord John, continued.

—motion of, 1841, on the corn laws, 141—
—motion by, on the sugar duties, 146—
—speech of, on amendment to address, 1841,
149—announces resignation of the ministry,
ib.—arguments of, against the sliding
scale, 291—amendment by, on the income
tax, 297—his arguments against it, *ib.*—
—motion by, on slave-grown sugar, 328—
—motion by, on corn laws, 1845, 355—his
letter to the electors of London on the
corn laws, 359 *et seq.*—applied to, to form
a government, and fails, 360—arguments
of, against coercion bill for Ireland, 376—
—becomes premier, vii. 220—plan of, regard-
ing the sugar duties, 221 *et seq.*—announce-
ment of, regarding flogging in the army,
232—on the Irish famine, 241—supports
Mr Fielden's factory bill, 269—his letter
authorising suspension of bank charter
act, 277—on the Spanish marriage ques-
tion, 211 note—adjustment of dispute re-
garding Monte Video by, 336—declaration
of, regarding France, 1848, viii. 25—moves
national thanksgiving for harvest, 285—argu-
ments of, for repeal of navigation laws,
288 *et seq.*—on the increase of violent
crimes, 303—motion of, for lowering the
franchise in Ireland, 321—differences be-
tween, and Palmerston, *ib.*—defeated on
militia bill, and resigns, *ib.*—return of, to
office, 325.

Russell ministry, the, formation of, vii. 220
—measures of, for relief of Ireland, 240—
—further measures for relief of the Irish fa-
mine, 242—oppose Lord George Bentinck's
Irish railway scheme, 254—the budget for
1847, 259—Irish coercion bill brought in
by, 274—authorise suspension of bank
charter act, 277—move for committee on
bank charter act, 281—majorities of, on
bank charter act, 284—preparations of,
against the Chartist insurrection, 297.

**Russia, effects of the alliance of France and
England on, i. 4**—vast recent increase of,
7—her increase from the revolutions of
1830 and 1848, *ib.*—the intervention of,
in Hungary, and its results, 11—standing
army of, 12—increased produce of the gold
mines of, 20—ratio of increase of popula-
tion in, 21—increasing influence of the con-
quests of, 38—position of the forces of, in
France, 98—ministry of Richelieu in, 105
—treaty of, with Prussia, &c., regarding
France, 109—a party to the Holy Alliance,
111—subsidy from Great Britain to, 112—
—representatives of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298
—purchase of ships of war from, by Spain,
341—vast growth of, in recent times, ii. 1
—increase of, by the treaties of 1814 and
1815, *ib.*—her acquisition of the grand-
duchy of Warsaw, 2—portion of Poland
assigned to, in 1815, 3—increased influence
of, in Europe, 7—wisdom of her external
policy, *ib.*—her unity of purpose, *ib.*—sta-
tistics and population, 8—ratio of its in-
crease, 9—capabilities for increased popu-
lation, *ib.*—unity of feeling throughout, 10
—reasons of this, and Asiatic habits and
religious feelings of the population, *ib.*—
—unity of interest in, 11—state of education,
and insufficiency of schools, *ib.*—the clergy,

Russia, continued.

12—rank in—the Tchinn, *ib.*—great power
given by the Tchinn, 13—the caste of the
nobles, *ib.*—the trading or bourgeois class,
14—the serfs, their number, condition, &c.,
ib.—privileges and advantages enjoyed by
the serfs, 15—the Tieglo, its advantages
and evils, *ib.*—contrast between its culti-
vators and those of England, 16—evils of
the serf system, 17—foreign conquest
forced by her climate on, 18—fear the
principal element of government, *ib.*—gen-
eral use of corporal punishment, 19—char-
acter thus impressed on the population,
ib.—effects of their institutions on the
character of the inhabitants, 20—causes
which have formed their character, *ib.*—
—effect of her internal distances on, 21—civil-
isation confined to the higher ranks in,
ib.—imitative character of the people, 22
—military strength of, *ib.*—her military
colonies, 23—the Cossacks, *ib.*—discipline
and training of the army, 24—the navy, *ib.*
finances, 25—position of the principal
armies in, *ib.*—general corruption, 26—
abuses which prevail in, 27—examples of
this corruption, *ib.*—emigration all inter-
nal in, *ib.*—impulse given to agriculture by
free trade in Britain, 28—her probable des-
tiny, 29—her increase since 1462, *ib.* note
—two different peoples in, 29—liberal
ideas brought back by the army from
France, &c., 30—first steps of Alexander
on his return in 1815, *ib.*—efforts of Alexander
for the enfranchisement of the serfs,
34—transactions of 1819, *ib.*—expulsion of
the Jesuits, *ib.*—representatives of, at the
Congress of Troppau, 36—revolt in a regi-
ment of the Guards, 44—extension of her
empire in North America, 46—suppression
of freemasons' and other secret societies,
ib.—internal measures during 1824, and
settlement of her boundaries in America,
49—the empress, 50—death of the Emperor
Alexander, 54—and of the empress, 55—
state of the succession to the throne, 56—
Constantine refuses the crown, *ib.*—Nicholas
proclaimed emperor, 59—the conspiracy
against him, *ib.*—plans of the conspirators
and their objects, 60 *et seq.*—a revolt
is decided on, 61—outbreak of the revolt,
62—heroism of Nicholas, *ib.*—victory of
the emperor and suppression of the revolt,
66—appointment of commission of inquiry,
ib.—report of the commission on the in-
surrection, 67—leaders of the revolt in the
army of the south, *ib.*—and in that of the
west, *ib.*—outbreak in the army of Poland,
68—its suppression, *ib.*—condemnation of
the conspirators, 69—their execution, *ib.*
—reflections on the revolt, &c., 70—re-
forms introduced by Nicholas after the re-
volt, 72—great legal reforms, 73—the crime
of the insurgents, 74—coronation of the
emperor and empress, *ib.*—character of
the emperor, and parallel between him and
Peter the Great, 75—loans raised by, 1817-
18, 142 note—exports from England per
head to, 173 note—representatives of, at
the Congress of Verona, 258—declaration
from, regarding South American indepen-
dence, 260—views of, at the congress, on

Russia, continued.

the Spanish question, 262—withdraws her ambassador from Spain, 267—denunciation of the Spanish constitution by, 271—her offer of assistance in Spain rejected by France, 302—conquests of, from the Turks, 332—conquest of the Nomad tribes by, 338—the command of the sea or support of Austria necessary to her conquest of Turkey, 343—causes of her difficulty in subduing the Caucasus, 346—her policy of intervention, 347—examples of its application, *ib.*—as pursued by Peter the Great, 348—her establishment in the Caucasus and on the Caspian, *ib.*—measures of, to secure Georgia, 349—the war in the Caucasus, *ib.*—war with Persia, *ib.*—her gains by the peace, 350—intervention of, in Wallachia and Moldavia, *ib.*—treaties between Turkey and, regarding the Principalities, 351 note—efforts of, to rouse insurrection in Greece, &c., 351—dependence of the Greek Hetairists on, 358—dependence of the Greek insurgents on, 363—she remains neutral, 364—official declaration of, against the Greek insurgents, 369—angry negotiations of, with Turkey, 1821, 378—her ultimatum, and its refusal, 379—ultimatum of Turkey, *ib.*—efforts of the English ambassador to avoid a rupture, 380—renewed negotiations between, and Turkey, 394—protocol regarding Greece agreed to by, 422—the treaty of 6th July regarding Greece, 425—naval preparations to enforce it, 426—final note to Turkey, 427—rupture between, and the Mohammedan powers on the accession of Nicholas, *iii.* 1—advantages gained by, over Persia, 2—fresh war between them, *ib.*—statistics of, in 1826, 3—state of the negotiations between her and Turkey, *ib.*—negotiations with Turkey at Ackerman, and her demands, 7—these acceded to, 8—convention of Ackerman, *ib.*—right of protectorate over the Principalities, &c., given to, 9—reforms introduced by Nicholas into, *ib.*—the war of 1827 with Persia, 10 *et seq.*—peace between, and Persia, 12—preparations for war with Turkey, 13—fresh rupture with Persia, and peace of Tourkmantchal, *ib.*—recriminations between, and Turkey, *ib.*—forces of, 14—commencement of hostilities, 15—plan of operations and its dangers, 16—position and dangers of her forces, 1828, 23—dangers and losses of the troops before Schumia, 24—losses of, during campaign of 1828, 30—assassination of the ambassador to Persia, 38—preparations of, for campaign of 1829 in Turkey, 50—naval superiority of, over Turkey, 51—secret convention against, after the advance to Adrianople, 62—the treaty of Adrianople, *ib.* *et seq.*—importance of constituting a Greek kingdom as a barrier to, 65—policy of, in the treaty of Adrianople, 67—her military strength as shown in the war, 68—her strength in defensive and weakness in offensive war, *ib.*—dangers of her position with regard to Turkey, 69—secret agreement between, and France for extending the French frontier to the Rhine, 131—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—ex-

Russia, continued.

ports to, 1840-9, 236 note—importance of the railway system to, 396—the alliance between France and England against, *iv.* 58—exports to, compared with Australia, *ib.* note—reception of ambassador from Louis Philippe in, 101—jealousy of France excited in, 1830, 120—a party to convention for separation of Belgium and Holland, 129, 130—increase of power of, from partition of Poland, 172—prosperity of Poland under, 1815-30, 175—preparations of, and conference with Austria, &c., regarding Poland, 183—preparations of, against Poland, 185—strength of the national feeling in, 188—statistics of, for the contest with Poland, 189—forces of, for the struggle with Poland, 191—results of the war to, 212—her steadfast progress, 213—effects of democracy on, 214—Kotzebue assassinated as the agent of, 228—occupation of Cracow by, 255—influence of, on Prussia and the lesser German states, 259—extension of the influence of, by the French revolution of 1830, 261—attitude of, toward France, 1832, 313—progress of the cholera over, 316—supports Prussia on the Antwerp question, 343—but compelled to remain quiet, 348—additions to power of, by the French revolution of 1830, 349—remonstrances of, against the Polish committee at Paris, 362—a party to the Congress of Muntz-Gratz, 364—statistics of army of, 365 note—recognition of the reactionist government in Portugal by, *v.* 89—her sympathy with the absolutists in Spain, 100—declines to recognise the Queen of Spain, 111—peril of, before the treaty of Adrianople, 242—the system of government of, 243—application of Turkey to, for aid against Ibrahim Pacha, 252—which is accorded, 253—attempts of Turkey to draw back, *ib.*—fresh expedition from, 254—mission of Lord Durham to, its objects, &c., *ib.*—formal incorporation of Poland, and terms exacted from Turkey, *ib.*—treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi with Turkey, 255—remonstrances of the Western powers against it, 256—views and policy of, regarding Greece, 258—exclusion of ritual of, from Greece, 261—coldness between, and France, *ib.*—views of Palmerston regarding, 1833, 265 and note—danger of second intervention in Turkey, and views of European powers on it, 268—a party to treaty for settlement of the East, 269—forces prepared by, for enforcing the treaty, 272—a party to the treaty of March 1841, regarding the Dardanelles, 280—the true danger to Turkey is from her, *ib.*—effect of the refusal of aid by England to Turkey, 281—a party to the occupation of Cracow, 311—convention with Turkey for evacuation of Silistria, 312—declaration of, regarding Belgium, 1838, 355—examples of naval attack on land defences during war with, 358—sides with England on the Eastern question, 385—secures the recognition of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 396—reflections on this, 397—danger to Turkey from, since treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, *ib.*—debate on Lord Londonderry's appointment as ambassador to, 413—strength of

Russia, continued.

navy of, 1836, vi. 29—Lord Dudley Stuart's speech on her power in the East, *ib.*—the affair of the Vixen, 39 *et seq.*—danger of England from, 45—the navy of, contrasted with the British, 1840, 187—restrictive system of, 144—peculiarities of the conquests of, 152—difficulties of, as to conquest of India, 158—proportion of army to population in, 167—jealousy of, in the East, 212—her rapid progress there, 213—effect of the Turkish war, &c., in augmenting the danger in the East from, 214—chances of invasion of India by her, *ib.*—Afghanistan as the barrier against her, 215—designs of, on Herat, 217—intrigues of, in Afghanistan, 218—liberal promises of her envoy, 220—disavowal of her agents in Persia and Afghanistan, by, 224—effect of the raising the siege of Herat on her influence in the East, 225—expedition of, against Khiva, and its defeat, 240—threatening position, &c., of, 1841, 281—proposed share of, in partition of Turkey, 334—secret conferences of the emperor with the British ministry regarding Turkey, *ib.*—increased supplies of gold from, 335—its produce, 1837-46, *ib.* note—the Protectionists on, 368—composition, &c., of the army in, vii. 233—army of, 1846, 234, 235 note—navy, 235—investments of emperor in English and French funds, 275—expansion of her paper currency by, 283—effects of the monetary crisis in England on, 303—importations of food from, 316—restrictive tariff of, 324—exports to and imports from, *ib.* note—negotiations with, regarding the slave trade, 138—policy pursued toward Poland by, 196—occupation of Cracow by troops of, 203—indemnity for Cracow received by, 332—secretly supports the revolution in Greece, 1843, 334—subsequently disowns it, *ib.*—a party to the proposed league against Great Britain, 359—military importance of railways in, 75 note—position of, on the

Schleswig question, viii. 160—intervention of, in Hesse-Cassel, 189—treaty with Austria, &c., *ib.*—the intervention in Hungary first sought, 250—her intervention applied for by Austria, 257—plan of Hungarian campaign by, 262—jealousy between, and Austria, after the war, 282—differences with, regarding Hungarian refugees, 317—part taken by, in affair of Don Pacifico, 319—danger from fleet of, 1850, 320—effects of the French Revolution on, 359.
Russia—proper, population of, 1831, iv. 189 note.
Russians, numbers of, in Paris, 1819, ii. 78—their mode of fighting the Turks, 342.
Russian America, settlement of the boundaries of, ii. 50.
Russian engineers, means used by, for defending batteries against ships' broadsides, v. 357.
Russian Poland, statistics of, iv. 190—state of, 1848, viii. 164.
Russo-Belgian loan, the question of the, v. 6.
Rutherford, lord advocate, bill regarding jury trial introduced by, i. 169 note—lord advocate, 1846, vii. 221 note.
Rutlandshire, rates of mortality in, 1841, vi. 283 note.
Rybinaki, general, operations of, iv. 197—appointed to the command after fall of Warsaw, and retires into Prussia, 212—and the Polish banquet, vii. 140.
Rye, general, defeat of the Prussians by, viii. 192—his death, *ib.*
Rye, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
Ryla, defeat of the Ghoorkas at, vi. 176.
Ryleif, a leader of the Russian conspiracy, ii. 59, 61, 64—character of Pestel by, 67—condemned to death, 69—his demeanour on execution, *ib.*—his execution, 70—heroism of, 73 note—generosity of Nicholas to the widow of, 72.
Rynden, general, defeat and death of, iii. 53.
Ryotwar system, the, in Madras, vi. 185.

S

Saarsfield, general, treachery of, regarding the revolt at Cadix, i. 344.
Sabalkansky, *see* Diebitch.
Saclie, advance of Nugent to, viii. 90.
Sack, counsellor, iv. 225.
Sacken, general, check of, in Guriel, iii. 48—at battle of Kainly, 44—at Milli Duz, 45—forces under, 1829, 50—defeat of, on the Niemen, iv. 206.
Sacred Battalion, the Greek, ii. 363—destruction of, at Dragaschan, 371.
Sacred Battalion, the, of Madrid, ii. 247—defeat the Royal Guard, *ib.*
Sacrilege, law against, in France, iii. 83—it repealed, iv. 107.
Sade, M. de, exposition of government policy by, 1833, iv. 357.
Sadler, Mr. arguments of, against Catholic emancipation, iii. 348—vote of, on the address, 1830, 377—speech of, against reform, iv. 29.

Saffi, a Roman revolutionist, viii. 126.
Saganlugh, pass of, iii. 31—cavalry combat at, 33—position of the Turks in the, 41.
Sahara, description of the, vii. 167—its dependence on the Tel, 168—its climate, *ib.*
Sahel, terms of treaty of La Tafna regarding, v. 339.
St Aignan, Auguste, iii. 140 note—elected a member of the Deputies, ii. 80.
St André, Jean Bon, indemnity to, ii. 122 note.
St Antoine, rising of the workmen of, 1820, ii. 109—and 1830, iii. 141—émeute in faubourg of, iv. 122—rising of, 1832, 332—barriade of, carried by the troops, 335—revolt in, 1840, vi. 133.
St Arnauld, marshal, on the Zouaves, iv. 366—character of, vii. 175—minister-at-war, viii. 352—measures against the Assembly, 353—and the coup d'état, 354.

- St Anlaire, M. de, course followed by, after the fall of Decazes, *ii.* 98—concurs in the Austrian intervention in Italy, *iv.* 315—his defence of the seizure of Ancona, 316.
- St Benoit, dispersion of the Canadian insurgents at, and destruction of the village, *vi.* 91.
- St Chamont, M. de, *i.* 100.
- St Charles, meeting of the Canadian revolutionists at, *vi.* 89—defeat of the insurgents at, 91.
- St Cloud, signing of the ordonnances at, *iii.* 135—proceedings, &c., of court at, during the Three Days, 145—mission of liberal peers to, 147—retreat of the Guard to, 150—retreat of the court from, 153.
- St Cyr, Gouvion, minister-at-war in 1815, *i.* 87—reorganisation of the army by, 96—retires with Talleyrand, 105—accession of, to the ministry, 288—sketch of his career, *ib.*—new law of recruiting introduced by, 291—views of, in 1818, 306—reappointed minister-at-war, 308—measures of, with regard to the army, 309—views of, on the electoral law, *ii.* 86—dismissed from the ministry, *ib.*
- St David's, bishop of, votes for the reform bill, *iv.* 51.
- St Denis, church of, grant for, *iv.* 360 note.
- St Denis, success of the Canadian insurgents at, *vi.* 90—capture of it, 91.
- St Denys, one of Napoleon's attendants at St Helena, *ii.* 129.
- St Domingo, acceptance of the constitution in, *i.* 354—formal recognition of the independence of, *iii.* 87—legislative measures regarding, *ib.*—effects of the loss of, on France, 175—present state of negroes in, *v.* 48.
- St Etienne, prosperous condition of, 1824, *iii.* 76—insurrection at, 1834, *iv.* 376.
- St Eustache, defeat of the Canadian insurgents at, *vi.* 91.
- St Gall, changes in constitution of, 1830, *iv.* 117—decision of, on the Jesuit question, *vii.* 354—and on the Sunderbund, *ib.*
- St George, defeat of the Turks at, *ii.* 390.
- St Georges, M. de, *viii.* 355.
- St Germain, partially disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
- St Germain, lord, life-preservation bill for Ireland introduced by, *vi.* 372.
- St Germain l'Auxerrois, defeat of the royalists at, *iii.* 149—funeral in, 1831, on funeral service for the Duke de Berri, *iv.* 141—sack of the church, *ib.*
- St Gery, M., on the endowment of the clergy, *i.* 148.
- St Helena, bill for the detention of Napoleon at, *i.* 68—the residence, death, and burial of Napoleon at, *ii.* 127 *et seq.*—removal of remains of Napoleon from, *v.* 379, 383.
- St Helena Memoirs, the, *iii.* 197—sensation caused by them, *ii.* 128.
- St Helena, dispute between France and Portugal regarding the, *iv.* 156, *v.* 127.
- St Iago, defeat of General Porlier near, *i.* 336.
- St Isaac, the cathedral of, at St Petersburg, *ii.* 48.
- St Ives, partially disfranchised, *iv.* 21 note.
- St Jean d'Acre, *see* Acre.
- St John river, the, claimed by the United States, *vi.* 319—its navigation ceded to them, 320.
- St Juan d'Ulloa, bombardment of, by the French, *v.* 357.
- St Leo, defeat of Garibaldi at, *viii.* 130.
- St Leonard, lord, on the cotton-spinners' trial, *vi.* 75 note—lord chancellor, *viii.* 322 note.
- St Leu, the duchess de, *i.* 124—her chateau the headquarters of the Napoleonists, *v.* 314—death of, 352.
- St Leu, death of the Duke de Bourbon at, *iv.* 105.
- St Louis, fort, capture of, at Cadiz, *ii.* 295.
- St Lucie, great hurricane in, 1831, *v.* 44.
- St Luc, defeat of the Turks at, *ii.* 398.
- St Mandé, proposed reform banquet at, *vii.* 131.
- St Marceau, rising of the workmen of, 1830, *iii.* 141—and 1832, *iv.* 332.
- St Maure, madame de, *iii.* 157.
- St Mawe's disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
- St Meri, cloister of, made the headquarters of the insurgents, *iv.* 335—storming of it by the troops, 336—renewed struggle in, May 1839, *v.* 362.
- St Michael's, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.
- St Michel, general, interdiction of, during revolt at Toulouse, *vii.* 147.
- St Michel, imprisonment of June insurgents at, *viii.* 49.
- St Nicholas, desperate defence of convent of, *ii.* 405.
- St Ouen, cholera at, *iv.* 317 note.
- St Paul's, monuments erected in, *i.* 69—Wellington's interment in, *viii.* 330.
- Sté Pelagie, escape of the prisoners under trial for treason from, *v.* 294.
- St Peter and St Paul, burial of Alexander in cathedral of, *ii.* 54.
- St Petersburg, population of, *ii.* 11—educational establishments at, *ib.*—the origin of, 21—return of Alexander to, in 1815, 30—establishment of university at, 34—the flood of 1824 in, 47—description of its situation, *ib.*—effects, &c., of the inundation, 48—burial of Alexander at, 54—expiatory ceremony on the scene of the revolt, 72—the cholera in, and conduct of Nicholas during it, *iv.* 213—ravages of cholera in, 317.
- Saint-Romans, marquis de, resignation of, *iv.* 99.
- St Simon, defence of assassination of princes by, *ii.* 89.
- St Simonians, views of the, as to the cause of the condition of the working classes, *iv.* 305—trial of the leaders of the, 354.
- St Simonianism, spread of, among the working classes of Paris, *iv.* 140.
- St Spiridon, capture of convent of, *ii.* 424.
- St Sulpice, the curé of, attends Ney to execution, *i.* 130.
- St Vincent, naval action off, *v.* 130.
- St Vincent, great hurricane in, 1831, *v.* 44—grant to, 45.
- Saisons, the Société des, *vii.* 386—organisation, objects, &c., of, *v.* 361—insurrection of, 362.
- Sakhtouri, defeat of the Turkish fleet at Samos by, *ii.* 406—and again, 413—ap-

Sakhtouri, *continued*.

proaches Missolonghi, 416—raises the blockade, *ib*.
 Salaberry, M., arguments of, against the new law of recruiting, i. 293.
 Salamanca, address to Ferdinand VII. from the university of, i. 334.
 Salamis, the Athenians retire to, ii. 408.
 Salasco, general, viii. 106.
 Salazar, Don Luis Maria, minister of marine, ii. 300 note.
 Saldanha, count, heads the expedition to Terceira, ii. 372—joins the liberals at Oporto, v. 121—defeated and withdraws, 122.
 Saldanha de Oliveira, Don, measures of, against the Miguelite insurrection, v. 114—ministry of, 116.
 Sale, major, afterwards Sir R., at the capture of Kemendine, vi. 185—further operations of, *ib*.—successes of, before Rangoon, 187—at battle of Milloon, 191—at the assault of Ghuznee, 235—created a knight, 237—defeats of Dost Mahommed by, 243—operations against him, 244—forces under, at Jellalabad, 248—ordered by Macnaghten to Cabul, 251—decides on not obeying, 254—heroic conduct of, at Jellalabad, 266—defence of Jellalabad by, vii. 24, 25 *et seq.*—relieved by Pollock, 28—defeat of the Afghans, *ib*.—brigade under, during advance to Cabul, 39—at the Huft Kotul, 41—sent forward for deliverance of the captives, 45—meeting with Lady Sale, 467—death of, at Moodkee, 84.
 Sale, lady, vii. 45—deliverance of, 46—meeting of, with her husband, 47.
 Saleh Pacha, deposition of, ii. 305—of Maidan, preparations of, against the Russians, iii. 38—forces under, and his position, 40, 41—defeat of, at Kailly, 43 *et seq.*—evacuates Hassan Kale, and falls back on Erzeroum, 45.
 Saleh Mahommed, treaty with, for liberating Lady Sale, &c., vii. 46.
 Salerno, capture of, by the Neapolitan revolutionists, i. 304.
 Saleh law, the, in Spain, v. 102—introduction of, vii. 208—its abrogation, 209.
 Salices, defeat of the Carlists at, v. 225.
 Salinas, check of Cordova at, v. 199.
 Sales, M. de, during the Three Days, iii. 148.
 Salisbury, marquess of, privy seal, 1852, viii. 322 note.
 Salisbury, speech of Lord Brougham at, v. 80.
 Salmon, imported, proposed new tariff on, vi. 296 note.
 Salmond, Mr., at the loss of the Birkenhead, viii. 326.
 Salom, Friedrich, the works of, iv. 276.
 Salona, capture of, by the Greek insurgents, ii. 368—and again, iii. 64.
 Salonica, pacha of, ii. 397—forces under, 1822, 383—suppression of the insurrection in Macedonia by, 388.
 Salonica, population of, ii. 331 note—massacres of Greeks at, 367—besieged by the insurgents, 368—establishment of academy at, v. 263.
 Salop, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
 Salt, rise in the duty on, i. 62—the taxes on,

in India, vi. 163—the government monopoly of, in India, and revenue from it, 165—repeal of tax on, in France, 1848, viii. 15.
 Salt duties, debate on the, in the French Assembly, viii. 333.
 Salt mines, the Polish, iv. 190.
 Salt tax, motion for reduction of the, ii. 204—its reduction, *ib*.
 Saltash, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
 Saltoun, lord, vii. 19.
 Saltpetre, prices of, 1824-5, iii. 251 note.
 Salvador, Don Sanchez, trial of, deputed by the Cortes, if. 242—suicide of, 294.
 Salvandy, the works of, iii. 193—becomes minister of public instruction, v. 326—succeeds Villenain as minister of public instruction, vii. 193—decree against, viii. 5.
 Salvas, check of the Carlists at, v. 225.
 Salverte, M., iii. 140 note.
 Salvete, M., Eusébe, at the funeral of Lafayette, iv. 378.
 Samos, insurrection in, and massacre of the Turks, ii. 371—danger of, 400—defeat of the Turkish fleet off, and its deliverance, *ib*.—threatened by the Turks, 1826, 423—excluded from Kingdom of Greece, iii. 65.
 San Esteban, surrenders to the Carlists, v. 180.
 San Marcial, regiment of, revolt of, at Cadiz, ii. 297.
 San Marcial, defeat of Mina at, 1830, iv. 109.
 San Martin, suppression of the tumult at Madrid by, ii. 236—energy of, against the Madrid rioters, 240.
 San Miguel, M., becomes minister of foreign affairs, ii. 249—a member of the Spanish committee in France, iv. 108—premier, v. 218.
 San Roman, dismissal of, v. 209.
 San Sebastian, blockaded by the French, ii. 288—surrender of, 294—blockaded by the Carlists, v. 179—their repulse before, 199—combats near, 205, 206.
 Sanchaga, defeat of the royalists at, ii. 252.
 Sand, George, the romances of, iii. 209.
 Sand, the assassination of Kotzebue by, ii. 88, iv. 228—his execution, and sensation excited by it, 228—influence of it on the cause of freedom, 229.
 Sandford, Mr., bears the Burmese proposals of peace, i. 192.
 Sandilli, a Caffre chief, viii. 311.
 Sandjak Sheriff, the, brought out against the Janizaries, 3, 5 *et seq.*—displayed against the Russians in 1828, 15.
 Sandon, lord, returned for Liverpool, 1833, v. 14—and again, 1835, 409—moves the address, 1835, 411.
 Sandow, cession of, to the British, vi. 192.
 Sandwich, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
 Sandwich, atrocities of the American sympathisers at, and their defeat, vi. 102—execution of the leaders, 103.
 Sanitary improvements, commencement of, in England, v. 6.
 Santa Cruz, the marquis de, ii. 249.
 Santa Cruz, defeat of the Spaniards at, ii. 291.
 Santa Lucia, battle of, viii. 88.
 Santa Maria, embarkation of Ferdinand at, ii. 297.

- Santa Petri, capture of, at Cadiz, ii. 297.
 Santander, declared a free port, i. 341.
 Santini, one of Napoleon's attendants at St. Helena, ii. 129.
 Sauto Porto, the Count, v. 113.
 Santos-Ladron, a Carlist leader, his execution, v. 142.
 Sans, Pablo, execution of, v. 230.
 Sanzas, colonel, murder of, at Palermo, i. 367.
 Saone, the, vote for improving the navigation of, vii. 136—*in*undation of, 1841, 140.
 Saracens, conquests of the, over the nomads of Northern Africa, v. 330.
 Saragossa, insurrection at, 1820, i. 349—proclamation of the constitution at, 350—disturbances in, 353—the Comuneros in, ii. 236—Riego's plot at, *ib.*—agitation on his arrest, 237—reception of the French in, 239—violence of the royalists in, 293—atrocities of the mob in, v. 187, 193, 195—captured by the Carlists, and its recapture, 224—attempts massacres of Carlists in, 227.
 Sardar-Abad, capture of, by the Russians, ii. 350—and again, iii. 11.
 Sardinia, effect of representative institutions in, i. 31—contributions from France to, 109 note—the king of, reforms introduced by, 362—commencement of the revolution in, 369—revolt in Alessandria and Turin, 370—the king accepts the constitution, 371—abdication of the king, *ib.*—movements of the insurgents, iii. 41—preparations of the allied sovereigns against them, *ib.*—increasing difficulties of the insurgents, 42—their defeat, *ib.*—termination of the war, 43—reaction in, and treaty with Austria, 44—the queen of, at Verona during the congress, 259—king of, treaty for evacuation of his dominions, *ib.*—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—revolutionary excitement in, 1830, iv. 118—attempts insurrection in, 1830, 133—liberal and propagandist conspiracy in, 1833, 364—protests against the change of succession in Spain, v. 111—treaty with, regarding the slave trade, vii. 138—movement in, 1847, 341—growing excitement in, 343—great reforms introduced into, 346—constitution proclaimed in, 349—invasion of, threatened by the French, 1848, viii. 22—forces of, at the outbreak of the war with Austria, 75—*see* Charles Albert—the war with Austria, 81 *et seq.*—renewal of the war, 111—forces, 112—feeling of the troops, 113—proclamation, *ib.*—abdication of Charles Albert, 119—armistice, 120—the Deputies reject it, and are dissolved, 121—insurrection at Genoa, 122—conclusion of peace with Austria, 132—conduct of her commanders during the war, 133.
 Sarmiento, M., v. 134.
 Sarrans, M., his work on Louis Philippe, vii. 142.
 Sarre-Louis, surrendered by France to the allies, i. 108.
 Sarsfield, general, operations against the Carlists, v. 149.
 Sartorius, admiral, v. 129—minister of marine, 190.
 Sarum, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
 Saas, general, viii. 268.
 Satory, Louis Napoleon at review at, viii. 346.
 Sattara, the rajah of, vi. 179—taken prisoner, 180—deposed, 207.
 Sattara, capture of, by the British, vi. 180—incorporation of, with British India, vii. 112.
 Saumur, attack on Benjamin Constant at, ii. 116.
 Saurin, Mr., attorney-general for Ireland, ii. 192—retires, *ib.*
 Sauzet, colonel, a leader of the conspiracy in the army, ii. 111.
 Sauzet, M., defence of the ex-ministers of Charles X. by, iv. 125—minister of justice under Thiers, v. 307 note—on the labour question, vii. 132.
 Savary, *see* Rovigo.
 Savenay, monument of, defaced, iv. 322.
 Savings banks, general establishment of, in Great Britain, i. 171—progress of, in Ireland, v. 62 note—of Brussels, failure of, 356—proceedings of the French revolutionists regarding, 1848, viii. 12—suspension of cash payments by, in France, 1848, 24.
 Savoy, the duke of, forces under, &c., viii. 81—crosses the Mincio, 86—at Sta Lucia, 89—operations under, 102—abdication of Charles Albert in favour of, 119.
 Savoy, attempted revolution in, viii. 83.
 Saxe-Coburg, princess of, marriage of, to the Duke de Nemours, v. 375.
 Saxe-Coburg, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—the family of, vi. 121.
 Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
 Saxe-Hildburghausen, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note.
 Saxe-Meiningen, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note.
 Saxe-Weimar, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
 Saxony, position of the forces of, in France, i. 98—Fouché appointed minister to, but recalled, 104—contributions from France to, 109 note—marriage of Ferdinand VII. to princess of, 346—revolutionary movement in, 1830, iv. 116—revolutionary excitement and insurrections in, 1831, 136—duchies of, representation of, in the Diet, 217 note—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, *ib.*—population and military contingent, 219 note—reciprocity treaty between, and Holland, 248—army of, 365 note—king of, visit of, to Queen Victoria, vi. 334—statistics of, viii. 140 note—a member of the Zollverein, iv. 242, viii. 144—liberal concessions in, 1848, 150—rejects the Germanic constitution of 1848, 180—revolutionary outbreak in, 1848, 183—Germanic constitution agreed to by, 185 *et seq.*
 Say, M., on the cause of the depressed condition of the working classes, iv. 305.

- Scanderbeg, the struggle of, against the Turks, iv. 172.
- Scarlett, Sir James, attorney-general, iii. 814 note—resignation of, 327—prosecution of the Morning Journal by, 392.
- Scharnhorst, the reforms of, in Prussia, iv. 236—the military system of, viii. 141.
- Schaup, lieutenant, iii. 56 note.
- Schaumburg-Lippe, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note.
- Scheffer, mission of, to the Duke of Orleans, iv. 86.
- Scheldt, the, fortresses on, terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, i. 301—settlement of navigation of, iv. 348.
- Schelling, placed at the head of public instruction in Prussia, iv. 250—the philosophy, &c., of, 292.
- Schiller, parallel between, and Goethe, iv. 271—character of his dramas, 272—his powers of the pathetic and of rhetoric, *ib.*—his merits as a lyric poet, 273—as a historian, *ib.*
- Schimmik, the, in Russia, ii. 52.
- Schlechtman, defeat of Struve at, viii. 161.
- Schlegel, the works of, iv. 280—the criticisms of, iii. 186.
- Schlegel, F., the works of, iv. 292.
- Schleinitz, M., minister of foreign affairs, viii. 160.
- Schleswig, capture of, by the Prussians, viii. 159—district of, overrun by the Danes, 195.
- Schleswig-Holstein, first demands of Germany regarding, viii. 156—history of the question, *ib.*—claims of the duchies, 157—the revolt, *ib.*—invasion by Prussia, 158—victory of the Danes, *ib.*—renewed invasion, 159—armistice, 161—resolution of the Diet at Frankfurt on, 173—settlement of, by Olmutz convention, 190—renewal of hostilities, 191 *et seq.*—treaty with Prussia, 192—renewal of war, 193—final settlement, 195.
- Schlick, general, forces under, viii. 241—defeat of, by Georgy, 245—joins Windischgratz, 247—at Kapolina, 248—defeated at Hori, 251—captures Raab, 266—at battle of Acz, 267—defeat of Georgy by, 277.
- Schlusser, the works of, iv. 285.
- Schmerling, M., viii. 163—resigns, 176.
- Schneider, general, viii. 149—war-minister under Soult, 1839, v. 363 note.
- Schoedde, general, vii. 19.
- Schoenbrunn, death of the Duke of Reichstadt at, iv. 356.
- Schonen, M. de, iii. 140 note—signs de-
thronement of the king, 152—declares against all negotiations with the king, 151—embassy of, to the king, 155—majority against, as vice-president of Deputies, iv. 357.
- School system of Scotland, proposed introduction of, into England, ii. 164.
- Schools, insufficiency of, in Russia, ii. 11—establishment of, in Russia by Alexander, 34—secretaries-general of, in France, 118—statistics of, in England, 165—spread of, in Greece, 357—the Jesuit, suppressed in France, iii. 105—number of, in Prussia, iv. 221—repressive measures against the, in Germany, 231—grants for establishment of, vii. 273—government system of, under Louis Philippe, 123—the Jesuit, in France, 193—decree for establishing, in the Papal States, 339—number of, in Prussia, viii. 141.
- Schools of law, reform of, in Sardinia, vii. 341.
- Schramm, general, war-minister, viii. 347—resigns, 348.
- Schrekenstein, M., minister-at-war, viii. 166.
- Schroda, defeat of the Poles at, viii. 165.
- Schunla, the intrenched camp of, ii. 343—preparations at, for campaign of 1828, iii. 15—cavalry action before, 22—blockade of, *ib.*—operations before, 24—the blockade raised, 25—attack on Wittgenstein before, 26—Turkish force in, 1829, 49—operations of Diebitch against, 57—passes through the Balkan from, 58—demonstrations of the Russians against, 59—operations at, after the passage of the Balkan, 61.
- Schwarzer, M., viii. 215.
- Schwartzburg, accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
- Schwartzberg, prince, viii. 101—at Curtatone, 93—exposition of views of Austria by, 190—character of, 220—ministry of, 237—at the abdication of the emperor, 238—dismissal of Windischgratz from the command, 255.
- Schwartz Rudolstadt, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—a member of the Zollverein, 241.
- Schwartz Sondershausen, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—a member of the Zollverein, 241.
- Schwechat, battle of, viii. 235.
- Schwidel, general, execution of, viii. 281.
- Schwytz, democratic constitution of, vii. 351—protest by, against the suppression of the convents, 353—a member of the Sunderbund, 354.
- Science, impulse given by the war to, i. 214—early progress of, in Germany, iv. 267.
- Scinde, terms of treaty with Shah Soofiah regarding, vi. 220—march of the Afghanistans expedition through, 229—reinforcements for Nott prepared in, vii. 33—description of, 50—the Ameers, *ib.*—British intercourse with, 51—treaties with the Ameers, *ib.*—passage of Keane's army through, 52—treaty of 1838 forced on Ameers, 52—views of Ellenborough, 53—new treaty proposed, *ib.*—and forced on the Ameers, 54—expedition against Emaughur, *ib.* *et seq.*—fresh negotiations, 56—attack on Otram in the Residency, *ib.*—forces on both sides, 57—battle of Meanee, *ib.* *et seq.*—capture of Hyderabad, 59—position of Napier, 60—annexation of Scinde, *ib.*—proceedings of Shere Mohammed, 61—battle of Hyderabad, 62—capture of Meerpoor and Omerote, 63—final defeat of Shere Mohammed, 64—proclamation and rewards, *ib.*—reflections on its conquest, 65, 118.
- Scindia, the treaty with, vi. 172—its discreditable terms, *ib.*—secretly favours the Pindarees, 178—heads the confederacy, but compelled to submit, *ib.* 179.

Scios, *see* Chios.

Slaves, the, original characteristic of, ii. 20—oppose the Magyars in Hungary, viii. 228.

Slavonians, the, the conquests of, ii. 317—settlements of, in Austria, viii. 138—numbers of, in Austrian empire, *ib.* note—in Prussia, 139—hostility between, and the Magyars, 208.

Slavonic Assembly, proceedings of, at Prague, viii. 204—dissolved, 205.

Slavonic character, adaptation of, to its appointed part in the world, i. 40.

Slavonic empire, proposed formation of a, viii. 206.

Scodra, pacha of, defeat of, by Bozzaris, ii. 399—*see* Mustapha—forces of, 1829, iii. 49—irruption of, 63—his retreat, *ib.*

Scotch banks, pressure on the, 1847, vii. 277.

Scotch church, the Free Kirk secession from the, vi. 86 *et seq.*

Scotch farmers, jealousy of, in Ireland, iii. 271.

Scotch notes, bill prohibiting the circulation of, in England, iii. 380.

Scotch spirits, increase of duties on, iii. 383.

Scotland, reduced produce of wheat in, from free trade, i. 5—proportions of educated and uneducated criminals in, 26—introduction of jury trial in civil cases into, 168—its failure, *ib.*—the parochial school system of, 188—statistics of criminals in, 205 note—steam navigation first attempted in, 215—increasing discontent in, ii. 160—insurrection in, 161—its suppression, *ib.*—proposed introduction of the school system of, into England, 164—proportion of children receiving education in, 165—causes of the success of the educational system in, 166—newspapers published in, 1782, 1790, and 1821, 198 note—arrival of Charles X., &c., in, iii. 158—average produce per acre in, 174—reduction of duties on spirits in, and its effects, 258—crime in, 1822-30, *ib.* note—her early resistance to England, 208—criminal committals in, 1822-34, 273 note—extinction of tithes in, 276—the banking system of, 296—suppression of small notes prevented, 297—operation of the test and corporation acts regarding, 332—proposed scheme of reform for, iv. 22—majority of members for, against the reform bill, 29 note, 34—violence at, during the elections of 1831, 33—riots in, *ib.*—the reform bill for, 36—passing of it, 56—effects of it, *ib.*—county and borough members of, under it, 57—education in, 221—analogy between, and Germany, as to religious character, 293—rise of rationalism in, 294—effects of the reform bill in, v. 1—outbreak of cholera in, 5—system of tithes commutation in, 8—the elections for 1833 in, 14—those of 1835 in, 409—burgh reform in, vi. 3—immigration of Irish labourers into, 25—paupers in, 1840, 69—the Free Kirk movement in, 85 *et seq.*—effects of the schism, 87—reflections on it, *ib.*—the elections of 1841 for, 148 note—liberal majority returned by, 151—passion for self-government in, and its results, *ib.*—riots in, 1842, 285—banking act of 1845 for, 332—miles of railway com-

pleted in, to 1850, 388 note—diminution of crime in, during railway mania, 340 note—introduction of poor-law for, 348 *et seq.*—provisions of the bill, 350—effects of the drainage act in, vii. 238—the potato disease in the Highlands of, *ib.*—inefficiency of relief afforded by the poor laws, 239—the potato disease and famine in, 251—means taken to combat it, *ib.*—contributions to customs and excise in, compared with Ireland, 254—comparative mortality in agricultural and manufacturing districts, 271—miles of railway in, 290 note—increase of pauperism, and expenditure on it, 1847-8, 291 and note—committals for crime in, 1844-9, 292 note—town and country rates of mortality in, 313 and note—produce of wheat in, under free trade, 160 note—paupers relieved in, 1848-56, 317 note—pauperism in, 1848, &c., viii. 286—diminished production of wheat in, 295—population of, 1851, 302—mortality in town and country districts, *ib.* note.

Scott, Sir Walter, literary character of, and his works, i. 217 *et seq.*—Lockhart's Life of, 239—on the coronation of George IV., ii. 188—superintends the arrangements at the king's visit, 207—his defence of the Scottish banking system, iii. 297—attack on, at Jedburgh, iv. 33.

Scott, Brigadier, at Maharajpore, vii. 69.

Scott, major, at the Rickabashee fort, vi. 254 note.

Scott, Miss Joan, afterwards wife of Canning, ii. 214 note.

Scottish attainers, reversal of the, iii. 280.

Scottish banks, act of 1845 for regulating the, vi. 332.

Scottish parliament, the old, legislation of, v. 76 and note.

Scrope, Mr. motion by, for Irish poor-law, vi. 27.

Sculptors, recent German, iv. 297 *et seq.*

Scutari, the suburb of, ii. 335—population of, 331 note—approach of Ibrahim Pacha to, v. 251.

Sea, the, impassable to nomadic barbarians, i. 39—the mode of transit in mature civilisation, *ib.*—command of, necessary to the Russian conquest of Turkey, ii. 345—importance of, in war in Syria, v. 245—command of, importance of, as to India, vi. 158.

Sea-coast, military importance of, in Syria, v. 245, 273—great extent of, in India, vi. 158.

Seaford, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Seaports, original want of, in Russia, ii. 21.

Seaton, lord, at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330 and note.

Sebastian, Don, defeat of Evans by, v. 212—approaches Madrid, 219.

Sebastiani, general, i. 131, iii. 140, 145 notes—votes for, for the presidency, 118—protest against the dethronement of the king, 147—mission of, to the Duke of Orleans, iv. 86—heads deputation offering lieutenantcy-general to the Duke of Orleans, 91—minister of marine under Louis Philippe, 99—opposes the intervention in Spain, 108—becomes minister of foreign affairs, 124—tenders his resignation, 148—defence of the

Sebastiani, general, *continued*.

foreign policy of ministers by, 158 *et seq.*—duel between, and Lamarque, 159 note—on the fall of Poland, and attack by the mob on him, 160—resignation of, 372—negotiations of, with England regarding Belgium, v. 355—murder of his daughter, vii. 369—removed from the command in Paris, 1848, 391.

Sebastiani, General Horace, indemnity treaty with the United States concluded by, v. 289.

Sebastopol, the naval attack on, and its failure, v. 358—danger to Constantinople from, 397—Pelissier at the storming of, vii. 176.

Secondary punishments, necessity for certainty in, i. 206—neglect of, ii. 182, vi. 122—how this was brought about, 123.

Secret-service money, vote for, in France, v. 811—vote of Deputies on, 1837, 345—and 1839, 366.

Secret societies, formation of, in Spain, i. 336, 356—influence of, in Italy, 363—their origin, *ib.*—their previous history there, *ib.*—suppression of, in Russia, ii. 46—prevalence of, in the Russian army, 59—prevalence of, in Paris, in 1819, 88—general organisation of, throughout France, 224—dangers to society arising from, 227—or Communeros of Spain, the, 235—increased violence of, in Spain, 239—formation of, in Greece, 357—origin and objects of, in Ireland, iii. 271—the Irish, powerlessness of the law against, 275—proposed suppression of the inferior, by the Catholic Association, 278—prevalence and objects of, in Poland, iv. 176—in Poland, plans of the leaders of the, *ib.*—Kotzebue's murder prompted by the, 229—the Prussian cabinet on the, *ib.*—proceedings against, in Prussia, 235—further measures against, in Germany, 244—formation of, by the Republicans in France, 356—new law against, in France, 369—debate on it, 370—it is passed, 372—general resistance of, to the law against them, *ib.*—their organisation and objects, 373—report of Girod de l'Ain on, v. 290—proposed further measures against the, in France, 290 *et seq.*—state, &c., of, in Switzerland, 314—formation of fresh, in France, 328—efforts, &c., of, in Italy, vii. 338—forces of, in Paris, 1848, 386—in Vienna, 1848, viii. 109.

Sectarianism, obstacles presented by, to a system of national education, ii. 166—increase of, in Scotland, vi. 87.

Secular colleges, grants to, in Ireland, vi. 347.

Sedgwick, professor, i. 234.

Seditious cries, law against, in France, i. 118, 119.

Seditious meetings, the act of 1817 for prevention of, i. 165.

Seditious meetings bill, the, and vote on it, ii. 154.

Seditious meetings, Lord Tenterden on the law of, iv. 13 note.

Seditious publications, act for suppression of, ii. 153—law against the criers of, in Paris, iv. 369.

Sedke-Sude, appointed grand mufti, ii. 395.

Sednizki, M., vii. 202.

Seed, raising the potato from, vi. 357 and note.

Seeds, proposed abolition of duty on, vi. 363.

Segastebelza, colonel, cruel treatment of mother of, v. 163.

Segesvar, defeat of Bem at, viii. 273.

Seglio, cardinal, viii. 108.

Segovia, capture of, by the Carlists, v. 217.

Segur, count, the work of, iii. 199.

Seine, department of, statistics of births in, iv. 140—elections for, viii. 34 note—Louis Napoleon elected for, 61.

Seine canal, vote for the, vii. 136.

Self-acting mules, general introduction of, in cotton-spinning, vi. 78.

Self government, impossibility of, i. 28—effects of passion for, in Scotland, vi. 151—right of, conceded to the colonies, viii. 308.

Selm I. and II., the conquests of, ii. 382.

Selim, the murder of, by the Janizaries, iii. 4.

Selopsis, count, vii. 341.

Semenoff, revolt of the regiment of, ii. 44.

Seminaries, the Jesuit, suppressed in France, iii. 104.

Semonville, M. de, mission of, to the king, iii. 147.

Senard, M., minister of interior under Cavaignac, viii. 51 note.

Senate, the Greek, powers, &c., of, ii. 381.

Senate, the American, collision between, and the president on the banking question, vi. 54.

Senate, demands of the Canadian revolutionists regarding the, vi. 88.

Senior, Mr., the works of, i. 233.

Sennaar, assigned by treaty to Mehemet Ali, v. 279, 396.

Seoane, general, v. 209, 213—his efforts against the revolt of the troops, 218.

Sgo d'Urgel, regency established at, ii. 251—defeat of the Constitutionalists at, *ib.*—flight of the regency from, 252—besieged by Mina, *ib.*

Sepoys, character, &c., of the, as troops, vi. 168—characteristics of the, 195—anecdote of the, in Scinde, vii. 63 note—discontents among the, 1844, 73—number of, from Oude, 111.

Sepoy revolt, causes of the, viii. 358.

Septenniality, law of, in France, ii. 307 *et seq.*

Sepulveda, revolt of, against the Cortes, ii. 301.

Seraglio, the, at Constantinople, ii. 334.

Serent, the duke de, i. 116.

Sereschaner, the Austrian, viii. 112.

Serfs, the, number and condition of, in Russia, ii. 14—privileges and advantages enjoyed by them, 15—Haxthausen on, and their enfranchisement in Russia, 17—evils of the system of, *ib.*—efforts of Alexander for the enfranchisement of, 34—the emancipated, state of, in Russia, 47—number of, in Russia, 1831, iv. 189.

Serfdom, necessity for, in Russia, ii. 16—entire abolition of, in Prussia, iv. 247—relations of, to slavery, v. 40—abolition of, in Galicia, vii. 197.

Sernignay, general, death of, at assault of Constantine, v. 341.

Sernontkouski, general, death of, iv. 178.

Serra-Capriola, duke di, sent as lieutenant-general to Sicily, vii. 348—placed at the

Serra-Capriola, duke di, *continued*.

head of the ministry, 349—difficulties of, in Sicily, *ib.*, viii. 76—ministry of, 77.

Serrano, general, favourite of Queen Isabella, vii. 836.

Serres, M. de, character, &c., of, i. 115—chosen president of the Chamber, 1816, 275—arguments of, for the new law of elections, 276 amendment proposed by him on it, 278—arguments of, in favour of the new laws regarding personal freedom and the liberty of the press, 280—keeper of the seals in 1818, 308—circular by, on the administration of justice, ii. 80—speech of, on the return of the proscribed to France, 81—sketch of his career, 85—his character, *ib.*—views of, on the electoral law, 86—arguments of, for the new electoral law, 106—the royalists on, 124—appointed member of the Privy Council, 125—speech of, against the new law regarding the press, 223—death and character of, iii. 86.

Serrurier, votes for the capital punishment of Ney, i. 129.

Servia, picture of, by Lamartine, ii. 322—prosperous state of, 328—the revolt of, against Turkey, 333—the revolt of, and its results, 350—state of, in 1821, 361—terms demanded by Russia for, iii. 8—and accepted by Turkey, *ib.*—demands of Russia regarding, at Ackerman, 8—provisions of convention regarding, 8—revolution in, v. 268.

Servians, race of the, ii. 319—revolt of the, in Hungary, viii. 220.

Services in kind, abolition of, in Prussian Poland, vii. 197.

Serviles, party called, in the Cortes of 1820, i. 353—in Spain, v. 100.

Sesia, the, conditions of armistice regarding, viii. 120.

Session, court of, decision of, regarding the old poor-law, vi. 349—decisions of, on right of able-bodied poor to relief, 351 and note.

Setif, occupation of, by the French, v. 371.

Setola, defeat of the Ghoorkas at, vi. 176.

Seton, colonel, at the loss of the Birkenhead, viii. 326 and note.

Settlement, new law of, v. 75.

Seville, the archbishop of, speech of, at the opening of the Cortes, 1820, i. 354.

Seville, refuses to receive the governor appointed by the king, ii. 237, 238—the authorities of, defy the government, 239—retreat of the Cortes and advance of the French on, 200—reaction against the revolution in, 202—Carlist conspiracy at, v. 178.

Seymour, Sir G., a lord of the Admiralty, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Seymour, Sir H., declaration of Nicholas regarding Egypt to, v. 262—the partition of Turkey as proposed to, 334.

Sfakiotas, the, insurrection of, in Crete, ii. 378—heroism of, 391.

Sfroni, general, viii. 70.

Shadwell, Mr., becomes vice-chancellor, iii. 326.

Shaftesbury, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

Shaftesbury, lord, on the decline of population, viii. 303.

Shah-Ghur, fortress of, vii. 55.

Shanghae, powers of viceroys of, vii. 4—capture of, 18—opening of, 20.

Sharpe, A., trial and sentence of, vii. 300.

Shaw, alderman, at the Spafield riots, i. 72.

Shaw, Mr., opposition of, to the tithe bill, v. 68.

Shaw, Sir Charles, evidence of, on strikes, vi. 75 note.

Sheehan, Mr., during the elections of 1826, iii. 306.

Sheep, consumption of, in Paris, 1789-1840, iii. 172 note.

Sheerness, garrison required for, vii. 235 note.

Sheffield, members given to, iv. 21 note—vigilant reform meeting at, 50—elections of 1835 in, vi. 409—small proportion of children at school at, vi. 514 note.

Sheffield and Manchester Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note.

Shelley, P. B., the poems of, i. 225.

Shelton, general, on the first outbreak at Cabul, vi. 260—jealousy between, and Elphinstone, 253—storming of the Rickabashie fort, *ib.*—defeats the Afghans on the heights, 254—opposes removal into the Bala-Hissar, 256—defeat of, at Beh-Mernu, 257 *et seq.*—declares against holding the Bala-Hissar, 262—during the retreat, 265—his surrender, 266.

Shere Mahommed, forces under, vii. 59—movements, &c., of, 61—battle of Hyderabad, *ib. et seq.*—his flight, 63—and final defeat, 64.

Shere Singh, accession of, vii. 66—his murder, 67—revolt of, 100—operations of, 101 battle of Chillianwallah, 102 *et seq.*—retreat of, toward Goojerat, 104—battle of Goojerat, 105—surrender of, 106.

Sheridan, friendship between, and Canning, ii. 214 note—the comedies of, iv. 277.

Sheriffs, powers of the, under the new Scotch poor-law, vi. 250.

Sheriff courts, cases in the, in Scotland, i. 169.

Shiel, Mr., during the elections of 1826, iii. 306—description of the state of Ireland in 1828, 337—increased violence of, 342—violent language of, 1830, iv. 12 note—arguments of, against the coercion act, v. 19 *et seq.*—altercation between, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 57—opposition, to the tithe bill, 65—violence of, during the elections of 1835, 410—opposes Lord Londonderry's appointment, 413—arguments of, on the Irish church, 418—resistance of, to tithes, vi. 24—revives the Catholic Association, 25—resistance of, to an Irish poor-law, 26—speech of, on the Irish corporation bill, 1837, 33 note—master of the mint, 1846, vii. 221 note—opposes Lord George Bentinck's railway scheme, 256.

Shields, member given to, iv. 21 note.

Shikargahs of Scinde, the, vii. 51.

Shikarpoor, route of the Afghanistan expedition by, vi. 229, 230.

Shinwarree Valley, expedition of Pollock into the, vii. 38.

- Ships' broadsides, comparison of, with land batteries, v. 357.
- Ship-building, alleged falling off in, in England, iii. 231.
- Shipowners, arguments of the, against the reciprocity system, iii. 231—discussion regarding the, 1827, 322.
- Shipping, British and foreign, proportions of, 1820-51, i. 15 note—British, 1792 and 1815, 44—statistics of, 1818, 180—British, to Canada and the United States, 319 note—French, 1822-30, iii. 125 note—Mr Wallace's five acts relating to, 228—effects of the reciprocity system in depreciating, 232—its effects on British and foreign, *ib.*—and on that with the Baltic powers, 233—statistics of, 1801-49, 232 note—inapplicability of free-trade principle to, 244—colonial, new laws regarding, 1825, 260—amount of, with the West Indies, v. 46—West Indies, 1828-41, 52 note—Irish, before and since the Union, 62 note—French, 1837-41, 347 note—British, 1834 6, 405 note—Canadian, increase of, since 1841, vi. 106—comparison of navy with, 1792 and 1838, 138 note—British, 1815 and 1845, 333 note—British, increase of, 1842 to 1847, 342 and note—statistics of, 1845 to 1850, vii. 291 note—British and foreign, 1842 56, 327 note—French, 1840 to 1847, 118 note—decline in, 1848, viii. 68—results of repeal of navigation laws on, 292.
- Shipping interest, the old protective system toward the, iv. 60—practical disfranchisement of the, by the reform bill, 69, 70—subjected by it to adverse interests, 71—support the repeal of the corn laws, vi. 370.
- Shoes, proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 363.
- Shopkeepers, the, transference of political power to, iv. 1—predominance given by the reform bill to, 65, 66—interests of the, at variance with those of the colonies, 70—distress of, in Paris after the Revolution, 127.
- Shrewsbury, a missionary in Barbadoes, treatment of, by the planters, v. 44.
- Shuldham, general, operations of, in Burmah, vi. 189.
- Shumshooden, defeat of, before Ghuznee, vii. 42.
- Siam, treaty with king of, vi. 103.
- Siberia, the conquest of, by Ivan the Terrible, ii. 20—banishment to, as a punishment in Russia, 19—establishment of schools in, 34—the Russian political exiles in, 71—number exiled to, in 1826, iii. 10—population of, 1831, iv. 189 note.
- Sichem, capture of, by the Dutch, iv. 153.
- Sicily, constitutionalist feeling in, i. 362—causes which prepared for revolution in, 365—the revolution in, 366 *et seq.*—negotiations between, and Naples, 367—suppression of the insurrection in, 368—overthrow of the revolution in, ii. 41—reception of Lord Minto in, vii. 345—revolt in, 1848, 348—convulsions in, 349—revolution and civil war in, viii. 76 *et seq.*—spread of it, 78—Ferdinand dethroned, and the Duke of Genoa elected king, *ib.*—contest at Messina, 79—forces of the insurgents, 124—
- failure of negotiations, and renewal of the war, 125—fall of Catania, *ib.*—submission of Palermo, and close of the war, 126.
- Sickak, battle of the, v. 834.
- Siddons, Mrs, as an actress, i. 263.
- Sidi-Embauck, an Arab chief, vii. 181—defeat and death of, 182.
- Sidi-Feruch, landing of the French at, iii. 127—battle of, 128.
- Sidmouth, lord, measures of, against the Radical movements in 1817, i. 164—circular from, on the insurrectionary spirit, 179—defence of the suspension of the habeas corpus act by, *ib.*—conduct of, on the Manchester meeting, ii. 148—efforts of, to augment the military force in 1819, 152—the Six Acts introduced by, 153—impression made on the Radical leaders by, 154—efforts of, for increasing the yeomanry, 163—at the trial of the queen, 177—firmness of, after the acquittal of the queen, 180—retirement of, from the home-secretaryship, 191—his character, *ib.*—attack on Lord Grey with regard to the reform bill by, iv. 5 note.
- Sidon, storming of, by the British, v. 276.
- Siecle, the, tone of, 1839, v. 363—supports Thiers, 1840, 378.
- Sierawiki, general, defeats of, by Kreutz, iv. 201.
- Sieroczyn, defeat of the Russians at, iv. 195.
- Sierra Leone, proposed admission of negro labourers from, vii. 223.
- Sierra-Pamblay, Don Philippe, becomes finance minister, ii. 241.
- Siewers, general, operations under, iii. 61.
- Sikhs, the, rise of the kingdom of, vi. 217—jealousy between them and the Afghans, 218—origin of, vii. 76—description of them, and their power, *ib.*—their country, *ib.*—Runjeet Singh, 77—hostile disposition of, after the death of Runjeet Singh, vi. 241.—*See* Punjab.
- Silerno, pass through the Balkan by, iii. 58.
- Silemo, defeat of the Italians at, viii. 86.
- Silène, crew of the, liberated at Algiers, iii. 130.
- Silesia, originally a province of Poland, iv. 173—the cotton manufactures of, 220—revolt in, 1844, 253—the estates of, their meeting, &c., in 1845, 254—Slavonic population of, viii. 139.
- Silistria, the fortress of, ii. 341—the pacha of, operations of, against Ipsilanti, 370—blockaded by General Roth, iii. 22—siege of, abandoned by the Russians, 29—garrison of, 1828, 20—commencement of siege of, 53—description of it, *ib.*—capture of, 57—convention between Russia and Turkey for evacuation of, v. 312.
- Silk, fall in, 1818 to 1822, ii. 145 note—remission of duties on, 1824, ii. 222—raw and thrown, diminution of the duties on, 243—raw, prices of, 1824-5, 251 note—consumption of, 1822-5, *ib.*—fall in, 1825 6, 262 note—raw, reduction of duties on, 369—raw and wrought, imports of, 1826 8, *ib.* note—prices of, 1827-9, 373 note—imports of, *ib.*—prices of, 1824-32, iv. 63 note—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—imports of, 1839-44, 311 note—abolition of duty on, 344

Silk, continued.

- prices of, 1845 to 1851, vii. 286 note—
decline in imports of, France, 1848, viii.
68.
Silks, wrought, exports of, 1823-49, iii. 243
note.
Silk manufacture, origin of the, in England,
iii. 242—proposed reduction of duties on,
vi. 302, 363.
Silk thread, imports of, 1827-9, iii. 373 note.
Silk trade, state of the, 1823, iii. 242—appli-
cation of free trade to, 243—depressed con-
dition of the, 1829, 373.
Silk-weavers, discussion regarding the, iii.
322—motion on the distress of the, 1829,
369—depressed state of the, in France,
1831, iv. 303.
Silver, at present the true standard of value,
ii. 137—proposed introduction of, as a
standard of currency, iii. 292—danger of a
currency dependent on retention of, v. 400
—drain of, from England to India, vi. 171.
Silver coinage, new, in Great Britain, i. 71.
Silver standard, a, proposed by Mr Baring,
&c., iii. 381—arguments against it, 382
note.
Silveira, violent measures of, in Portugal,
1820, i. 361—expelled from Lisbon, 362—a
Miguelite partisan, v. 114.
Simbschen, general, defeat of, at the Somma
Campaign, viii. 102—surrender of Dem-
binski's forces to, 280.
Siméon, M., called to the council of state, i.
309—becomes minister of the interior, ii.
95—arguments of, for re-establishing the
censorship, 101—efforts of, on behalf of
the new electoral law, 104—arguments of,
for the new electoral law, 106—new law re-
garding the censorship of the press propos-
ed by, 122—the royalists on, 124—appointed
member of the Privy Council, 125.
Simla bank, the, vi. 171 note.
Simmons, M., violent declaration of, v. 356.
Simmons, major, force under, vii. 33.
Simonich, marshal, captures Leopoldstadt,
viii. 243.
Simonich, count, intrigues of, in Afghanis-
tan, vi. 219—treaty arranged by, 220—his
proceedings disavowed, 224.
Sinclair, Sir John, the works of, i. 256.
Sinclair, Miss, the novels of, i. 253.
Singapore, acquisition of, by the British, vi.
199.
Sinking fund, the, at the close of the war, i.
44—amount of, in 1816, 51—1817, 167—
amount of, 1818, 174—amount of debt paid
off by it, 180—Mr Vansittart's plan regard-
ing, 200—the French, its amount in 1820,
ii. 110 note—reduction of, by the budget
of 1822, 205—Castlereagh's efforts to main-
tain, 209—its practical abandonment, 210
—the French, iii. 124—arrangements re-
garding, 1823, 224—provision for, 1825, 257
—amount paid to, 1826 8, 321—surplus ap-
plicable to, 1829, 369—Mr Baring's speech
on its abandonment, 384—causes which led
to it, 385 *et seq.*—debt paid off by, v. 78—
entire extinction of, vi. 28—entire ignoring
of, 1845, 346.
Sipiagine, general, operations of, in Persia,
iii. 11.

- Sirdar Khan, installation of, at Mooltan,
and efforts to save Vans' Agnew, &c., vii.
98.
Sismondi, the works of, iii. 190 *et seq.*
Sisters of charity, the, during the yellow
fever at Barcelona, ii. 237—in France, iii.
84.
Sivas, population of, ii. 331 note.
Six Acts, the, introduced into parliament, ii.
153.
Sizopolis, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 51
—repulse of the Turks at, 52.
Skalski, murder of Gielgud by, iv. 207.
Skariatino, general, defeated at Herman-
stadt, viii. 250—death of, 273.
Skarzynski, general, forces under, iv. 197—
operations of, 198.
Skerret, general, monument to, i. 69.
Skibbereen, the famine in, vii. 244.
Skoulent, crossing of the Pruth by the Rus-
sians at, iii. 15.
Skrzynecki, general, iv. 180—at Grochow,
192—at Praga, 193—appointed commander-
in-chief, 196—his biography and character,
ib.—attempts at negotiation, and prepara-
tions, *ib.*—his plan of operations, 197—his
forces, *ib.*—successes of, 198—further
operations of, 199—plan adopted by, *ib.*—
victory of, at Ignie, 200—arrested by chol-
era, *ib.*—check sustained by, 201—forces
under, and operations in Lithuania, and
against Diebitch, 202—marches against the
Russian right, 203—and Diebitch against
his rear, 204—battle of Ostrolenka, 204—
his repulse, 205—excitement in Warsaw
against, 206—forces under, and prepara-
tions, 208—inactivity of, 209—his fall, *ib.*
—his magnanimity, *ib.*
Slane Castle, visit of George IV. to, ii. 190.
Slanes Valley, burial of Napoleon in, ii. 131.
Slaves, the liberation of, from Algiers, &c.,
i. 81—increase in importation of, since
emancipation, vii. 225—increased importa-
tion of, caused by the sugar-duties bill of
1846, 228—treaty between England and
France regarding right of search for, 190.
—See Negro.
Slave-grown sugar, declaration of Peel
against, 1841, vi. 142—Palmerston on the
admission of, 144—proposed reduction of
duties on, 328—alleged necessity for ad-
mission of, vii. 221—proposed reduction of
duties on, 222 *et seq.*—increased produc-
tion and import of, since 1847, 227 and
note.
Slave ships, the modern, vi. 110—the Spanish
and Portuguese, vii. 225—a Brazilian, pic-
ture of, 226 note.
Slave states, increased production in, since
emancipation, v. 53.
Slave trade, the, treaty with Spain, &c., for
the abolition of, i. 182—and for its limita-
tion, 340—resolution of the Congress of
Verona regarding, 280—convention be-
tween France and England regarding, iii.
97—importance it had assumed, v. 39—in-
fluence of abolition of, in fixing the negroes
on particular estates, 41—impetus given
by emancipation to, 53—Lord Brougham
on the increasing horrors of, vi. 110 *et seq.*
—Palmerston on the suppression of, 144—
the right of search in connection with, 317

Slave trade, the, *continued*.

—alleged effect of admission of slave-grown sugars in restoring, vii. 225—its increased extent and horrors, *ib.*—effect of the admission of slave-grown sugars on, 228—efforts of England for the suppression of, 137—treaty with France for its suppression, *ib.*—and with the allied powers, 138—*is not ratified*, 139.

Slavery, necessity for, in Russia, ii. 16—in early times, v. 42—resolutions of parliament in 1823 regarding, and their rejection by the planters, 43—Orders in Council regarding, 1831, 87—the Orders in Council of 1831 regarding, 44—resistance in the colonies to these, 45—the alleged encouragement of, by admission of slave-grown sugar, vii. 222—explanations of conduct of England with regard to, 229—abolition of, in Scinde, 65—abolition of, throughout France, viii. 60.

Sleigh, general, capture of Doorjun Saul by, vi. 198.

Sliding scale, proposed, 1827, iii. 319—adoption of the principle of the, 330—arguments of Peel for a, vi. 291—that proposed by him, *ib. et seq.*—reception of it in the country, 294—the protectionists on the effects of the, 368—operations of the, in admitting corn duty-free, 380.

Small notes, former acts prohibiting, iii. 289—more steadfast circulation of, 295—bill prohibiting the circulation of Scotch, in England, 330—effect of the suppression of, in stimulating the desire for reform, 308—contraction of currency caused by their entire suppression in 1829, and distress caused by it, 373—suppression of, fall of prices caused by, and influence of this in compelling the remission of taxes, 386—effects of the want of, in France, vii. 126.

Small notes bill, introduction of, ii. 206—debate on the bill for suppressing, iii. 288 *et seq.*—it is carried, 292—its effects, 293—augmentation of currency caused by, 1823, 218.

Small properties, alleged effect of, on agriculture, iii. 89—effects of the, in France, 172.

Smart, sergeant, during the outbreak in Glasgow in 1818, vii. 295.

Smith, Adam, influence of, i. 232—views of, on the currency question, ii. 134—on a paper currency, 136—on the effect of variations in the currency, 137—on the benefits of an inconvertible paper currency, 140 note—on the navigation laws, iii. 228—exceptions to free-trade principle by, vi. 291.

Smith, baron, the case of, and proceedings of parliament on it, v. 57.

Smith, Dr, conversation of Cobbett on the potato with, vi. 357 note.

Smith, Sir Harry, at Moodkee, vii. 84—at Ferozeshah, 86—capture of Dhurum Kote by, 90—subsequent movements, *ib.*—battle of Aliwal, 91—called up to Sobraon, 92—at Sobraon, *ib.*, 93—operations of, against the Caffres, viii. 311, 312—at Wellington's funeral, 330 and note.

Smith, Mr J., on the reform bill, iv. 27 note.

Smith, Sir Lionel, recommends the abolition

of the apprenticeship system, vi. 111—on the results of it, *ib.*

Smith, Sydney, as an essayist, i. 236—on Lord John Russell, iv. 9—on the delusions prevalent regarding the reform bill, 85—character of Lord Melbourne by, vi. 1.

Smith the missionary, trial and death of, v. 44.

Smith, lieutenant, death of, at Hyderabad, vii. 62.

Smith, major, in Gwalior, vii. 69.

Smith, general, operations of, against the Peishwah, vi. 179—captures Sattara, 180—further successes, *ib.*

Smith, colonel, repulse of, at Kyploo, vi. 186.

Smith, Mr, of Norwich, on the pound, i. 193—arguments of, for repeal of the test and corporation acts, iii. 332—on the effect of Catholic emancipation in increasing the desire for reform, 368.

Smith, Mrs Charlotte, the novels of, i. 249.

Smithers, murder of, by Thistlewood, ii. 169.

Snollett, the novels of, i. 249.

Smyrna, population of, ii. 331 note—massacres of the Greeks in, 367—renewed massacres in, 376—acknowledgment of Mehemet Ali by, v. 254—establishment of academy at, 267.

Smythe, Miss, afterwards Mrs Fitzherbert, vi. 42.

Sneyd, captain, at the battle of Donabru, vi. 188.

Soap, reduction of duty on, 1833, v. 31 and note—proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 363.

Sobanski, insurrection in Podolia under, iv. 202.

Sobieski, the deliverance of Vienna by, ii. 332.

Sobraon, position of the Sikhs at, vii. 91—battle, 92 *et seq.*

Sobrier, M., leader of the extreme party, viii. 29, 53.

Sochozannet, general, operations under, near Varna, iii. 27.

Socialism, spread of, among the working classes in France, iv. 383, vii. 121, 123, 126—blindness of the government, &c., to its dangers, 124—spread of, in Galicia, 198—declaration of Larmatine in favour of, 375.

Socialists, the efforts of the liberals to keep back, vii. 374—true principles of, viii. 8—answer to their doctrines, 9—great demonstration of, 28—discontent of, with the executive commission, 36—division between, and the Assembly, *ib.*—insurrection of, 37 *et seq.*—insurrection resolved on by, 41—measures against them, 42—the insurrection, 43 *et seq.*—views of, as enunciated by Proudhon, 54—abortive insurrection of, June 1849, 339—flight of their leaders, 340—triumph of, in elections for Paris, March 1850, 342—revolt of, after the coup d'état, 356.

Société Dissidente, the, vii. 386.

Société des Droits de l'Homme, revolt of June 1848 organised under, viii. 43.

Société des Familles, the, in Paris, its organisation, &c., v. 361—It is changed into La Société des Saisons, *ib.*

Société Gauloise, the, at Lamarque's funeral, iv. 330.

Silk, continued.

- prices of, 1845 to 1851, vii. 286 note—
decline in imports of, France, 1848, viii.
68.
- Silks, wrought, exports of, 1828-49, iii. 243
note.
- Silk manufacture, origin of the, in England,
iii. 242—proposed reduction of duties on,
vi. 362, 363.
- Silk thread, imports of, 1827-9, iii. 373 note.
- Silk trade, state of the, 1823, iii. 242—appli-
cation of free trade to, 243—depressed con-
dition of the, 1829, 373.
- Silk-weavers, discussion regarding the, iii.
322—motion on the distress of the, 1829,
369—depressed state of the, in France,
1831, iv. 303.
- Silver, at present the true standard of value,
ii. 137—proposed introduction of, as a
standard of currency, iii. 292—danger of a
currency dependent on retention of, v. 400
—drain of, from England to India, vi. 171.
- Silver coinage, new, in Great Britain, i. 71.
- Silver standard, a, proposed by Mr Baring,
&c., iii. 381—arguments against it, 382
note.
- Silviera, violent measures of, in Portugal,
1820, i. 361—expelled from Lisbon, 362—a
Miguelite partisan, v. 114.
- Simbschen, general, defeat of, at the Somma
Campagna, viii. 102—surrender of Deim-
binski's forces to, 280.
- Siméon, M., called to the council of state, i.
309—becomes minister of the interior, ii.
95—arguments of, for re-establishing the
censorship, 101—efforts of, on behalf of
the new electoral law, 104—arguments of,
for the new electoral law, 106—new law re-
garding the censorship of the press propos-
ed by, 122—the royalists on, 124—appoint-
ment of the Privy Council, 125.
- Simla bank, the, vi. 171 note.
- Simmons, M., violent declaration of, v. 356.
- Simmons, major, force under, vii. 33.
- Simonich, marshal, captures Leopoldstadt,
viii. 243.
- Simonich, count, intrigues of, in Affghania-
tan, vi. 219—treaty arranged by, 220—his
proceedings disavowed, 224.
- Sinclair, Sir John, the works of, i. 256.
- Sinclair, Miss, the novels of, i. 253.
- Singapore, acquisition of, by the British, vi.
199.
- Sinking fund, the, at the close of the war, i.
44—amount of in 1816, 51—1817, 167—
amount of, 1818, 174—amount of debt paid
off by it, 180—Mr Vansittart's plan regard-
ing, 200—the French, its amount in 1820,
ii. 110 note—reduction of, by the budget
of 1822, 205—Castlereagh's efforts to main-
tain, 209—its practical abandonment, 210
—the French, iii. 124—arrangements re-
garding, 1823, 224—provision for, 1825, 257
—amount paid to, 1826-8, 321—surplus ap-
plicable to, 1829, 369—Mr Baring's speech
on its abandonment, 383—reflections on
its abandonment, 384—causes which led
to it, 385 *et seq.*—debt paid off by, v. 78—
entire extinction of, vi. 28—entire ignoring
of, 1845, 346.
- Sipiagine, general, operations of, in Persia,
iii. 11.

- Sirdar Khan, installation of, at Mooltan,
and efforts to save Vans' Agnew, &c., vii.
98.
- Sismondi, the works of, iii. 190 *et seq.*
- Sisters of charity, the, during the yellow
fever at Barcelona, ii. 237—in France, iii.
84.
- Sivas, population of, ii. 331 note.
- Six Acts, the, introduced into parliament, ii.
153.
- Sizepolia, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 51
—repulse of the Turks at, 52.
- Skalaki, murder of Gielgud by, iv. 207.
- Skariatine, general, defeated at Herman-
stadt, viii. 250—death of, 273.
- Skarzynski, general, forces under, iv. 197—
operations of, 198.
- Skerret, general, monument to, i. 69.
- Skibbereen, the famine in, vii. 244.
- Skouleni, crossing of the Pruth by the Rus-
sians at, iii. 15.
- Skrzynecki, general, iv. 180—at Grochow,
192—at Praga, 193—appointed commander-
in-chief, 196—his biography and character,
ib.—attempts at negotiation, and prepara-
tions, ib.—his plan of operations, 197—his
forces, ib.—successes of, 198—further
operations of, 199—plan adopted by, ib.—
victory of, at Iganie, 200—arrested by chol-
era, ib.—check sustained by, 201—forces
under, and operations in Lithuania, and
against Diebitch, 202—marches against the
Russian right, 203—and Diebitch against
his rear, 204—battle of Ostrolenka, 204—
his repulse, 205—excitement in Warsaw
against, 206—forces under, and prepara-
tions, 208—inactivity of, 209—his fall, ib.
—his magnanimity, ib.
- Slanea Castle, visit of George IV. to, ii. 190.
- Slanea Valley, burial of Napoleon in, ii. 131.
- Slaves, the liberation of, from Algiers, &c.,
i. 81—increase in importation of, since
emancipation, vii. 225—increased importa-
tion of, caused by the sugar-duties bill of
1840, 228—treaty between England and
France regarding right of search for, 196.
—See Negro.
- Slave-grown sugar, declaration of Peel
against, 1841, vi. 142—Palmerston on the
admission of, 144—proposed reduction of
duties on, 328—alleged necessity for ad-
mission of, vii. 221—proposed reduction of
duties on, 222 *et seq.*—increased produc-
tion and import of, since 1847, 227 and
note.
- Slave ships, the modern, vi. 110—the Spanish
and Portuguese, vii. 225—a Brazilian, pic-
ture of, 226 note.
- Slavo states, increased production in, since
emancipation, v. 53.
- Slave trade, the, treaty with Spain, &c., for
the abolition of, i. 182—and for its limita-
tion, 340—resolution of the Congress of
Verona regarding, 280—convention be-
tween France and England regarding, iii.
97—importance it had assumed, v. 39—in-
fluence of abolition of, in fixing the negroes
on particular estates, 41—impetus given
by emancipation to, 53—Lord Brougham
on the increasing horrors of, vi. 110 *et seq.*
—Palmerston on the suppression of, 144—
the right of search in connection with, 317

Slave trade, the, *continued*.

- alleged effect of admission of slave-grown sugars in restoring, vii. 225—its increased extent and horrors, *ib.*—effect of the admission of slave-grown sugars on, 228—efforts of England for the suppression of, 137—treaty with France for its suppression, *ib.*—and with the allied powers, 138—*is not ratified*, 139.
- Slavery, necessity for, in Russia, ii. 16—in early times, v. 42—resolutions of parliament in 1823 regarding, and their rejection by the planters, 43—Orders in Council regarding, 1831, 87—the Orders in Council of 1831 regarding, 44—resistance in the colonies to these, 45—the alleged encouragement of, by admission of slave-grown sugar, vii. 222—explanations of conduct of England with regard to, 229—abolition of, in Scinde, 65—abolition of, throughout France, viii. 60.
- Sleigh, general, capture of Doorjun Saul by, vi. 198.
- Sliding scale, proposed, 1827, iii. 319—adoption of the principle of the, 330—arguments of Peel for a, vi. 291—that proposed by him, *ib. et seq.*—reception of it in the country, 294—the protectionists on the effects of the, 368—operations of the, in admitting corn duty-free, 380.
- Small notes, former acts prohibiting, iii. 289—more steadfast circulation of, 295—bill prohibiting the circulation of Scotch, in England, 330—effect of the suppression of, in stimulating the desire for reform, 368—contraction of currency caused by their entire suppression in 1829, and distress caused by it, 373—suppression of, fall of prices caused by, and influence of this in compelling the remission of taxes, 386—effects of the want of, in France, vii. 128.
- Small notes bill, introduction of, ii. 206—debate on the bill for suppressing, iii. 288 *et seq.*—it is carried, 292—its effects, 293—augmentation of currency caused by, 1823, 218.
- Small properties, alleged effect of, on agriculture, iii. 89—effects of the, in France, 172.
- Smart, sergeant, during the outbreak in Glasgow in 1848, vii. 295.
- Smith, Adam, influence of, i. 232—views of, on the currency question, ii. 134—on a paper currency, 136—on the effect of variations in the currency, 137—on the benefits of an inconvertible paper currency, 140 note—on the navigation laws, iii. 223—exceptions to free-trade principle by, vi. 291.
- Smith, baron, the case of, and proceedings of parliament on it, v. 57.
- Smith, Dr, conversation of Cobbett on the potato with, vi. 357 note.
- Smith, Sir Harry, at Moodkee, vii. 84—at Ferrozeshah, 86—capture of Dhirum Kote by, 90—subsequent movements, *ib.*—battle of Aliwal, 91—called up to Sobraon, 92—at Sobraon, *ib.* 93—operations of, against the Caffres, viii. 311, 312—at Wellington's funeral, 330 and note.
- Smith, Mr J., on the reform bill, iv. 27 note.
- Smith, Sir Lionel, recommends the abolition of the apprenticeship system, vi. 111—on the results of it, *ib.*
- Smith, Sydney, as an essayist, i. 238—on Lord John Russell, iv. 9—on the delusions prevalent regarding the reform bill, 85—character of Lord Melbourne by, vi. 1.
- Smith the missionary, trial and death of, y. 44.
- Smith, lieutenant, death of, at Hyderabad, vii. 62.
- Smith, major, in Gwalior, vii. 69.
- Smith, general, operations of, against the Peishwah, vi. 179—captures Sattara, 180—further successes, *ib.*
- Smith, colonel, repulse of, at Kyploo, vi. 186.
- Smith, Mr, of Norwich, on the pound, i. 193—arguments of, for repeal of the test and corporation acts, iii. 332—on the effect of Catholic emancipation in increasing the desire for reform, 368.
- Smith, Mrs Charlotte, the novels of, i. 249.
- Smithers, murder of, by Thistlewood, ii. 159.
- Smollett, the novels of, i. 249.
- Smyna, population of, ii. 331 note—massacres of the Greeks in, 367—renewed massacres in, 376—acknowledgment of Mehemet Ali by, v. 254—establishment of academy at, 267.
- Smythe, Miss, afterwards Mrs Fitzherbert, vi. 42.
- Sneyd, captain, at the battle of Donabru, vi. 188.
- Soap, reduction of duty on, 1833, v. 31 and note—proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 363.
- Sobanski, insurrection in Podolia under, iv. 202.
- Sobieski, the deliverance of Vienna by, ii. 332.
- Sobraon, position of the Sikhs at, vii. 91—battle, 92 *et seq.*
- Sobrier, M., leader of the extreme party, viii. 29, 53.
- Sochozannet, general, operations under, near Varna, iii. 27.
- Socialism, spread of, among the working classes in France, iv. 383, vii. 121, 123, 126—blindness of the government, &c., to its dangers, 124—spread of, in Galicia, 198—declaration of Larmatine in favour of, 375.
- Socialists, the efforts of the liberals to keep back, vii. 374—true principles of, viii. 8—answer to their doctrines, 9—great demonstration of, 28—discontent of, with the executive commission, 36—division between, and the Assembly, *ib.*—insurrection of, 37 *et seq.*—insurrection resolved on by, 41—measures against them, 42—the insurrection, 43 *et seq.*—views of, as enunciated by Proudhon, 54—abortive insurrection of, June 1849, 339—flight of their leaders, 340—triumph of, in elections for Paris, March 1850, 342—revolt of, after the coup d'état, 356.
- Société Dissidente, the, vii. 386.
- Société des Droits de l'Homme, revolt of June 1848 organised under, viii. 43.
- Société des Familles, the, in Paris, its organisation, &c., v. 361—it is changed into La Société des Saisons, *ib.*
- Société Gauloise, the, at Lamarque's funeral, iv. 330.

Société Générale de Bruxelles, cash payments suspended by, 1848, vii. 147.
 Société des Saisons, organisation, objects, &c., of the, v. 361—insurrection of, 362.
 Society, spread of the exclusive system in, i. 266—its effect, 267—structure of, in Germany, its influence on their comedy, iv. 277.
 Sohahini, death of, at Sphacteria, ii. 412.
 Soldiers, danger of leaving them mingled with insurgent mobs, iii. 163—old and young, Wellington on, vii. 272 note—disbanded, number and influence of, in Gallia, 199.
 Soleno, changes in constitution of, 1830, iv. 117.
 Solignac, general, v. 129.
 Soltik, Roman, moves the dethronement of Nicholas in the Polish Diet, iv. 189—on the prosperity of Poland, 1831, 190—plan of attack recommended by, 200.
 Somerset, Lord Fitzroy, sent by Wellington to Madrid in 1823, ii. 267.
 Somerset, Lord Granville, commissioner of land revenue, 1835, v. 407 note—chancellor of duchy of Lancaster, 1841, vi. 280 note.
 Somerset, colonel, repulse of, by the Caffres, viii. 312.
 Somerset, major, death of, at Ferozeahah, vii. 89.
 Somerset, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
 Somma Campagna, defeat of Charles Albert at the, viii. 103.
 Somnauth, removal of the gates of, vii. 43, 49.
 Sonderhausen, accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
 "Sons of Liberty," the, in Lower Canada, vi. 89.
 Soojah-ool-Moolk, Shah, accession of, and treaty with the English, vi. 211—dethronement of, 216—his after adventures, and efforts to regain his throne, *ib.*—determination of the British government to restore, 225—his incapacity, &c., *ib.*—treaty for his restoration, 226—preparations and forces for expedition, 227—march of the expedition, 229 *et seq.*—massacre of Ghazee prisoners by, 234—entry of, into Cabul, 237—unpopularity of, 238—pageants, &c., at Cabul, 239—suspected of complicity in the insurrection, 246—general desertion of, 247—on the conduct of the British officers at Cabul, 249 note—attempt of, to save Burnes, 250—urges removal into the Bala-Hissar, 256, 258—terms of the capitulation regarding, 259—murder of, vii. 38—family of, take refuge with the British, 47—terms of treaty with, regarding Scinde, 52.
 Soojah-ool-Dowlah, murder of Shah Soojah by, vii. 36.
 Sophia, the princess, iii. 311.
 Sophia, pass through the Balkan by, iii. 58.
 Sordut Singh, vii. 67.
 Soudjouk-Kalé, capture of the Vixen at, vi. 40.
 Souliotes, *see* Suliotes.
 Soulo, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 378.
 Sult, marshal, i. 309—made a chevalier of the Cordon Bleu, iii. 85—during the Jubile

lee, 92—created a peer, 99—and the insurrection of St Meri, 161—becomes minister-at-war, iv. 124—measures proposed by, against the Lyons insurgents, 308—advances against them, and their submission, 309—preparations of, against the insurrection of 1832, 332—military measures of, against the insurgents, 334—forces accumulated by, *ib.*—recommends abandonment of the Tuileries, 335—his plan of operations, *ib.*—their success, *ib.*—storming of Cloister of St Meri, 336—becomes premier, 341, 355—circular to the prefects by, 355—measures of, in Algeria, and organisation of the Zouaves, 366—applied to to form a ministry on the fall of Thiers, v. 276—resignation of, 284—causes of it, *ib.* note—refuses the premiership in 1834, 267—recommends the king to send for Thiers on Molé's resignation, 359—second ministry of, 362—measures of, in the East in 1839, 369—majority in the Deputies against, 376—his resignation, *ib.*—again becomes premier, 391—his ministry, *ib.* note—urges the fortification of Paris, 395—his military view of the question, *ib.*—at the coronation of Queen Victoria, vi. 120—character and influence of, vii. 164—at the last council of Louis Philippe, 394.
 Sonrajgurh, defeat of the Ghoorkas at, vi. 176.
 Souds et Muets, Institution des, grant for, iv. 360 note.
 Souter, captain, during the retreat from Cabul, vi. 266.
 South America, money raised in, 1803 22. i. 19 note—results of republicanism in, 31—diminished supply of the precious metals from, 48—succours sent from England to the insurgents in, 207—punishment of the conduct of England toward, 212—losses sustained by her intercourse with, *ib.*—decline on her exports to, *ib.*—cause of the loss of the Spanish colonies in, 319—influence of the Cortes of 1812 on, 329—note from England at Congress of Verona regarding independence of, ii. 260—British exports to, 305—unjustifiableness of the English intervention in, 315—its ultimate effects on England, *ib.*—effect of the revolutions in, on the currency of Great Britain, iii. 217—exports to, 1817-25, *ib.* note—act regarding importation of produce from, 228—formal recognition of the republics of, by England, 252—Canning's measures with regard to, 325—drain of gold to, 379—increased supply of precious metals from, v. 56, 405—increased supplies of gold from, 1841, vi. 335.
 South American colonies, effects of the loss of, on the finances of Spain, i. 327, 341—decree of the home government regarding, 1818, 341—fate of first expedition against them, 342—proceedings of the liberal government with regard to, 352.
 South American insurgents, bill to prevent succours to the, i. 207 *et seq.*—the succours still continue, 210, 211.
 South American mines, losses by the, 1825, iii. 202.
 South American mining companies, the, 1825, iii. 252 and note.

South American republics, the, amount of the loans to, ii. 256—recognition of, by Great Britain, and views of the government on it, 302 *et seq.*—effects of this on British interests, 305—efforts in France for recognition of, iii. 87—effect of the independence of, on the currency of Great Britain, 218—recognised by Spain, v. 212—acknowledgment of the French republic by, viii. 25.

South American revolutions, the, effects of, on the mines, i. 48—effects of, in diminishing the supply of the precious metals, ii. 141—influence of, on the conduct of England towards Spain, 256.

South American speculations, drain of specie caused by the, 1825, iii. 255.

South Carolina, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.

South-Eastern Railway, parliamentary expenses of, vi. 338 note—fall in, 1846-52, vii. 289 note.

South Sea Islands, spread of Christianity in the, vi. 323.

South Wales, the Rebecca riots in, vi. 314 *et seq.*

South-Western Railway, fall in, 1846-52, vii. 289 note.

Southampton, non-registration of foreigners at, vi. 354.

Southern Australia, principles of colonisation adopted in, vi. 123, 124.

Southey, Robert, the works of, i. 223 *et seq.*

Southwark Bridge, London, i. 258.

Souza, madame de, i. 93 note.

Spafeld riots, the, i. 72.

Spain, effect of representative institutions in, i. 31—position of the forces of, in France, 98—treaty with, for abolition of slave trade, 182—remonstrances of, against the aid given the South American insurgents, 207—alleged treaty with, regarding succours to the South American insurgents, 208, 210—commerce with her South American colonies, 213—analogy of the early history of, to that of England, 317—her colonies not a source of weakness, *ib.*—benefits she derived from them, 318—commercial decline of, from the loss of her colonies, 319—her tyrannical rule over them, 320—her colonial exports all of foreign manufactures, *ib.*—want of industry in the national character, 321—her physical circumstances favoured commerce but not manufactures, *ib.*—effects of the long-continued hostility with the Moors, 322—impolitic laws of, with regard to money, 323—effects of the Roman Catholic faith on, *ib.*—difference between the towns and the country as to political opinion, 324—disposition of the army, *ib.*—tendencies and influence of the church in, 325—state of the peasantry, *ib.* of the nobility, 326—effects of the loss of her South American colonies on her revenues, 326—the constitution of 1812, 327—democratic character of the constitution, *ib.*—its unsuitableness to the people, 328—unpopularity of the Cortes and constitution, *ib.*—character of Ferdinand VII., 331—his arrival, and treatment by the Cortes, *ib.*—their unpopularity in, 332—decree of Valencia, *ib.*—rejoicings on it, and re-

Spain, *continued.*

turn of the king to Madrid, 333—despotic measures of the king, and re-establishment of the Inquisition, 334—discontent thereby excited in various districts, 335—revolt of Mina in Navarre, *ib.*—fresh arbitrary proceedings of the crown, *ib.*—revolt of Porlier, 336—its failure, and his death, *ib.*—invasion of France by, in 1815, and retreat of her troops, 337—fresh tyrannies of the king, *ib.*—new ministry, and change of policy, *ib.*—restoration of the Jesuits, and other despotic measures, 338—double marriages between its royal family and that of Portugal, *ib.*—insurrection in Valencia, 339—conspiracy in Barcelona, *ib.*—papal bull regarding contributions by the church, 340—treaty regarding Queen of Etruria, *ib.*—treaty with Great Britain for limitation of the slave trade, *ib.*—its internal state, the army and navy, 341—penury of the finances, *ib.*—death of the queen, 342—fate of first expedition to Lima, *ib.*—fresh revolt in Valencia, and its suppression, *ib.*—causes of that in the Islo of Leon, 343—efforts of the liberals to promote it, *ib.*—the revolt of the army at Cadiz, 344 *et seq.*—measures against it, *ib.*—sale of Florida to the United States, 345—marriage of the king, 346—revolt of Riego and Quiroga at Cadiz, *ib.*—measures of the government against them, 347—insurrection at Corunna and in Navarre, 348—revolution at Madrid, and acceptance of the constitution by the king, 349—reflections on the revolution of 1820 in, 350—its rapid progress, *ib.*—reception of it at Barcelona, *ib.*—massacre at Cadiz, 351—new ministry, *ib.*—first measures of the new government, 352—establishment of clubs, &c., *ib.*—legislative measures, &c., *ib.*—meeting of the Cortes, and their composition, 353—disorders in the provinces, *ib.*—opening of the Cortes, 354—report on the state of the army, *ib.*—leaders of the Cortes, *ib.*—suppression of the Jesuits, and measures regarding entails, 355—financial measures, *ib.*—tumult at Madrid, and dismissal of Riego, 356—closing of the session, and rupture with the king, *ib.*—reception of the decree against the priests, 357—complete triumph of the revolutionists, 358—society for executing Lynch law, *ib.*—identity of its recent history, and that of Portugal, 359—effects of the revolution in, on the latter, *ib.*—influence of, on Naples, 364—character of the revolution of 1820 in, ii. 212—attempted restoration of the royal authority, 230—opening of the Cortes, and dismissal of the ministers, 231—conduct of the Cortes, and appointment of new ministry, *ib.*—effect produced by the crushing of the insurrection in Italy, *ib.*—outbreak of revolutionary fury in the east, 232—revolutionary laws passed by the Cortes, *ib.*—murder of the priest Vinuesa, 233—institution of the Order of the Hammer, *ib.*—insurrection in Navarre, and its suppression, 234—proceedings of the Cortes, *ib.*—state of the finances, and measures regarding them, *ib.*—fresh tumults in Madrid, 235—Murillo resigns, *ib.*—the secret societies or Commeneros of, *ib.*—plot of Riego, and his

Spain, *continued.*

arrest, 236—tumults at Madrid on it, *ib.*—yellow fever at Barcelona, 237—fresh agitation, *ib.*—revolt at Corunna, 238—opening of extraordinary Cortes, *ib.*—their contradictory resolutions, 239—irresolute conduct of the king, and royalist insurrection in the north, *ib.*—proposed laws against the press and the clubs, *ib.*—composition, &c., of the new Cortes, 240—new ministry, 241—opening of the Cortes, and state of the finances, *ib.*—general disturbances over, 242—proceedings of the Cortes, and progress of the civil war, *ib. et seq.*—severe laws passed by the Cortes, 244—great extension of the civil war, 245—deplorable state of the finances, *ib.*—riot in Madrid, 246—the struggle between the Royal Guard and the garrison, *ib.*—entire overthrow of the royal authority, and new ministry, 249—provincial appointments, &c., *ib.*—severities of the government, 250—execution of Elío, *ib.*—continued civil war in the north, 251—vigorous measures of the revolutionary government, *ib.*—disasters of the royalists, 252—effect produced by these, 253—effects of the triumph of the revolutionists in, France and Europe, *ib.*—views in Great Britain regarding French intervention, 255—danger of renewal of the family compact between them, *ib.*—amount of the British loans to, 256—views of the cabinet, &c., on the revolution in, 257—instructions to the French plenipotentiaries at Verona on, 261—and to the English, *ib.*—measures adopted by the majority of the congress, 262—questions proposed by France, and answers of the other powers, *ib.*—rupture of negotiations with France, and withdrawal of the French ambassador, 267—reply of the government to the manifesto of France, 268—discussion in the English parliament on, 270 *et seq.*—England decides on non-intervention, 273—speech of Chateaubriand on, 274 *et seq.*—and of Manuel, 279—enthusiasm in France for the intervention in, 282—preparations for it, *ib.*—and of the liberals in France against it, *ib.*—feelings in England regarding it, 283—first difficulties of the French, *ib.* 286—forces of, 287—imperfect organisation, &c., of the army, and feelings of the population, *ib.*—commencement of the invasion, 288—rapid progress of the French, *ib. et seq.*—their advance to Madrid, 289—proclamation of the French, *ib.*—the French advance into Andalusia, 291—proceedings of the Cortes, and deposition of the king, *ib.*—violent reaction, 292—the decree of Andujar, 293—irritation of the royalists, 294—dissolution of the Cortes, and liberation of the king, 296—his first acts, 297—cruelties of the royalists, *ib.*—execution of Riego, 299—entry of the king into Madrid, *ib.*—new ministry, &c., 300—distracted state of, after the restoration, *ib.*—intervention of Russia in, offered and declined, 302—former trade of, with her colonies, 305—inferences from the result of the revolution of, 313—ability and moderation of the French invasion, 314—it was justifiable, 315—origin of the differences between, and Portugal, 1826, iii. 307

Spain, *continued.*

—government of, refuse to recognise Louis Philippe, iv. 108—attempts from Paris to revolutionise, 1830, *ib.*—it favoured by Louis Philippe, &c., *ib.*—its failure, 109—change of the order of succession in, 118—motives and objects of it, *ib.*—promulgation of the decree, 119—influence of the revolutionary wars on, v. 82 *et seq.*—struggle during the reign of Ferdinand, vii. 84—effect of the French intervention in 1823, 85—state of the finances, and effect of this, *ib.*—state after the French withdrew, *ib.*—difficulties of the government, 93—intrigues and dissensions, 94—debt contracted, &c., *ib.* note—sides taken by England and France, 94—secret absolutist conspiracy, 95—suppression of the revolt, 96—cruelties of government, *ib.*—new ministry, 97—insurrection in Catalonia, *ib.*—false reports of liberals, 98—insurrection by them, 99—cruelties of the royalists, *ib.*—indifference to the democratic constitution in, *ib.*—sympathy from abroad with the two parties, 100—marriage of the king to Queen Christina, 101—law of, as to female succession, 102—intrigues with a view to changing it, 103 *et seq.*—preparations of both parties, 104—irresolution of the king, 105—measures of the queen's party, 106 *et seq.*—new ministry, 107—its proceedings, *ib.*—death of the king, and proclamation of Queen Isabella, 109—position of the European powers, *ib. et seq.*—recognition of Don Miguel by, 124—the quadruple alliance, 134—state of parties in, at this time, 138 *et seq.*—the nobility, 140—effect of the intervention of France and England, 141—history of the Carlist war, *ib. et seq.*—its cruelties, 147—scene of the war, 148—atrocities urged by the government, 153—fresh agreement of France and England, 160—change of generals and plans, 165—the Elliot convention, 175 *et seq.*—effect of the Carlist successes, 178—demand for further foreign intervention, *ib.* 184—riots and atrocities of the mob, 187—revolutionary movements, 190 *et seq.*—changes in ministry, *ib.*—revolution at Madrid, 208 *et seq.*—forced loan, &c., 210—new Cortes, 211—finances, *ib.*—recognition of the South American States, 212—revolt of the troops, and overthrow of the ministry, 218—difficulties of government, 222—close of the war, 232—overthrow of the queen mother, 233—Espartero regent, *ib.*—his overthrow, 234—reflections on the revolution, *ib. et seq.*—its subsequent progress, 240 *et seq.*—intervention in, 1836, advocated by Thiers, v. 316—cause of the decay of the colonies of, vi. 107—position of, toward England, 1841, 281—treaty of 1817 with, regarding the slave trade, vii. 137—former law of, regarding the succession, 208—its abrogation, 209—danger to England from alliance between France and, 208—alienation of the king and queen, 336—intervention of, in Rome, viii. 128—final results of French revolution in, 358.

Spaniards, the, and the slave trade, vi. 110.

Spanish army, the treachery of the, in 1820, i. 350.

- Spanish bondholders, influence of the, in England on the Spanish question, ii. 250.
- Spanish church, papal bull regarding contribution by the, i. 340.
- Spanish marriages, the, negotiations between France and England on, vi. 328—history of the question, vii. 208 *et seq.*—coldness in consequence between France and England, 206—who was to blame in them, 218—the Prince de Joinville on, 363.
- Spanish question, importance and dangers of it, *ib.*
- Spanish revolution, influence of, in Naples, i. 364—different views taken of the, in England and France, ii. 212—effects of, on Greece and Turkey, 360—Influence of the, on Germany, iv. 226—of 1820, disastrous effects of, on Germany, 260.
- Spanish slave-ships, the, vii. 225.
- Spanish war, objects of the French government in the, iii. 167.
- Spanish West Indies, increased importation of slaves into the, vii. 225.
- Speakership, division on the, 1835, v. 410.
- Special constables, enrolment of, in London, vii. 297.
- Specie, abundance of, in 1818, i. 175—drain of, from England, 1825, iii. 256, 262 and note—drain of, from Bank of England to America, 1838, &c., vi. 65—averages of, in Bank, 1838-40, 66 note—failure of the bank charter act to prevent withdrawal of, vii. 281—drain of, from France, 1846, 364—scarcity of, in France, 1848, viii. 12.
- Spectator, the, supports the reform bill, iv. 35.
- Speculation, tendency of variations in the currency to foster, ii. 138—the distress of 1825 attributed to, iii. 288—alleged causes of it, 292—rage for, in Germany, 1838, iv. 245—increase of, in France, 1836, v. 304—fever of, in France, 1838, 347—tendency of the monetary system to foster, 401—ferour of, 1844, &c., and its direction to railways, vi. 336—Influence of, on mercantile character, 338—alleged influence of, on the monetary crisis of 1847, vii. 264—effect of the bank charter act in fostering, 279, 282—effects of the monetary system in inflaming, 304—how fostered by the bank charter act, 310—passion for, in France, 1841, 118.
- Speculative Society of Edinburgh, the, i. 185.
- Spelt, produce of, in France, iii. 173 note.
- Sponcean Philanthropists of 1817, the, i. 164.
- Spezzia, maritime importance of, ii. 336—revolt of, 365—threatened by the Turks, 1826, 423.
- Sphacteria, capture of, by the Turks, ii. 412.
- Spices, fall in, 1825-6, iii. 269 note.
- Spires, the bishop of, iv. 249.
- Spirits, rise in the duty on, i. 62—reduction of duties on, 1825, iii. 257 note—discussion on this, 257—increase of crime caused by it, 258—a fit subject for taxation, 259—dangers, &c., of cheap, *ib.*—quantity consumed, and criminal commitments, 1821-48, *ib.* note—Increase of duties on, 583—consumption of, in England, 1722 and 1833, v. 413—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—proposed increase in duties on, in Ireland, 296—decreased consumption of, in Ireland, 304—this only temporary, 305—increased consumption of, during railway mania, 340 note.
- Spitalfields, the silk-manufactures of, iii. 242—state of the silk-weavers in, 1830, 369 note—riots in, 369.
- Spleny, baron, a Hungarian emissary in Italy, viii. 111.
- Spohr, the works of, iv. 301.
- Spring Rice, Mr, arguments of, against repeal of the Union, v. 60 *et seq.*—statistics regarding Ireland given by, 61 note—becomes colonial secretary, 64—chancellor of exchequer, 1835, 420 and note—votes against Mr Villiers's motion on the corn laws, vi. 139.
- Stacey, colonel, at the Kojuck Pass, vii. 34—at Sobraon, 92, 93.
- Stack, major, forces under, in Scinde, vii. 60—at Hyderabad, 62.
- Stadion, count, minister of interior, viii. 237—during the discussion on the constitution, 239.
- Steel, M. de, views of on the electoral law, ii. 87—course followed by, after the fall of Decazes, 98.
- Steel, madame de, ii. 222—the works of, iii. 185 *et seq.*—on the works of Lessing, iv. 267—on Wieland, 268—on Goethe, 269—on comedy, 278—on the fine arts, 297—the Duke de Broglie married to the daughter of, v. 289.
- Stafford, intended rising at, 1817, i. 166.
- Staffordshire, additional members for, iv. 21 note—election of 1835 in, vi. 2—riots in, 1842, 284.
- Stage, the, present state of, in France, iii. 212—Influence of, on the modern French school of painting, 215—Goethe's picture of the influence of, iv. 271.
- Stamp duties, the, in Russia, ii. 25—proposed equalisation of, in Ireland, vi. 296.
- Stamp duty on pamphlets, law imposing, in France, iv. 369.
- Standard, denial of the intended repeal of the corn laws by the, vi. 361.
- Standard of value, effect of fluctuations in the, ii. 134—what is it? 137—Huskisson on, 200—Peel's definition of, vi. 328.
- Standing armies, increase of, from the revolution of 1848, i. 12.
- Standing army, want of a, in Poland, iv. 173.
- Standische Verfassung, the, in Germany, viii. 142.
- Stanhope, earl, speech of, on the national distress, 1830, iv. 376 *et seq.*
- Stanhope, Colonel Leicester, arrival of, in Greece, ii. 403.
- Stanley, Mr, afterwards lord, and Lord Derby, Irish secretary, 1830, iv. 4 note—and the prosecution of O'Connell, 1831, 19—views of, on titles in Ireland, v. 8—his picture of the state of the Irish clergy, *ib.*—arguments of, for Irish coercion bill, 16—arguments of, for Irish church bill, 24—prepares the negro emancipation bill, and his arguments for it, 46 *et seq.*—agrees to the grant of £20,000,000, 49—resignation of, 64—declines to join Sir R. Peel's minis-

Stanley, Mr. *continued*.

try, 407—opposes Lord Londonderry's appointment, 414—arguments of, against the Irish church motion, 418 *et seq.*—arguments of, against the municipal reform bill, vi. 7—against Irish corporation bill, 20—against Irish church bill, 23—votes for Irish municipal bill, 1889, 39—arguments of, against the Jamaica bill, 116—on Irish crime, 133—colonial secretary under Peel, 279—opposed in the cabinet to the views of Peel, 360—applied to to form a protectionist government, but declines, *ib.*—resigns, 361—arguments of, for the corn laws, 367—secession of Lord George Bentinck with, vii. 257—on the bankruptcies in Lancashire during 1847, 285 note.—*See* Derby, lord.

Starodub, statistics of, iv. 190.

State criminals, new law regarding, in Germany, iv. 245.

State debts, repudiation of, in the United States, vi. 61.

States-general, provision for, by the constitution of the Germanic confederacy, iv. 217—demands of the estates of Prussia for, 264—petition for the, in Prussia, 252—of Prussia, decree summoning the, powers conferred on them, &c., 255—opening of them, and king's speech, *ib.*—new constitution of the, in Holland, 1848, viii. 148.

Statesmen, change in the character of, ii. 211.

Statistique de la France, the, iii. 172.

Staufen, defeat of Struve at, viii. 175.

Staunton, captain, defeat of the Peishwah by, vi. 179.●

Steam, the applications of, to mechanical labour, and their effects, i. 22—its inapplicability to agriculture, 23 *et seq.*—effects of, on the struggle between labour and capital, iv. 82—importance of, in naval attacks on land defences, v. 357.

Steam communication, advantages and dangers of, i. 29.

Steam navigation, progress of, in Great Britain after the war, i. 215—influence of, on emigration, viii. 364.

Steamboat passengers, proposed duty on, iv. 15 note.

Steele, the essays of, i. 235.

Steele, Mr. violent language of, in Ireland, v. 17.

Stein, baron, the reforms of, in Prussia, iv. 236—the memoirs of, 287—changes introduced into Prussian Poland by, vii. 107—views of, on representation, viii. 142.

Stephen, the archduke, regent of Hungary, viii. 203, 204—appointed viceroy, 204—disavows the proceedings of Jellachich, 212.

Stephens, Mr. a chartist leader, charged with sedition, vi. 81.

Stephenson, the engineer, i. 233.

Steublé, Jacob, an accomplice of Hubert's, v. 352.

Stevenson, Mr. adjustment of the right of search question by, vi. 318.

Stewart, lord, ambassador at Vienna, recalled, iii. 226.

Stewart, Sir Charles, ii. 36—procures recognition of independence of Brazil, v. 111—

proceedings of, in Portugal, on the death of the king, 112, 113.

Stewart, Dugald, the philosophical works of, i. 228.

Stewart, Mr. of Omoa, during the Glasgow outbreak of 1848, vii. 295.

Steining, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Stipendiary magistrates, proposed appointment, powers, &c., of, in the West Indies, v. 47.

Stock Exchange, speculation in the, 1825, iii. 291.

Stockbridge, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.

Stockdale the bookseller, case of, and the privilege of parliament, vi. 130.

Stockport, member given to, iv. 21 note—suppression of Chartist meeting at, vi. 82—rates of mortality in, 1841, 283 note—distress in, 1841, 234.

Stoddart, colonel, mission of, on behalf of Herat, vi. 224.

Stofflet, column of, mutilated, iv. 822.

Stonambella, massacre of Cretans at, ii. 401.

Stoosha, general, minister-at-war, viii. 168.

Stöbpford, admiral, forces of, for the naval campaign in Syria, v. 272—bombardment of Beyrout, 273—further successes of, and attacks for Acre, 277—bombardment of it, *ib.*—receives Mehemet Ali's submission, 278—his capture of Acre as an instance of naval attack on land defences, 358.

Stopford, major, wounded at Maharajpore, vii. 70.

Stora, occupation of, by the French, v. 870.

Storey, major, at Hyderabad, vii. 82.

Storo, defeat of the Italians at, viii. 87.

Stourbridge, riots at, 1842, vi. 284.

Stradella, occupation of, by the Austrians, ii. 44.

Strang, Dr. statistics of births, &c., in Glasgow by, iv. 304 note.

Strangers, numbers of, in Paris, 1819, ii. 78.

Strangford, lord, sent as representative to the Congress of Verona, ii. 258—efforts of, to prevent a rupture between Russia and Turkey, 380.

Strasbourg, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146—the cathedral of, 299—outbreaks in, 1831, 813—the attempt of Louis Napoleon at, v. 319 *et seq.*—proposed railway from Paris to, 346—resistance to the new valuation in, vii. 146—Louis Napoleon at, 1850, viii. 346.

Strathaven, insurrectionary movement at, and its suppression, ii. 161.

Stratts, captain, i. 138.

Strauss's Life of Christ, character of, iv. 294—the alarm regarding it unfounded, *ib.*

Straw plait, proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 363.

Strikes, evils induced by, iii. 246—their frequency and extent, 247—causes of their frequency, *ib.*—true system to be adopted regarding, 248 *et seq.*—frequency of, since the reform bill, iv. 72—great, in Lyons, 1834, 374—insurrection on the trial of the leaders, *ib.*—great increase of, 1834 to 1837, vi. 73—effect of the cotton-spinners' trial on, 76—importance of the subject, and neglect of it, *ib.*—demoralising influence of, *ib.*—causes of the little attention paid to them,

Strikes, continued.

ib.—reasons why they are so frequent, 78—means of guarding against the evil, 79—cost of various, to the community, *ib.* note—frequency of, in France, 1840, &c., vii. 126—increasing frequency of, in Paris, 133—prevalence of, 1843, &c., vii. 286.

Strickland, Miss, the historical works of, i. 245.

Strogonoff, baron, at the Congress of Verona, ii. 258—ambassador to Turkey, disowns the Greek insurgents, 363—protest of, against the arrest of Dunesi, &c., 378—ultimatum presented by him, and its refusal, 379—breaks off diplomatic relations, *ib.*

Strosler, colonel, death of, ii. 65.

Struve, M., a member of the Diet, viii. 155—revolt under, 161—revolt under, in Baden, 175—his capture and sentence, *ib.*

Stuart, Lord Dudley, speech of, on the power of Russia in the East, vi. 29.

Stuart, a private, at the Rickabashee fort, vi. 254 note.

Stuart de Rothesay, lord, publication of alleged letters from Louis Philippe to, vii. 140.

Stubbs, general, v. 118.

Students, the, rising of, in Paris in 1820, ii. 103, 109—head the revolution in Vienna, viii. 202—their increased demands, 209.

Sturmer, count, viii. 318.

Stuttgart, society for liberty of the press at, iv. 363—excitement in, on the French revolution of 1848, vii. 149—removal of National Assembly to, 182—its violent proceedings at, and dissolution, *ib.*

Subjugation, universal feeling of resistance to, vi. 152.

Succession, change in order of, in Spain, iv. 118—war of the, its origin, &c., vii. 208.

Succession, law of, in Turkey, ii. 325—proposed changes in the law of, in France, iii. 38 *et seq.*—taxes on, in France, 174 note—additional duty on, in France, viii. 286.

Succession tax, the, iv. 60.

Suchtelen, count, operations of, in Persia, iii. 13—operations of, against Varna, 22.

Suda, blockaded by the Greeks, ii. 413.

Sudbury, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

Suddur-Adawlut, court of, at Calcutta, vi. 169.

Sue, Eugene, the novels of, iii. 210—a writer for the daily press, 211.

Sue d'Urgel, capture of, by the royalists, ii. 245.

Suez, opening of route to India by, vi. 205.

Suffering, influence of, as a corrective of nations, i. 30—effects of, on modern French literature, iii. 179—influence of, in inducing desire for political change, 293—rise of chartism from, vi. 82—prevalence of, in England, 1843, viii. 286.

Suffolk, additional members for, iv. 21 note.

Suffrage, the, terms of, as agreed on for the reform bill, iv. 15—extension of, would only increase corruption, 74—as regulated by constitution of 1830 in France, 99—lowering of, under Louis Philippe, 144—commencement of agitation for lowering, in France, v. 372—extension of, deferred by the Thiers ministry, 377—measures of

Hungarian Diet regarding, viii. 218.—See also Franchise.

Sugana, the Val, forcing of,* by the Austrians, viii. 97.

Sugar, rise in the duty on, i. 62—fall in, 1818 to 1822, ii. 145 note—decreased export of, from England, 1822, iii. 222—prices of, 1824-5, 251 note—fall in, 1825-6, 262 note—prices of, 1827-9, 373 note—prices of, 1824-32, iv. 63 note—colonial, necessity for reducing duty on, v. 42—estimated profit from cultivation of, 47—increased production of, and decline of population, *ib.*—oppressive character of the duties on it, 50—produce of, Jamaica, before and after emancipation, 52 note—and the West Indies, 1828-41, *ib.*—increased production of, in slave states, 53—decreased production of, in Jamaica, 1835, vi. 16—fall in price of, 1782-1837, 70 note—exports of, from West Indies before and after emancipation, 113 note—comparative consumption of, in England and abroad, 290—imports of, 1839-44, 311 note—produce of duties on, 1844, 327—increased consumption of, during railway mania, 340 note—reduction of duty on, 1845, 343—fall in price of, 1841 to 1845, 355 note—proposed reduction of duties on, 363—total consumption of, in Great Britain, vii. 221—effects of negro emancipation on production of, in West Indies, 223—imports of, from West Indies, 1847-9, 227 and note—increased production and importation of slave-grown, *ib.*—modification of duties on, during Irish famine, 243—increased consumption of, 1843-6, 260 note—prices of, 1845 to 1851, 286 note—decline in consumption of, in France, 1848, viii. 68.

Sugar duties, proposed changes in the, 1841, vi. 142—division on these, *ib.*—motion on the, 146—debate on reduction of the, 1844, 328—government plan for the, 1846, vii. 221—passing of the bill, 226—its results to the West Indies, 227—its effects on the slave trade, 228.

Sugden, Sir E., Irish chancellor, 1835, v. 407 note—lord chancellor of Ireland, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Suleau, M., appointed director of registers, &c., iii. 122.

Suliot, the, insurrection of, ii. 352—general insurrection of, 368—defeat of Chourchid Pacha by, 384—removal of, to the Ionian Isles, 388.

Sultan, despotic powers vested in the, ii. 324, 325.

Sumner, Mr Holme, vote of, on the civil list, 1830, iii. 404.

Sunderland, members given to, iv. 21 note—first appearance of cholera at, v. 5.

Sunderbund, formation of the, in Switzerland, vii. 354—proceedings of the great council against it, *ib.*—forces of the, 358—their defeat, 359.

Supelderda, general, v. 83.

Supervision, board of, established in Scotland, vi. 351.

Supplies, the, the alleged stoppage of, 1831, iv. 32—stoppage of, moved in 1837, vi. 33.

Suresne, chateau of, sacked by the mob, 1843, viii. 3.

Surrey, disturbances in, 1830, iii. 399—additional members for, iv. 21 note—comparative mortality in, and Manchester, vii. 263.

Suspension of cash payments, resumption of small notes during, iii. 289—decree for, in France, 1848, viii. 13.—See Cash payments.

Sussex, disturbances in, 1830, iii. 399—additional members for, iv. 21 note.

Sussy, Collin de, iii. 162, iv. 88—his reception at the Hotel de Ville, 89.

Sutlej river, the, vii. 77—passage of, by the Sikhs, 83—terms of treaty regarding, 95.

Suttee, abolition of, in India, vi. 203.

Sutton, Mr Manners, proposed as leader of House of Commons, iv. 51—elected Speaker, 1833, v. 14—majority against, as Speaker, 410.

Sutton, C. M., home under-secretary, 1841, vi. 280 note.

Suyshan, defeat of the Chinese at, vii. 19.

Suzzo, Prince Alexander, death of, ii. 362.

Swan River Settlement, the, vi. 124.

Sweaborg, bombardment of, as an instance of naval attack on land batteries, v. 368.

Sweden, the queen of, ii. 50—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—shipping employed in trade with, 233—exports to, 1840-9, 236 note—restrictive system of, vi. 144—acquisitions of Russia from, 213—treaty with, regarding the slave trade, vii. 138—intervention of, on the Schleswig question, viii. 160.

Swinton, the portraits of, i. 260.

Swiss, massacres of, during the Three Days, iii. 149.

Swiss Diet, predominance of the Radicals in, and their measures against the Sunderbund, vii. 354—efforts at accommodation, and military preparations, *ib.*

Swiss Guard, defeat of the, during the Three Days, iii. 144.

Swiss Guards, the papal, defection of, viii. 110.

Switzerland, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—number of children receiving education in, *ib.* 165—political contests in, 1830, iv. 117—jealousy excited in Austria by the changes in, 120—efforts of the French propagandists and Polish refugees in, 363—state of the secret societies in, v. 314—demands of France regarding the refugees, *ib.*—residence of the Duchess of St Leu and Louis Napoleon in, 319—intrigues of Louis

Napoleon in, and his extradition, 353—state of, since 1815, and progress of democracy, vii. 351—growth of radicalism in the cities, 352—origin of the religious disputes, *ib.*—invasion of the Free Bands under Ochsenbein, 353—which leads to the Sunderbund, 354—proceedings of the great council against it, *ib.*—preparations for civil war, 355—policy of France and Austria toward, *ib.*—policy of Lord Palmerston in supporting the Radicals, *ib.*—forces on both sides, 358—success of the Radicals, *ib.*—the mediation of the five powers declined, 359—acknowledgment of the French republic by, viii. 23.

Sydenham, lord, succeeds Lord Durham as governor of Canada, vi. 100—changes introduced into Canada by, 104.

Syghan, fort of, evacuated by the British, vi. 243.

Sykes, colonel, on the drain of the precious metals to India, vi. 151 note—on the government of Oude, vii. 111.

Sylhet, threatened by the Burmese, vi. 184—abandonment of, by the British, 187.

Syra, destruction of a Turkish vessel at, ii. 413.

Syracuse, surrender of, to the Neapolitans, viii. 126.

Syria, views of Mehemet Ali on, v. 244—physical description of it, *ib.*—its military character, *ib.*—cession of, to him, 255—his preparations in, 1838, 264—ultimate demands of the parties regarding, 269—conditions of treaty of five powers regarding, *ib.*—forces, &c., for the naval campaign in, 272—military description of, 273—submission of, to the sultan, 278—terms of treaty with Mehemet Ali regarding, 279.

Syrians, race of the, ii. 319.

Systemenoi, the, in the Hetairia, ii. 357.

Szachoffskoi, general, operations under, in Poland, iv. 192—at battle of Praga, 193.

Szawle, defeat of Gielgud at, iv. 207.

Szecklers, the, revolt of, viii. 250.

Szegedin, battle of, viii. 274.

Szela, Jacques, vii. 201.

Szenbek, general, iv. 180—at Grochow, 192, 193.

Szemere, colleague of Kossuth, viii. 223.

Szollas, capitulation of the Hungarians at, viii. 279.

Szolnok, defeat of the Austrians at, viii. 249.

T

Taad, success of Bem at, viii. 273.

Talriz, capture of, by the Russians, ii. 350.

Tabuena, defeat and death of, ii. 251.

Tafna, defeat of Abd-el-Kader on the, v. 334—relief of the blockaded French in, *ib.*—retreat of Abd-el-Kader to the, vii. 180.

Taganrog, last journey of the Emperor Alexander to, ii. 53—his last illness, and death there, *ib. et seq.*

Tahiti, increased dissension between England and France on the ground of, vi. 283—origin of the dispute with France regarding, 323—interference of the French mis-

sionaries, 324—the French take possession of it, *ib.*—affair of Mr Pritchard, 325—adjustment of the matter, *ib.*—excitement in France regarding, vii. 191—its settlement, 192—violence of the journals and in the Chamber on it, *ib.*

Tait, captain, at Meanee, vii. 58—at Hyderabad, 62.

Takicheff, M. de, at the Congress of Verona, ii. 258.

Talavera, defeat of the Spaniards at, ii. 290.

Talbot, lord, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 192—retires, *ib.*

- Talent, value of the close boroughs as admitting, iv. 26, 64—comparative exclusion of, under the reform bill, 73—driven to the press, 74.
- Talfourd, Mr. efforts of, on behalf of copyright, vi. 303.
- Talischhof, general, ii. 67.
- Talish, cession of Khanat of, to Russia, ii. 350.
- Tallada, a Carlist leader, defeat of, v. 224.
- Talleyrand, M., appointed to the ministry, i. 86—becomes premier, 87—opposes reactionary measures, 89—proposes the expatriation of the Count d'Artois, 91—advocates restoring the freedom of the press, 92—made member of Chamber of Peers, 94—supports the hereditary peerage, *ib.*—Fouché dismissed by, 104—fall of, and of his ministry, *ib.*—efforts of, for the escape of the proscribed Napoleonists, 123—and for the escape of Ney, 126—warning of Didier against, 150—efforts of, on behalf of Poland in 1815, ii. 2—on the capture of the Tuileries, iii. 161—views of, as to the succession to Charles X., iv. 85—recommends the Duke of Orleans to accept the lieutenant-general, 91—pacific policy of, 1830, 132—views of, regarding Holland and Belgium, 149—supports the election of Prince Leopold, 150—on the intervention of France and England in Belgium, 152—convention regarding Antwerp signed by, 143—signs the Quadruple Alliance, v. 134—resigns the embassy to London, 287—last illness and death of, 350—his character, 351.
- Talleyrand, Auguste de, resignation of, iv. 99.
- Tallow, prices, of, 1824-5, iii. 251 note—proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 362.
- Tallow candles, proposed reduction of duties on, iv. 15 note.
- Talma, the actor, iii. 212.
- Talon, M., ii. 96.
- Talon, general, recaptures the Hotel de Ville, iii. 142, 143.
- Tamworth, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note—Peel's address to electors of, 1835, v. 407.
- Tang, viceroy of Wantung, proceedings of, against the English, vii. 10.
- Tangiers, bombardment of, by the French, vii. 184.
- Taormina, defeat of the Sicilians near, viii. 125.
- Tao-tse, followers of, in China, vii. 6.
- Tara, language of O'Connell at monster meeting at, vi. 306.
- Tariff, the new, as proposed by Sir R. Peel, vi. 296—is passed, 299—circumstance which made it necessary, *ib.*—1840, 362—its alleged results, 365.
- Tarleton, captain, capture of Prome by, vii. 109.
- Tarragona, the archbishop of, a member of the regency at Urgel, ii. 251—surrender of town to the French, 292.
- Tartars, the invasions of India by the, vi. 208.
- Tartar soldiery of China, the, vii. 2.
- Tartar invasion, effects of the, on Russia, ii. 20.
- Tartary, acquisition of, by Russia, vi. 213.
- Tartas, colonel, at the battle of Isly, vii. 186.
- Taschereau, M., sub-prefect of department of the Seine, iv. 128.
- Tasso, Kara, at the battle of Modon, ii. 411.
- Tatar-Bazadjik, pass through the Balkan by, iii. 58.
- Tattah, town of, vii. 51—occupation of, by the British, 52.
- Tauris, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 12.
- Taurus range, the, v. 273—aspect of the villages, &c. of, ii. 328.
- Tavira, captured by Don Pedro, v. 130.
- Tavistock, the close borough of, iv. 16.
- Tavoy, cession of, to the British, vi. 192.
- Taxation, reduction of, on the peace not the cause of the distress, i. 47—direct and indirect, 53—rise of, during the war, 61—comparative lightness of, in Ireland, 68—demands for reduction of, in England, ii. 185—pressure of, as measured by price of grain, 200—reductions of, in Great Britain, 1823, iii. 222—1824, *ib.*—reductions of, 1826-28, 321—motion for revision of system of, 1830, 380—Mr. Haing on the reductions of, 1830, 384—the successive reductions of, the cause of the abandonment of the sinking fund, 385—not the original basis of representation, iv. 23—equal distribution of, in England under the old system, 60—unequal distribution of, since the reform bill, 71—impatience of, in Poland, and its effects, 173—concessions regarding, in Prussia, 249—powers of the States general of Prussia regarding, 255—pressure of, on West India produce, v. 50—alleged excess of, in Ireland, 59—reforms regarding, in Turkey, 267—relative amount of, in Great Britain and Ireland, vi. 34—indirect, impossibility of augmenting, in India, 163—pressure of, in Madras presidency, 200—exemptions from, in Hungary, viii. 143—equality of, established in Prussia, 172—measures of Hungarian Diet regarding, 213.
- Taxes, increased weight of, from the currency bill of 1819, i. 3—effects of the contraction of the currency on, 13—amount of, repealed after the peace, 199—new, imposed in 1819, 200—produce of, France, 1830, iii. 124—various, repealed in Great Britain, 1821-3, 221 note—amount of, remitted in England, 1822 5, 225—reduction of, 1825, 256—repeal of, 1826, 300—amount repealed, 1822 5, *ib.* note—repeal of, 1830, 382—indirect, their repeal the cause of the abandonment of the sinking fund, 385—amount repealed, *ib.* note—this due to the contraction of the currency, 385—refusal of payment of, agreed to at Birmingham, iv. 41—various, abolished by the urban constituencies, 71—increase of, under Louis Philippe, 381—reduction of, 1833, v. 31—excess of, in Great Britain over Ireland, 61 note—reduction of, 1844, vi. 327—pressure of, on land in France, vii. 119—indirect, repealed in France, 1848, and additions to direct, viii. 16.
- Taxis, Prince William, death of, viii. 96.
- Taylor, colonel, at the passage of the Khyber, vii. 27—death of, at Sobraon, 94.
- Taylor, Jeremy, the prose of, iv. 282.

- Taylor, Sir Herbert, negotiations of, with the Tory peers, iv. 50—present at the meeting regarding the creation of peers, 54 and note—his circular to the opposition peers, 54 note.
- Taylor, Mr., table of fall of prices by, vi. 70 note.
- Tehechiline, general, a Russian conspirator, ii. 62.
- Tehtodaëff, general, captures Debreczin, viii. 266.
- Tcherbutoff, general, corps under, 1828, iii. 14 note.
- Tchernigov, statistics of, iv. 190.
- Tcheskan, operations of Ibrahim Pacha at, v. 248.
- Tchesmé, the naval battle of, ii. 358.
- Tchevtsevadze, prince, iii. 87.
- Tchinn, system of the, in Russia, ii. 12—great power given by it, 13.
- Tchirkvona, combat at, iii. 56.
- Tchitinsk, the Russian political exiles at, ii. 71.
- Ten, new taxes on, 1819, i. 200—fall in, 1818 to 1822, ii. 145 note—prices of, 1824-32, iv. 63 note—consumption of, in England, 1722 and 1833, v. 413—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—produce of duties on, 1844, 327—increased consumpt of, during railway mania, 340 note—increased consumption of, 1843-6, vii. 260 note—prices of, 1845 to 1851, 286 note.
- Teesdale, colonel, at Meenae, vii. 57—death of, 58.
- Tuheran, assassination of the Russian minister at, iii. 88.
- Tekendorf, defeat of Bem at, viii. 273.
- Tel of Algeria, district of the, and its inhabitants, v. 329, vii. 167—influence arising from its possession, 168.
- Telford, Thomas, the engineer, i. 233.
- Tellier, colonel, trial and sentence of, for the conspiracy at Béfort, ii. 225.
- Temesvar, blockade of, viii. 258—the siege and defence of, 274—its relief by Haynau, 275 *et seq.*—battle of, *ib.*
- Tempe, the defile of, ii. 355—forced by the Turks, 388.
- Temperance leagues, formation, &c., of, in England, iii. 259.
- Temperance movement, the, in Ireland, vi. 304—its progress and decline, 305.
- Temporary relief act for Ireland, 1847, vii. 244—expenditure under it, and relief afforded, 246 note.
- Tempoure, colonel, defeat of Sidi-Embauck by, vii. 182.
- Temps, the, circulation of, iii. 118 note—office of, closed by government, 138—tone of, 1839, v. 364.
- Ten hours amendment, Lord Ashley's, and its fate in the Commons, iv. 313.
- Ten pound franchise, the, iv. 21—determined on for the reform bill, 15—eagerness of the towns for, 27—retained in the new reform bill, 46.
- Tenants-at-will, extension of the franchise to, iv. 38—clause regarding, retained in new reform bill, 46.
- Tenant right, demand of, for Ireland, vi. 376.
- Tenantry, the, estrangement between, and their landlords in Ireland, iii. 271—representation of, under the old constitution of England, iv. 59.
- Tenasserim, cession of, to the British, vi. 192.
- Tencdos, naval defeat of the Turks at, ii. 392.
- Tennant, J. E., secretary of board of control, 1841, vii. 280 note.
- Tennessee, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Tennyson, Alfred, the poems of, i. 227.
- Tenterden, lord, on the law as to seditious meetings, iv. 13 note—attack on, 44.
- Terceira, the duke de, advance of, to Lisbon, v. 181—capitulation of the Miguelites to, 157.
- Terceira, the expedition to, iii. 872—it is intercepted by the British cruisers, *ib.*—dispute between France and Portugal regarding blockade of, iv. 156—recognition of Don Pedro in, v. 123—expedition against, 124.
- Ternaux, returned for Paris in 1827, iii. 100.
- Ternova, passes through the Balkan by, iii. 58.
- Territorial aristocracy, difference between, and a commercial, i. 161.
- Test and corporation acts, the, Canning opposed to repealing, iii. 324—sketch of, 341—their repeal, 332 *et seq.*—reflections on it, 334.
- Teste, M., becomes minister of commerce, v. 285—keeper of the seals, &c., under Soult, 1839, 363 note—minister of public works under Soult, 1840, 391 note—the trial and conviction of, vii. 368.
- Texas, alleged inroad of the Americans into, 1819, i. 346—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 331 note—the appropriation of, by the United States, vi. 322.
- Texeiro, intrigues of, against Marotto, v. 230.
- Tezeen, defeat of the Afghans at, vii. 40.
- Thackeray, the novels of, i. 253.
- Thackwell, general, operations of, against the Sikhs, vii. 101—Sir Joseph, at Sobraon, 93.
- Thuin, major, death of, vi. 266.
- Thames tunnels, joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note.
- Tharin, Bishop of Strasburg, appointed preceptor to the Duke de Bordeaux, iii. 92.
- Theatre, decline of the, in France, iii. 212.
- Theatres of Paris, licentiousness of, 1832, iv. 354—sums voted to, 1838, v. 342 and note—public companies for, in France, 346 note—the French, state of, 1838, 348.
- Theiss river, the, viii. 241—passage of, by the Russians, 266.
- Thelin, Charles, aids Louis Napoleon to escape, vii. 206.
- Theodore Vladimarnko, heads the revolt in Wallachia, ii. 362—treachery and death of, 370.
- Theodorito, archbishop, vice-president of the Legislative Council of Greece, ii. 409.
- Theodorowitch, general, viii. 259, 262.
- Thersienstadt, meeting of Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia at, iv. 241.
- Thermow, capture of, by the Turks, ii. 378.

Thermopylae, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 373—
—repeated defeats of Chourchid Pacha at, 390.

Thesiger, Sir F., attorney-general, 1852, viii. 322 note.

Thessaly, the pacha of, operations under, in Macedonia, ii. 388—spread of the insurrection to, 368—successes of the Turks in, 373—successes of the Greeks in, 398—devastations of the war in, 409—included in Kingdom of Greece, iii. 65.

Thetford, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

Thibaudeau, Adolphe, at Lafayette's, iv. 90.

Thibet, kingdom and mountains of, vii. 3.

Thiele, M., a leader of the Puritan party in Prussia, iv. 258.

Thienfeld, M., viii. 237.

Thierry, Amadee, the works of, iii. 192.

Thierry, Auguste, the works of, iii. 192.

Thiers, M., connection of, with the Constitutionnel, ii. 82—attacks of, on the Polignac ministry, iii. 112—career and character of, 115—efforts of, against the Polignac ministry, 118—signs the protest against the ordinances, 138—course counselled by, 144—the historical works of, 94—a writer for the daily press, 211—supports the Orleansists, iv. 84—placard prepared by, in the Orleans interest, 86—mission of, to the Duke of Orleans at Neuilly, *ib.*—proceedings of, against the Napoleonists, 90—efforts of, to popularise the new dynasty, 94—returned to Deputies in 1831, 147—defence of the foreign policy of ministers by, 158 *et seq.*—arguments of, against the abolition of the hereditary peerage, 164—employment of Deutz by, 327—becomes minister of the interior, 342, 355—circular to prefects drawn up by, 355—large grant for public works moved by, 1833, 359—admissions of, regarding his history of the Revolution, 368—arguments of, for the law against associations, 371—animosity in the cabinet to, 372—becomes minister of the interior, *ib.*—during the insurrection of 1834, 377—policy of, on the Eastern question, 1839, v. 268—views, &c., of, on the Eastern question, and on the treaty of the allies regarding it, 271—statement by, of the French fleet in the Mediterranean, 1840, *ib.*—violence of, after the bombardment of Beyrout, 275—note of November 8th to the allied powers, 276—his fall, and succeeded by Guizot, *ib.*, 285—resumes office, 285—divergence of views between, and Guizot, 288—intrigues of, against de Broglie, 305—becomes premier, 307—his character as a statesman, 308 *et seq.*—course followed regarding the reduction of the interest question, *ib.*—declaration of his views, 309—attack on him in the Chamber, 310—financial statements, 311—negotiations of, regarding occupation of Cracow, *ib.*—other diplomatic treaties by, 312—proceedings of, regarding the refugees in Switzerland, 315—views of, on the Spanish question, and his resignation, 316—views of, on Algeria, 335—sent for by the king on Molé's resignation, and conditions demanded by him, 360—renewed attempt to form a ministry, *ib.*—excluded from the Soult ministry, 362—party headed by, 363—views of, as to the

Thiers, M., *continued.*

government of the executive, 373—speech of, on the Eastern question, 1840, *ib. et seq.*—heads the coalition against the ministry, 375—formation of second ministry of, 376—statement of his principles, 377—his first measures, *ib.*—his support, &c., in the press, 378—views of, and project for removing the bones of Napoleon to France, 379—inauguration of pillar to insurrection, 380—policy of, in the East, 384—views of, on the allied treaty, 386—vigorous measures proposed by, 387—great warlike preparations of, 388—change of policy, and abandonment of his warlike views, 389—communications with Guizot, 390 note—his resignation, 391—speech of, on the address, 392—majority against him, and charge of his speculating in the funds, 394—kind of fortification for Paris urged by, *ib.*—expenditure under, 395—errors committed by, on the Eastern question, 397 *et seq.*—increase of the deficit under, vii. 120—popularity of his ministry from its aggressive tendencies, 127—answer of, on parliamentary reform, 129 *et seq.*—the railway scheme of, 135—arguments of, for the regency bill, 156 *et seq.*—position taken up by, 159—his character as a statesman, 160—as a public speaker, *ib.*—his fate as a minister, 161—argument of, against the Jesuits, 193—circular to the electors by, 1846, 207—joins the coalition against the government, 372—efforts of, against the Socialists, 374—speech of, on the finances, 1848, 377—sent for to form a ministry, 391—orders the withdrawal of the troops, 393—resigns, 394—at the last council of Louis Philippe, *ib.*—appearance of, in the Deputies after the flight of the king, 399—indecision of, on the crisis of 1848, 402—returned to the National Assembly, viii. 41—views of, as to the Socialists, 343—one of the committee on electoral rights, 344—speech of, in the Assembly, 349—votes against revision of the constitution, 351—views of, before the coup d'état, 353—arrested, 355.

Thirlwall, the History of Greece by, i. 247.

Thirsk, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

Thirst, sufferings, &c., from, during Afghan-istan expedition, vi. 231.

Thistlewood, Arthur, sketch of the career of, ii. 157—heads the Cato Street conspirators, *ib.*—their designs, 158—their final plans, *ib.*—conflict in the Cato Street loft, 159—his execution, 160.

Thomas, captain, at Ali-Musjid, vii. 24.

Thomas, colonel, during the insurrection of June, viii. 47.

Thomas, Emile, abuses under, viii. 42.

Thomas, general, appointed to command National Guard, viii. 39.

Thomson, major, at the assault of Ghuznee, vi. 234, 235.

Thomson, Mr Powlett, motion for revision of system of taxation by, 1830, iii. 380—treasurer of the navy, 1830, iv. 4 note—becomes president of the board of trade, v. 64—president of board of trade, 1835, 420 note—succeeds Lord Durham as governor of Canada, vi. 100—vote of, on the corn laws, 139.

- Thomson, the paintings of, i. 259.
 Thorburn, the portraits of, i. 260.
 Thornton, Sir E., ambassador to Portugal, v. 90.
 Thornton, general, i. 172.
 Thornton, Mr., on the resumption of cash payments in 1818, i. 177.
 Thorwaldsen, the works of, iv. 207.
 Thours, insurrection at, 1822, ii. 225.
 Thought, general power of, over mankind, i. 28—advantages as regards the communication of, from steam, &c., 20—increasing influence of, in governments, ii. 211.
 Three Days, the, *see* France, Charles X. &c.
 Three and a-half per cents, reduction of the, in England, v. 326.
 Three per cents, error of Pitt in borrowing in the, vi. 326.
 Thugs, destruction of the, in India, vi. 204.
 Thurgovia, changes in constitution of, 1830, iv. 117.
 Thurles, capture of Smith O'Brien at, vii. 302.
 Thurn, count, viii. 90—junction of, with Radetsky, *ib.*—repulsed at Vicenza, 91—reinforcements brought up by, 99—repulse of, at Rivoli, 100—occupies Parma, 107—surrender of Charles Albert to, 119—occupies Ferrara, 124.
 Ticino, passage of the, by the Sardinians, viii. 114.
 Ticket-of-leave system, introduction of, and its results, viii. 307.
 Tidd, one of the Cato Street conspirators, ii. 158—execution of, 159.
 Tieck, the works of, iv. 278.
 Tiegle, the, in Russia, its advantages and evils, ii. 15—way in which it is carried into effect, 16.
 Tierney, Mr., on the budget for 1816, i. 56—arguments of, on agricultural distress, 1816, 59—arguments of, 1816, for the resumption of cash payments, 64—on the distress, &c., in 1817, 164—on the resumption of cash payments, 175—motion by, on the bank restriction act, 189—arguments of, against the foreign enlistment bill, 209—suggests the appointment of Lord Althorpe as leader of the finance committee, iii. 327—declaration by, against reform, 387 note.
 Tiers état, progress of the, in Germany, iv. 256.
 Tiers Parti, the, in the Chamber of Deputies, 1834, v. 288.
 Tigh Singh, vii. 80.
 Tighe, an Irish leader, trial of, vii. 302.
 Tiles, reduction of duty on, v. 31 note.
 Tile-draining, general introduction of, viii. 204.
 Timber, colonial, proposed duty on, iv. 15 note—proposed reduction of duty on, vi. 296—and again, 362.
 Timber duties, proposed changes in the, 1841, vi. 142.
 Times, the, violence of, on the reform question, iv. 28 note—violent language of, during the elections of 1831, 83—violent language of, against the Wellington ministry, 83 note—attacks on the Melbourne ministry by, v. 79—on the new poor-law, 1839, vi. 72—on the effects of the currency system, 301—announcement in, of the ap-
 proaching repeal of the corn laws, 361—on the commercial crisis of 1856, 307 note.
 Timour, route of, to India, v. 208, 209.
 Timour, prince, son of Shah Soojah, forces under, for expedition into Afghanistan, vi. 227—passage of the Khyber by forces under, 232—disorders of troops of, 240, 246.
 Tindall, Sir N., solicitor-general, iii. 314 note.
 Tinghae, capture of, by the British, vii. 16.
 Tipperary, the assizes for 1822 in, ii. 194—threatened insurrection in, 1828, iii. 838—disturbed state of, 1830, 375—outrages in, 1831, iv. 48—proclamation of, in 1832, v. 10—tihe outrages in, 1836, vi. 24—agrarian outrages in, 1846, 374, 375 note—increase of crime in, 1847, vii. 274 and note.
 Tithes, abolition of, by the Cortes in 1820, i. 355—different mode of collecting, in England and Ireland, iii. 275—organised resistance to, in Ireland, 1832, v. 7—committees on them, and their abolition, *ib.*—advantages of this, 8—facts brought out in the evidence, *ib. et seq.*—government plan, and O'Connell's opposition to it, 9—increased agitation against, 11—small amount individually due, *ib.*—new ministerial project regarding, in Ireland, 26—causes of the resistance to, 67—proposed substitution of land tax for, *ib.*—armed resistance to, in Ireland, 79—commutation of, bill for, 1835, 414—causes of the combination in Ireland against, 418—renewed agitation against, in Ireland, vi. 24—measures of Hungarian Diet regarding, viii. 218.
 Tithe bill for England, introduction of, 1836, vi. 27—Ireland, progress of, v. 67—opposition of all parties to it, 68—ultimate fate of, 72.
 Tithe composition act, the Irish, its provisions, &c., iii. 275—its beneficial working, 277.
 Tithe conflicts in Ireland, 1831, iv. 48.
 Titles, hereditary, in Russia, ii. 12.
 Tittoff, baron, viii. 318.
 Tittery, surrender of, to Abd-el-Kader, v. 339.
 Tiemsen, attempt of Abd-el-Kader on, and its relief by Clausel, v. 333—danger of the French in, 334—relieved, *ib.*—measures of Bugeaud for relief of, 338—terms of treaty of La Tafna regarding, 339—capture of, by the French, vii. 180.
 Tobacco, new taxes on, 1819, i. 200—prices of, 1824-5, iii. 251 note—fall in, 1825-6, 262 note—proposed reduction of duties on, iv. 14 and note—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—imports of, 1839-44, 311 note—increased consumption of, during railway mania, 340 note—slave-grown, Lord John Russell on the admission of, vii. 222.
 Tocqueville, count de, created a peer, iii. 99—the works of, 204—speech of, on the address, 1848, vii. 377.
 Todd, captain, sent to superintend the fortifying of Herat, vi. 241—retires from Herat, 246.
 Toikari, reduction of, by the Turks, ii. 401.
 Tokay, exploit of Cossacks at, viii. 260.
 Toledo, the archbishop of, v. 108.
 Toleration, theoretic establishment of, in Turkey, ii. 330—effects of, in the Nether-

Toleration, *continued*.

lands, iv. 110—provision for, in the Germanic confederacy, 217—declaration of, by Frederick-William, 251—religions in India, vi. 204.

Tolleron, arrest and execution of, i. 151.

Tolls, pressure of, in South Wales, and the Rebecca riots against them, vi. 314 *et seq.*

Tolosa, advance of the French to, ii. 288—their reception in, 289—captured by the Carlists, v. 180. ●

Tolstoy, count, at battle of Tzombor, viii. 269.

Tombazi, operations of, in Candia, 1823, ii. 400.

Tommasio, a Venetian demagogue, viii. 70—liberation of, at Venice, 71—at head of provisional government, *ib.*

Tomosch, pass of, forced by the Russians, viii. 272.

Tongres, defeat of the Belgians at, iv. 153.

Tonnage duty, abolishment of the, ii. 204.

Tooke, Mr., on the financial position of England in 1819, ii. 142—on the fall of prices and consequent distress in 1819, &c., 145 note—on the state of trade, &c., in 1823-24, iii. 250—the free-trade petition drawn up by, 238—on the anxiety caused by the export of gold, vi. 67—on the railway crisis, vii. 268.

Toola Bye, murder of, vi. 181.

Tootundurrah, defeat of Dost Mahommed at, vi. 243.

Top-Dagh, storming of the, iii. 46.

Tophani, great fire at, ii. 305.

Topjees, the Turkish, ii. 337.

Toreno, the marquis, a leader in the Cortes of 1820, i. 355—new society headed by, ii. 339—supports the law against the press, 240—threatened by the mob, *ib.*—a member of the Spanish committee in France, iv. 108—minister of war, v. 190.

Tories, the, want of social influence among, i. 268—support the bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, iii. 353—division among, from the effects of the contraction of the currency, 367—their indignation at Catholic emancipation, 368—secession of, from the Wellington ministry, 377—feelings of, toward George IV., 389—objects of, in desiring reform, 401—views of, on the Irish church commission, v. 67—creations of peers by, vi. 15 note—gains of, by the elections of 1841, 147—different views of Peel taken by, at different times, vii. 272—coercion bills for Ireland brought in by, 373.—*See also* Conservatives.

Toro, defeat of the royalists at, ii. 252.

Toronto, advance of the insurgents on, vi. 92, 93—their defeat, 93.

Torot, Colonel Ignatz, execution of, viii. 261.

Torrijos, general, liberal revolt under, v. 99.

Torrilla, prince, vii. 349, viii. 77.

Tortona, occupation of, by the Austrians, ii. 42.

Tortosa, ravages of yellow fever in, ii. 237—capture of, by the allies, v. 277.

Torture, abolition of, in Spain, i. 334—abolition of, among the Cossacks, iii. 10—use of, in China, vii. 6.

Tory party, the, breaking up of, iii. 377—reunion of, under Peel, iv. 26—breaking up

of, by the corn-law question, vii. 219—this done by its own leaders, *ib.*—entire breaking up of, 275.

Totness, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.

Toula, population of, ii. 11 note.

Toulon, insurrectionary attempt at, 1821, ii. 228—preparations for the expedition to Algiers at, iii. 126—outbreaks in, 1831, iv. 313—reform banquet at, 1840, vii. 131—fire in the arsenal of, 367.

Toulouse, the archbishop of, iii. 74. 105—royalist atrocities at, i. 100—proposed railway from Paris to, v. 346—reform banquet at, vii. 131—riots in, 1841, against the new valuation, 147—revolutionary banquet at, 1848, viii. 62.

Toultscha, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 20.

Tour, prince de la, ii. 41—anti-revolutionary efforts of, at Turin, 42, 43.

Toungunoff, Nicholas, condemned to Siberia, ii. 69.

Tourkmanetchai, treaty of, iii. 13.

Tourlain, M. de, death of, at Belfort, ii. 225.

Tourret, M., minister of commerce, viii. 51 note.

Tours, arrest of the ex-ministers of Charles X. at, iv. 107—reform banquet at, vii. 131.

Tower, preparations against the Chartists at the, vii. 297.

Towns, inability of large, to support their numbers, i. 24—predominance of democratic passion in, 34—increase of crime in, 201—the Spanish, prevalence of liberalism in, 324—large, want of, in Russia, ii. 8, 11—population of principal, in Russia, 11 note—the French, state of public feeling in, 229—policy of government toward, in Turkey, 326—the Ayans in the Turkish, 330—population of, in Turkey, 331—increased value of houses in, in France, iii. 124—the French, absence of religious restraints in, 169—large proportion of natural children in, *ib.*—crowding of population into, in France, 175—the great commercial and manufacturing, want of representation of, in Great Britain, 365—collision of interests between, and those of the counties, 366—increase of realised wealth in the, 378—the great, influence of the railway system on, 397—excitement in, 1830, iv. 12—excitement in, on the reform bill, 27—increased number of members for, under new reform bill, 46—representatives of, in the States-general of Prussia, 255 note—the French, state of the working classes in, 1831, 302—the elections for 1833 in the large, v. 13—predominance given to the, by the reform bill, vi. 46—growth of aristocracy in the, in the United States, 51—outcry in, against the corn laws, 138—effects of the railway system on the large, 340—the Scottish, increase of pauperism in, 350—objects of, in seeking repeal of the corn laws, 381—comparative mortality of, and the country, vii. 271—increase of population in, in France, 814—influx into, in France from the country, 134—the Swiss, progress of Radicalism in, 352—increased influence given by railways to, viii. 295.

Town districts, comparative mortality of, viii. 302.

- Tracy, M. de, minister of marine, 1848, vii. 67.
- Tracy, Leon, a member of Louis Napoleon's cabinet, viii. 332.
- Trade and manufactures, debate in parliament on, 1817, i. 171—sound condition of, in England, to end of 1824, iii. 250—contempt for, among the Afghans, vi. 209—improvement in, 1843, 310.
- Traders, distress of the, in Great Britain, 1839, vi. 65.
- Trades unions, origin, &c., of, in England, i. 363—violence employed by, iii. 245—measures of the Germanic Diet against, iv. 244—origin of, vi. 72—violences of, 73—effect of the cotton-spinners' trial with regard to, 76.
- Trading class, the, in Russia, ii. 14.
- Trading classes, the, prosperity of, in Paris under the Restoration, iii. 171—accumulations of capital by, iv. 78—influence of, in the boroughs, 70—prosperity of, in France, 81—alarm of, at the income tax, vi. 297.
- Trafalgar, monument voted for battle of, i. 69.
- Tragala, Perro, the, the Spanish revolutionary song, ii. 245.
- Training, military, act for prohibiting, ii. 153.
- Trajan, the wall of, iii. 17.
- Trajanopolis, advance of the Russians to, iii. 61.
- Transfers of land, taxes on, in France, iii. 174 note.
- Transport, defective means of, in India, vi. 162.
- Transportation, practical abandonment of, i. 205—advantages of, and its abandonment, vi. 122—relinquishment of the system, vii. 304 *et seq.*—effects of the abandonment, 306.
- Transylvania, proposed union of, to Hungary, viii. 207—operations of Bem in, 243, 249—occupied by the insurgents, 250—defeats of Bem, &c., in, 272.
- Trant, Inspector, defeat of Smith O'Brien and the Irish rebels by, vii. 301.
- Trajan, surrender of, to the Neapolitans, viii. 126.
- Trappist, the, a royalist leader in Spain, *see* Maranon.
- Tras-os-Montes, royalist insurrection in, ii. 301—Miguelite insurrection in, v. 120.
- Travel, extension of, to the middle classes by the railway system, iii. 307.
- Travelling, passion for, in Russia, ii. 22.
- Treason, inexpedience of punishing with death, i. 158—defect in the English law regarding, 169—commencement of the trials for, in France in 1834, v. 290—effect of the mode of trial resolved on, *ib.*—commencement of the trial, and contest with the Bar, 291—contest about the choice of defenders, 292—the proceedings, *ib.*—the accused refuse to plead, *ib.*—progress of the trial, 293—continued disorders, and letter of Andry de Puyraveau, *ib.*—proceedings in the deputies regarding the trials, 294—the trials disjoined, and escape of part of the prisoners, *ib.*—conclusion of them, 295—reflections on them, *ib.* *et seq.*
- Treasurership of the navy, motion on the, iii. 331.
- Trebizond, population of, ii. 331 note—
- threatened by the Russians, iii. 47—establishment of academy at, v. 267.
- Tregony, disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Troglay, general, death of, iii. 27.
- Treillard, M., prefect of police, resignation of, iv. 128.
- Trelat, M., at the Hotel de Ville, iv. 89—speech of, on his trial for treason, v. 296—minister of public works, 1848, viii. 36 note.
- Tremouille, the prince de la, i. 118.
- Tient, insurrection in, viii. 82—recaptured, 83.
- Trent Valley Railway, commencement of the, by Sir R. Peel, vi. 342.
- Trestailon, a royalist assassin, i. 101—tried and acquitted, *ib.*
- Tretes, defeat of the Turks at, ii. 390.
- Treves, the holy coat of, and excitement caused by it, iv. 253.
- Trevino, captured by the Carlists, v. 179.
- Treviso, the duke of, made a peer, i. 314—invested by the Austrians, viii. 97—capitulation of, *ib.*—garrisoned by Radetsky, 98.
- Trevor, captain, murder of, with Macnaghten, vi. 261.
- Trezel, general, defeat of, by Abd el-Kader, v. 332.
- Trionon, retreat of Charles X. to, iii. 154.
- Tribune, the, denunciations of Casimir Perier by, iv. 145—suppression of, 334—violent language, &c., of, 1833, 367 note—suppression of, 1834, 377.
- Tricolor, hoisting of the, in Paris in 1830, iii. 142—change in, 1848, viii. 2.
- Tricorpha, defeat of the Greeks at, ii. 415.
- Tricoupi, M., Greek minister, vii. 335.
- Trieste, extension of railway lines to, iv. 252.
- Trim, O'Connell at monster repeal meeting at, vi. 306.
- Tripoli (Africa), the hey of, negotiations with, regarding piracy, &c., i. 74.
- Tripoli (Asia Minor), population of, ii. 331 note—defeat of the Turks at, v. 246—secured by treaty to Mehmet Ali, 255—capture of, by the allies, 277.
- Tripolitza, description of, and its siege by the Greeks, ii. 374—storming and massacre of, 375—importance of its capture, *ib.*—surrender of, to the legislature, 403—capture of, by Ibrahim Pacha, 414.
- Tristany, a Carlist leader, v. 215.
- Trocadero, assault of the, at Cadiz, ii. 295.
- Tronchet, M., a leader of the Parti-prêtre, iii. 75.
- Tronson, colonel, check of, at Joolgah, vi. 244.
- Troppau, the congress of, ii. 36—its proceedings, *ib.*—discussion in parliament on it, 181.
- Trott, M. de, iv. 239 note.
- Troubetzkoi, prince, a leader of the Russian conspirators, ii. 59, 61—named dictator by the conspirators, 61, 64—cowardice and arrest of, 66—condemned to Siberia, 69.
- Troubetzkoi, the princess, accompanies her husband to Siberia, ii. 71—cruelty of Nicholas to her, 72.
- Trouve-Chauvel, M., appointed minister of police, viii. 39.

Troy, siege of, European and Asiatic character as exhibited in, iv. 171.
 Troyes, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146—resistance to the valuation in, vii. 146.
 Truguet, admiral, made a peer, i. 314.
 Truro, lord, decides against right of able-bodied poor to relief in Scotland, vi. 351.
 Truro, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
 Truxillo, capture of, by the French, ii. 291.
 Tse-Kee, defeat of the Chinese at, vii. 17.
 Tskhedjeri, repulse of the Russians at, iii. 48.
 Tskhout, defeat of the Turks at, iii. 34.
 Tudors, Mr, map by, of the Maine boundary, vi. 319.
 Tuffnell, Mr, views of, regarding the poor law, vi. 71 note.
 Thileries, the, return of Louis XVIII to, i. 88—threatened by the insurgents in 1820, ii. 109—capture of, by the insurgents, iii. 148—importance of the capture of, 161—last council of Louis Philippe at, vii. 394—sacking of, 1848, viii. 3.
 Tulloch, brigadier, during advance to Cabul, vi. 39.
 Tunis, the Bey of, negotiations with, regarding piracy, &c., i. 74.
 Turban, reintroduction of the, in Turkey, v. 267.
 Tureoing, defeat of French revolutionists at, viii. 23.
 Turiak, defeat of Bem at, viii. 273.
 Turin, revolution in, i. 370—evacuation of, by the revolutionists, ii. 43—reception of Lord Minto in, vi. 345—excitement in, for renewal of the war, viii. 111.
 Turkey, recent acquisitions of Russia from, i. 7—tendency of Russia toward, ii. 18—Russian intervention in, 347—conquests of Peter the Great from, 348—treaty of Bucharest, 349—treaties between Russia and, regarding the principalities, 350 note—the cession of Parga to, in 1819, 359—its surrender to her, *ib*—effects of the Spanish revolution on, 360—state of, in 1821, 361—its military weakness at this time, *ib*—commencement of the Greek insurrection, 362—first measures of the government, 363—spread of the insurrection throughout Greece, 365—excitement at Constantinople, 366—murders of Greeks, *ib*—measures of the Sultan, 367—cruelties in Asia Minor, *ib*—massacres in Cyprus, 368—the insurrection general, *ib*—war between, and Persia, 378—disputes and negotiations with Russia, *ib*—ultimatum of the latter, and its refusal, 379—her ultimatum, *ib*—efforts of the English ambassador to avoid a rupture, 380—losses of, by campaign of 1823, 383—earthquakes, &c., in, 394—renewed negotiations with Russia, *ib*—revolution in favour of the Janizaries, 395—preparations of, for campaign of 1824, 404—terms proposed by the three powers regarding Greece to, 425—reply of her government, *ib* *et seq.*—preparations of, 426—final note of the allies, and reply, 427—duty and advantage of early interference between her and Greece, 432—conduct of, on the battle of Navarino, and rupture with the allies, 430—late of the negotiations with Russia, 1826, iii. 3—measures

Turkey, *continued*, resolved on against the Janizaries, *ib*—new statute regarding the Janizaries, 4—their insurrection, 5—their defeat and destruction, *ib* *et seq.*—effects of their destruction, 6—civil reforms, 7—negotiations with Russia, and demands of the latter, *ib*—these acceded to, 8—convention of Ackerman, *ib*—its disastrous consequences to her, 9—further reforms of Mahmoud in, *ib*—preparations of Russia for war with, 13—recriminations between, and Russia, *ib*—commencement of hostilities, 15—preparations of, *ib*—forces raised, *ib*—critical position of, 1828, and firmness of the government, 23—losses of, during campaign of 1828, 30—preparations of, for the campaign of 1829, 38—preparations of, for campaign of 1829 in Europe, 49—naval forces of, 1829, 52—the treaty of Adrianople, 62 *et seq.*—final convention regarding Greece, 64—effects of the severance of Greece on, 65—the alleged regeneration of, 67—policy of Russia toward, in treaty of Adrianople, *ib*—difficulty of her conquest, *ib*—her strength from situation, 68—destined triumph of Christianity in, 69—reciprocity treaty with, 231 note—commercial treaty of Prussia with, 1841, iv. 250—resolution of the Congress of Muntz-Graetz regarding, 364—effects of the possession of Constantinople on, v. 242—her weakness after the peace of Adrianople, *ib*—Mehemet Ali in Egypt, 243—origin of the war with him, 244—commencement of it, 245 *et seq.*—results of the campaign, and great preparations, 248—danger of, after the battle of Konieh, 251—applies to England, and is refused succour, *ib*—reasons for not applying to France, 252—makes application for help to Russia, *ib*—which is accorded, 253—the government endeavours to countermand the Russian succours, and breach of the negotiations, *ib*—fresh Russian expedition, 254—mission of Lord Durham, &c., to Russia regarding, *ib*—terms exacted by the latter from her, *ib*—treaty between Mehemet Ali and, 255—treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi with Russia, *ib*—remonstrances of the western powers against it, 256—new treaty regarding Greece, 259—commercial treaty between England and, 263—increasing coldness between France and, *ib*—mutual recriminations between, and Mehemet Ali, 264—efforts of France and England to avert hostilities, *ib*—commences hostilities, *ib*—forces of, 265—battle of Nezib, 266—treacherous surrender of her fleet, *ib*—death and character of Sultan Mahmoud, *ib*—effect of his reforms on her power, *ib*—revival of pacific views, 267—reforms and changes under Abdul Medjid, *ib*—revolution in Servia, 268—danger of second intervention of Russia, and views of the European powers, *ib*—ultimate demands of, regarding Egypt, 269—treaty with the four powers for settlement of question, *ib*—terms finally granted by, to Mehemet Ali, 278—treaty concluded, 279—treaty with the European powers regarding the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, *ib*—her true

Turkey, continued.

danger from Russia, 280—fatal effect of the refusal of aid to her by England, 281—convention with Russia for evacuation of Silistria, 312—debate in Deputies on, 1839, 366 *et seq.*—Thiers's policy toward, 384—final treaty between Mehemet Ali and, 396—danger from Russia to, since treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 397—acquisitions of Russia from, vi. 213—prostration of, before Russia, 215—the secret object of the Emperor Nicholas's visit to England, 334—flight of the Hungarian refugees into, viii. 280—demands of Russia for expulsion of Hungarian refugees, 317.

Turkey in Europe, population of, ii. 324—classification of the population, 325 note

Turks, the, race of, ii. 319—system of government of, *ib.*—the military strength of the empire derived from them, 320—character of, 329—skill of, in the use of arms, 338—their defence of fortresses, 339—causes of their obstinate defence of these, 340—Russian mode of fighting them, *ib.*—exasperation between, and the Greeks, before the revolt, 352—massacres of, in Moldavia, 363—enthusiasm of, against the Moldavian insurgents, 364—successes of, in the Morea, 1821, 372—renewed massacres by, in Smyrna, 376—naval defeats of, 392—results of campaign of 1823, 393—plans of, for the campaign of 1823, 397—preparations of, for campaign of 1825, 410—forces of, at Navarino, 428—their defeat there, *ib. et seq.*—atrocities of, during the Greek war, 432—excitement of, on the passage of the Balkan, iii. 62—number of, in Algiers, 130 note—disastrous effects of the conquest of the Byzantine empire by, iv. 172.

Turkish empire, the, vehemence of the strife of races in, ii. 318—variety of races in it, 319—division of Christians and Mussulmans in, *ib.*—system of government, *ib.*—the division of races made it more easy, 320—its military strength derived from the Turks, *ib.*—its civil business conducted by the Greeks, 321—increase of Christians as compared with Turks, *ib.*—general decrease of population in, 323—statistics of it, *ib.*—in what does the oppression consist, 324—the lives and property of all belong to the Sultan, 325—great extent of land held in mortmain, 326—injury done by importation, *ib.*—venality in holders of office, 327—weakness of the executive, *ib.*—venality and corruption of justice, 328—weakness of government in, *ib.*—effects of the want of means of communication, *ib.*—excellent qualities in the native character, 329—the theory of the government mild, *ib.*—the Aynas, 330—the village system, *ib.*—revenue of, 331—population of the towns and

decline of the country, *ib.*—multitude of servants in, *ib.*—its variable strength, 332—great vicissitudes in its history, *ib.*—independence of the larger pachas, and weakness of central government, 333—importance of its capital on the fortunes of mankind, *ib.*—maritime forces of, 336—the Janizaries, *ib.*—the cavalry, 337—loss of its light horse, 338—sources of its present strength, *ib.*—fortifications, and mode of defending them, 339—natural defences of, 341—the Danube as its frontier stream, *ib.*—the Balkan, *ib.*—the command of the sea or support of Austria necessary to Russian conquest of, 343—defences of the Asiatic provinces of, 344—the Caucasus as a military barrier, *ib.*—description of Asia Minor, 345—the Caucasian tribes, 346.

Turkish fleet, treacherous surrender of, to Mehemet Ali, v. 266, 279.

Turkish war, effect of the, in augmenting the danger from Russia, vi. 214.

Turna, capture of, by the Russians, iii. 50.

Turner, a Radical, execution of, i. 165.

Turner, Sharon, the historical works of, i. 240.

Turner, the paintings of, i. 259.

Turnips, increased produce of, in Ireland, 1849-53, vii. 316 note.

Turnpikes, the pressure of, in South Wales, and the Rebecca riots against them, vi. 314 *et seq.*—proposed new regulations regarding, 1846, 363.

Turnpike trusts, consolidation of, in Wales, vi. 315—necessity for reform in, 316 note.

Tuscany, contributions from France to, i. 109 note—the princess of, at Verona during the congress, ii. 259—attempted insurrection in, 1830, iv. 132—treaty with, regarding the slave trade, vii. 138—liberal policy in the grand-duchy of, 340—annexation of Lucca to, 346—the grand-duke of, constitution granted by, viii. 70—amnesty proclaimed in, 80—auxiliary troops from, *ib.*—excitement in, after the fall of Milan, 107—

anarchy in, 109—grand-duke retires to Gaeta, 111—counter revolution in, 123—dispersion of Garibaldi's troops in, 130—restoration of grand-duke, 132.

Twelve judges, decision of the, on O'Connell's case, vi. 309.

Tykokzyn, defeat of the Russians at, iv. 204.

Tynemouth, member given to, iv. 20 note.

Tyre, military importance of, in time of Alexander, v. 245—position of, 273.

Tyrol, measures of Radetsky to secure, viii. 32—rising in favour of Austria, 33—invasion of, by the Free Corps, 85—their defeat, *ib.*—operations of Welden in, 97—representation of the peasantry in, 143—flight of the emperor to, 210.

Tytler's History of Scotland, on, i. 242.

Tzombor, combat at, viii. 269.

U

Ubicini, on agriculture and population in Turkey, ii. 321 note—classification of the Turkish population by, 324 note.

Udine, prices of wheat at, 1817 and 1819, ii.

141 note—capture of, by the Austrians, viii. 90.

Uhland, the poems of, iv. 280—rejected for the General Diet, viii. 155.

Ukraine, the journey of Alexander over, *ii.* 33—originally a part of Poland, *iv.* 173—statistics of, 190—insurrection in, and its suppression, 202.

Ulema or Oulema, the, in Turkey, *ii.* 328.

Ulikow, defeat of Gallician insurgents at, *vii.* 201.

Ulloa, M., Spanish minister, *v.* 108.

Ulm, the cathedral of, *iv.* 299.

Ulater, state of the population of, *ii.* 102—Catholics and Protestants in, *iii.* 277 note—tenants' right in, *vi.* 376.

Umballa, preparations at, *vii.* 80.

Uminski, general, forces under, *iv.* 197—defeat of, near Iganie, 200—operations of, at Ostrolenka, 203—at assault of Warsaw, 212—at Lamarque's funeral, 331.

Umritzur, city of, *vii.* 77.

Umr Singh, a Ghoorka chief, defeat of, *vi.* 176—surrender of, 177.

Uniform representation, dangers of, *iv.* 24—arguments against, 35 note—error committed in system of, 69—evils, &c., of, 79.

Uniform suffrage, dangers and evils of, *iv.* 144.

Union, repeal of the, the agitation for it in Ireland, *iii.* 274—one object of the Catholic Association, 278—resistance to, in Ireland, 360—commencement of agitation for, 374—increased agitation, *iv.* 13—commencement of the agitation for it, *v.* 57—O'Connell's arguments for it, 58 *et seq.*—and those against it, 60—result of debate, 62—increased agitation for it, 63—its chances of success, *ib.*—increased agitation for, *vi.* 304—monster meetings for it, 306—proceedings of government, 307—effect of the arrest, &c., of O'Connell, 309.

United Greeks, clergy belonging to the, in Russia, *ii.* 12 note.

United Mexican Mining Company, the, *iii.* 253 note.

United States, the, increase of territory and population of, *i.* 6—distress in, from contraction of the currency, 19—ratio of increase of population in, 21—proportion of educated and uneducated criminals in, 26—effects of representative institutions in, 32—probable effect of the increasing numbers of Irish in, 35—increase of emigration to, 36—firmness of, toward Algiers, 73—policy of, toward England, *ii.* 319—rate of exports per head from England to, *ib.* note—and shipping with, *ib.*—Florida sold by Spain to, 345—vast growth of, in recent times, *ii.* 1—proportion of agricultural population in, 9—probabilities of disruption in, 10—treaty between, and Russia, settling the boundaries of the latter in America, 50—the educational system of, 166—increase of the trade to, 168—exports from England per head to, 173 note—navigation act passed by, *iii.* 228—reciprocity treaty between them and Great Britain, *ib.* 231 note—shipping employed in trade with, 234—increased protective system of, 235—statistics of exports to, 236 note—laws of, regarding British colonial shipping, 260—exports to, compared with Australia, 298—anticipations as to export of corn from, 320—reaction against Popery in, 364—bribery in, *iv.* 75—com-

United States, *continued.*

mercil treaty of Prussia with, 184], 250—early settlement of the negroes in, *v.* 39—relative increase of whites and blacks in, 41 and note—recognition of Don Miguel by, *v.* 125—settlement of the indemnity question with France, 289—payment of the French debt to, 312—exile of Louis Napoleon to, 322—danger of England from, *vi.* 45—great want of, 46—great advantages of paper currency in, 47—great prosperity from 1820 to 1835, *ib.*—prudence of the banks, 48—purchase of lands in the west with their notes, 49—difference between the political feeling of landholders there and in Europe, 50—aristocracy in the towns, 51—and democracy in the country, *ib.*—cause of the violence of party contests, *ib.*—jealousy of the banks on the part of the democratic party, 52—general Jackson, his measures against the banks, *ib.*—grounds of complaint against them, *ib.*—their extension in the back settlements and enmity provoked by it, 53—Jackson vetoes the renewal of the bank charter, *ib.*—withdrawal of the public deposits from the bank, 54—this approved by the Representatives, and condemned by the Senate, *ib.*—general crash in the Union, 55—petition from New York in favour of the bank, *ib.*—increased hostility of Jackson to it, 56—increased banking mania in the west, *ib.*—the President's account of the operations of the western banks, 57—treasury order regarding cash payments for public lands, *ib.*—effects of these measures, *ib.*—disasters which ensued, 58—general ruin, *ib.*—widespread bankruptcies, and increased measures against the banks, 59—increased straits of government, and ruin of the finances, *ib.*—increased crisis in 1838 and 1839, 60—disastrous effects of these measures, 61—effect of these changes on England, *ib.*—terror in, at the export of gold from England, 67—the effects of it, 68—effects in Canada of the crusade against the banks, 89—efforts of sympathisers in, to aid the Canadian insurgents, 94—burning of the Caroline, *ib.*—the sympathisers disclaimed by the government, 95—conduct of the government of, on the execution of the sympathisers, 103—reflections on their course, 104—growth of, compared with that of Canada, 105—picture of, by Lord Durham, as compared with Canada, 108—total sales of waste lands in, 124—restrictive tariff of, 145—exports per head to, 156—dependence of England for cotton on, 162—effect of crusade against the banks on exports to, 287—Peel on the monetary crisis in, 289—diminished exports to, *ib.*—food-growing districts of, and importance of extending commercial relations with them, 292—differences with, 1843, 316—question of the right of search, 317—its settlement, 318—the Maine boundary question, 319 *et seq.*—the proceedings regarding it, 320—treaty concluded, *ib.*—the Oregon question, 321—treaty concluded, 322—its terms, *ib.*—reflections on these treaties, 323—the Protectionists on, 368—value of exports per head to, *vii.* 224—increased importa-

United States, *continued*.

tion of slaves into, *ib.*—details of navy of, 237 note—Irish emigrants to, 1841-55, 247 note—imports of cotton from, 1841 to 1847, 267 note—diminished supply and rise in price of cotton, 1847, &c., 286—miles of railway in, 290 note—effects of the monetary crisis in England on, 303—importations of food from, 316—restrictive tariff of, 324—exports and imports with, *ib.* note—commerce of, 1846-55, 326 note—shipping of, 327 note—effects of the bank crisis in France, 135—indignation excited by allied treaty regarding the slave trade, 139—acknowledgment of the French republic by, viii, 24.

United States Bank, establishment of the, 1816, vi, 47—prudence, &c., of its management, *ib.*—statistics of, 49 note—Jackson vetoes the renewal of its charter, 53—and withdraws the public deposits from it, 54—Jackson's increased hostility to it, 56—suspension of cash payments by the, 58—aid given by Bank of England to the, 1838, 60—finally stops payment, *ib.*

Unity, the general demand for, in Germany, viii, 144.

Universal suffrage, introduction of, by the Spanish constitution of 1812, i, 327—election of the Cortes of 1820 by, 353—support of Louis Napoleon and despotism by, iii, 166—inefficiency of, to prevent corruption in America, iv, 75—demand of Lafayette for, 127—one of the objects of the Radicals, v, 1—one of the points of the charter, vi, 80—establishment of, in France, 1848, viii, 17—results of, 1848, in France, 36, 68—established in France by constitution of 1848, 60—its probable results in Great Britain, 60—established in Prussia, 172.

Universities, representation of the, under the old constitution of England, iv, 59—restraints imposed on, in Germany, 227—repressive measures against, in Germany, 231—measures against the secret societies in, 235—new, established in Prussia, 237—decrees of the Germanic Diet regarding, 239—further measures of the Vienna congress against, 244—regulation of the Prussian government regarding, 247.

University, affair of the, in France, vii, 193.

University Legion, the, in Vienna, viii, 211.

Unkiar-Skelessi, treaty of, between Russia and Turkey, v, 255—its secret provisions, 256—remonstrances of western powers against it, *ib.*—discussed at Congress of Muntz-Graetz, iv, 364—jealousies awakened by, v, 261—recognition of treaty of, by the allies, 396—reflections on this, 397.

Unruh, president of the Prussian Assembly, viii, 171.

Unterwalden, democratic constitution of, vii, 351—protest by, against the suppression of the convents, 353—a member of the *Sunderbund*, 354.

Uomo, major d', dismissed from office, ii, 249.

Upper Canada, demands of the discontented in, 1835, vi, 17—proceedings in, 1836, and settlement of it, 30—different temper of, from Lower, 89—effect of the crusade against the banks in the States in, *ib.*—commencement of the insurrection in, 92—advance of the rebels, 93—report of Committee of Assembly on its wants, 96—insurrection again excited in, 102—and Lower, union of, 104—increase of population since 1841, 105—unappropriated lands in, 124.—*See also Canada*

Ural Mountains, the gold-mines of the, ii, 25.

Urban, colonel, forces under, viii, 241—operations against Bern, 244—operations of, in Transylvania, 250.

Urban constitutions, the, exemptions from taxation secured by, iv, 71.

Urban insurrection, true mode of combating, iii, 164.

Urban population, small proportion of, in Russia, i, 8, 11.

Urbairal tenure, abolition of, in Hungary, viii, 207.

Urbesondo, a Carlist general, v, 217—disgraced, 229.

Urdax, surrendered to the Carlists, v, 180.

Urgel, capture of, by the royalists, ii, 245—regency established by the royalists at, 251—defeat of the constitutionalists at, *ib.*—flight of the regency, 252—besieged by Mina, *ib.*

Urglundaub, battle of the, vii, 31.

Urglundeh, defeat of the Afghans at, vii, 43—Pass, occupation of the, by Sir R. Sale, 45.

Uri, protest by, against the suppression of the convents, vii, 353—a member of the *Sunderbund*, 354.

Uriz, a Carlist leader, execution of, v, 230.

Urquhart, Mr, and the affair of the Vixen, vi, 40.

Uruguay, British exports to, ii, 305 note—reciprocity treaty with, iii, 231 note.

Urumiyah, captured by the Russians, iii, 113.

Useful arts, progress of England in the, i, 216.

Usury laws, proposed repeal of the, v, 34.

Utrecht, treaty of, settlement of the Spanish succession by, v, 118—its terms regarding the Spanish crown, vii, 208—differences between France and England regarding, 332.

Uzes, the duke d', i, 116.

V

Vagliele, a leader in the revolution at Palermo, i, 307.

Vagrancy, proposed suppression of, in Rome, vii, 330.

Vaillant, general, at Maharajpore, vii, 69, 70.

Val de Peñas, defeat of Carlists at, v, 224.

Valais, the, protest by, against the suppres-

sion of the convents, vii, 353—a member of the *Sunderbund*, 354.

Valdes, Don Gasiano, appointed minister-at-war, i, 356—parting of Ferdinand from, ii, 297—defeat of, in insurrectionary attempt of 1830, iv, 100.

Valdez, general, v, 99—attempt on Lumbier by, 152—becomes war-minister, and rein-

- Valdez, general, *continued*.
 forcements to Mina, 174—plans of, against the Carlists, 176—his movements and defeats, 177—further disasters, 179—movements to relieve Bilbao, 180.
- Valdez, a partisan of Don Pedro's, v. 114.
- Valeggio, passage of the Mincio by the Sardinians at, viii 84—battle of, 103.
- Valencay, the treaty of, and restoration of Ferdinand by it, i. 331—repudiated by the Cortes, *ib*.
- Valencia, arrival of Ferdinand VII. at, i. 331—the decree of, annulling the constitution, 332 *et seq.*—rejoicings on it, 333—insurrection in, 1817, and its suppression, 339—fresh revolt in, and its suppression, 342—cruelties of Elio at, 345—proceedings of the revolutionists at, 350—violence of the people against the priests in, 357—transplantation of royalists from, ii. 232—the Comuneros in, 40—disturbed state of, 236—contests between the royalists and republicans in, 242—attack on General Elio at, 244—execution of General Elio at, 250—violence of the royalists in, 293—atrocities of the mob in, v. 187—demands of Junta of, 190—threatened by Don Carlos, 216—massacres of Carlists in, 227.
- Valencia (Italy), occupation of, by the Austrians, ii. 44.
- Valenciennes, railway to, vii. 135.
- Valencz, defeat of Jellachich at, viii. 225.
- Vales, the Spanish, what, i. 341.
- Valesi, Roumisa, defeat of, at Gravia, ii. 408.
- Valhalla, tha, at Munich, iv. 221.
- Valladolid, reception of the French in, ii. 239.
- Vallee, marshal, at siege of Constantine, v. 341—made governor of Algeria, *ib*.—movements of, against Abd-el Kader, vii. 177—campaign of 1840, and capture of Medeah, *ib*.—expedition against Miliauah, 178—superseded, 179.
- Vallin, general, at the passage of the Bidassoa, ii. 288.
- Vallionzo, combat at, v. 129.
- Valuy, the duke de, *see* Kellermann.
- Valognes, parting between Charles X. and the Guard at, iii. 157.
- Valterra, colonel, presides at Elio's trial, ii. 250.
- Valtezza, battle of, ii. 372.
- Van, the pacha of, iii. 38, 48—attack on Bajazeth by, 46.
- Van Buken, Mr., becomes President of the United States, vi. 58—increased measures against the banks, 59—proclamation by, against the American sympathisers, 95 and note.
- Vancouver Island, involved in the Oregon question, vi. 321—given to Great Britain, 323.
- Vandamme, general, dismissed from active service, iii. 76.
- Van Diemen's Land, preponderance of convicts in, vi. 122—effects of the transportation system on, viii. 306.
- Vanegaz, captain general of Galicia, i. 348.
- Van Gheen, general, forces under, 1831, iv. 153.
- Van Halen, general, v. 229.
- Van Maanen, M., minister of justice in the Netherlands, iv. 111—his dismissal demanded by the insurgents, 112.
- Vansittart, Mr., arguments of, on agricultural distress, 1816, i. 62—finance resolutions of, 199—his plan of finance, 200—becomes Lord Bexley, iii. 225—duty imposed on foreign wool by, 243.
- Vans Agnew, Mr., murder of, at Mooltan, vii. 98.
- Vaquerville, royalist atrocities at, i. 100.
- Varas, the chevalier de, i. 370.
- Varna, population of, ii. 331 *Note*—garrison of, 1828, iii. 20—operations against, 22—operations before, 25—commencement of siege, *ib*.—siege of, 26—advance of the Turks to raise it, *ib*.—siege continued, 27—its fall, 28—reflections on its surrender, *ib*.
- Varnhagen von Ense, the memoirs of, iv. 237.
- Varselles, M. de, death of, iv. 377.
- Vasiliki, wife of Ali Pacha, ii. 383.
- Vassal, M., ii. 140, 145 notes.
- Vassalidi, fort of, Missolonghi, ii. 415—captured, 418.
- Vatishnenil, M., minister of the interior, iii. 101—circular to the electors by, 1846, vii. 208.
- Vauban, fortification of Paris projected by, iv. 358.
- Vaublane, M., minister of the interior under Richelieu, i. 105—new law of elections proposed in the Deputies by, 142 *et seq.*—retires from the ministry, 149—his new electoral law thrown out, 151—a member of the Camarilla, iii. 72.
- Vaud, measures of, to prevent introduction of supplies from France, vii. 355.
- Vaudrey, colonel, a partisan of Louis Napoleon's at Strasbourg, v. 319, 320—made prisoner, 322—his trial and acquittal, 323—accompanies Louis Napoleon to Boulogne, 381.
- Vaulcher, M. de, a leader of the Parti-prêtre, iii. 75.
- Veeszey, general, viii. 256—capitulation of, 280—execution of, 281.
- Velasco, made governor of Seville, i. 358, ii. 237.
- Veli Bey, father of Ali Pacha, ii. 352 note.
- Veli, son of Ali Pacha, ii. 353.
- Vellore, the mutiny at, vi. 173—railway from Madras to, vii. 107 note.
- Venaisin, the, retained by France in 1815, i. 108.
- Venality, universality of, among Turkish officials, ii. 327—and in the administration of justice, 328.
- Vendeans, trial of the, and forbearance of government, iv. 327.
- Vendée, la, proposal of the chiefs of, in 1815, i. 95—irritation against Louis Philippe in, iv. 322—the Duchess de Berri resolves on crossing into, 323—her escape into, *ib*.—its changed position, &c., 324—abortive rising in, 325—incidents of the war, *ib*.—adventures of the duchess, and extinction of the insurrection, 326—grant for roads in, 360.
- Vendôme column, restoration of the statue of Napoleon to the, iv. 146.

- Venetian States, the insurrection in, viii. 82.
- Venezuela, British exports to, li. 305 note—reciprocity treaty with, iii. 231 note—present state of negroes in, v. 48.
- Venice, prices of wheat at, 1817 and 1819, ii. 141 note—excitement against the Austrians in, viii. 70—effects of the French revolution at, *ib.*—the insurgents shut up in, 97—blockade of, 126, 131—its capture, *ib.*
- Ventura, general, vii. 77.
- Vera, defeat of Spanish refugees at, iv. 109.
- Vera, convent of, destroyed, v. 163.
- Vera Cruz, capture of, by the French, v. 357.
- Verastegui, a Carlist leader, v. 142.
- Vercelli, defeat of the Sardinian insurgents at, ii. 42—occupied by the Austrians, 44.
- Verdier, general, danger, &c., of, at Marseilles, i. 98.
- Verdun, Louis Philippe at, iv. 146.
- Vergara, defeat of Epartero at, v. 179—captured by the Carlists, 180.
- Vergennes, M. de, letter from Franklin to, on the Maine boundary, vi. 319.
- Vernet, Horace, the paintings of, iii. 215.
- Vernon, Rev. Mr. at the funeral of Napoleon, ii. 132.
- Vernon, T., trial and sentence of, vii. 300.
- Verona, the congress of, agreed to by the powers, ii. 258—members of it, *ib.*—description of the town, *ib.*—views of the powers at the opening of the congress, 259—brilliant assemblage at it, *ib.*—treaty for evacuation of Piedmont and Naples, 260—resolution regarding the slave trade, *ib.*—note of England regarding South American independence, *ib.*—measures with regard to Spain adopted by the majority, 262—questions proposed by France, and answers of the other powers, *ib.*—views of what had occurred at it, 263—decline to recognise the Greeks, 394—their declaration on the slave trade, vii. 137.
- Verona, threatened by Charles Albert, viii. 96—Radetsky's lines at, 98.
- Versailles, insurrection at, iii. 151—inauguration of, as a palace of the arts, v. 327—railway, accident on the, vii. 154 note—attempt of the mob on, 1848, viii. 3.
- Versoix, ceded by France to Geneva, i. 108.
- Veterans, danger of disbanding, vi. 268.
- Veto act, passing, &c., of the, in the General Assembly, vi. 86.
- Vetter, general, dissatisfaction with Dembinski, vii. 249—made commander-in-chief, *ib.*—resigns the command, 251.
- Via Manuel, count de, execution of, v. 162.
- Viana, defeat of the Christians at, v. 165.
- Viardot, M., connected with the Spanish liberals, iv. 108.
- Vicenza, repulse of the Austrians at, viii. 91—importance of, 95—Radetsky moves on, *ib.*—its capture, *ib.*—importance of the victory, 97—garrisoned by Radetsky, 98.
- Viceroys, powers, &c., of the, in China, vii. 4, 5.
- Vickovich, a Russian emissary in Afghanistan, vi. 218—his liberal promises, 220—disavowed, and commits suicide, 225.
- Victoire, the princess, of Saxe-Coburg, marriage of, to the Duke de Nemours, v. 576.
- Victor, marshal, iii. 163—becomes minister-at-war, ii. 125—character of, 222—supports Montmorency on the Spanish question, 266—appointed major-general of the army in Spain, 286—returns to Paris, 287—dismissal of, from office, 310—heads the moderate royalists, iv. 321.
- Victor Emmanuel II., accession of, viii. 119—dissolves the Deputies, 121—again dissolves the Chamber, 132.
- Victoria, the princess, birth of, ii. 156—visit of, to the King of Prussia, iv. 254—accession of, vi. 41—her speech to the Privy Council, *ib.*—extent and prosperity of the empire on the accession of, 45—negotiations with Sir Robert Peel for a ministry, 1839, 117—the question of the ladies of the household, *ib.*—her popularity after her accession, 119—her coronation, *ib.*—her marriage to Prince Albert, 120—reflections on it, 121—Oxford's attack on, 140—appointment of the Peel ministry, &c., 1841, 279—birth of the Prince of Wales, and opening of parliament, 1842, 218—visit of Louis Philippe to, 333—and of the Emperor Nicholas, 331—resignation of Sir Robert Peel in 1845, 360—applies to Lord John Russell, and ultimate return of Peel to power, *ib.*—sends for Lord John Russell on Peel's resignation, vii. 220—heroism of, on the Chartist outbreak, 297—visit of, to Louis Philippe at the Chateau d'Eau, and conferences on the Spanish marriages, 211—his visit to her at Windsor, *ib.*—holograph letter to Louis Philippe from, on the Spanish marriages, 216.
- Vidal, colonel, revolt and death of, at Valencia, i. 342.
- Vidil, M., election of, for Paris, viii. 343.
- Vienna, gains of Russia by treaty of, ii. 2—prices of wheat at, 1817 and 1819, 141 note—the sieges of, by the Turks, 332—surrender of Parga by treaty of, 360—congress of 1834 at, and its measures, iv. 243—reception of the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours at, v. 312—effects of the revolution at, on the war in Italy, vii. 94—effects of the news of the French revolution in, 199—great excitement, *ib.*—tumults, 200—university of, liberal petition from, 199—Hungarian deputation at, 203—increased disturbances in, 209—flight of the emperor, 210—fresh revolutionary movements, 211—meeting of the Constituent Assembly, 214—return of the emperor, *ib.*—the insurrection in, 225 *et seq.*—murder of Latour, 228—conduct of the Assembly, 229—retirement of emperor, *ib.*—proceedings of military, 230—march of Jellachich on, *ib.*—agitation in, 231—approach of Windischgratz, 232—its bombardment, *ib.* *et seq.*—approach of the Hungarians, 235—their defeat, *ib.*—its surrender, 236—consternation caused by the Hungarian victories, 254.
- Vienne, insurrection at, 1834, iv. 376.
- Vieuville, count de, created a peer, iii. 99.
- Vighano, check of the Sardinians at, viii. 105.
- Viguère, François de la, vii. 50.
- Vignote, M., v. 292.
- Vigo, a liberal leader, v. 99.
- Vigo Mendez, governor of Valencia, murder of, v. 227.

- Vigo, defeat of, in insurrectionary attempt of 1830, iv. 109.
- Vigo, revolt at, i. 349.
- Vigodet, general, illegal attempt of the king to supersede, i. 357.
- Vilagós, capitulation of the Hungarians at, viii. 280.
- Villa Campa, general, i. 350, ii. 292.
- Villafior, the count, attack of the mob on, v. 117—prepares to leave Portugal, 118—defeat of the Miguelites by, 131.
- Villa Franca, royalist insurrection at, ii. 301—besieged by the Carlists, v. 179—surrenders, 180.
- Vila Viçosa, capture of, by the Portuguese Absolutists, iii. 308.
- Village settlements of Russia, the, ii. 15.
- Village system, the, in Turkey, ii. 330—where established in India, and its results, v. 161.
- Villa Nova, capture of, by the Miguelites, v. 129.
- Villar, defeat of the Christinos at, v. 219.
- Villa-Real, count, war minister, v. 117—dismissed, 118.
- Villareal, general, incursion of, into Old Castle, v. 161—success of, on the Ega, 172—commands after Zumalacaregui's death, 184—at Guevara, 193—defeat of Cordova by, 196—becomes commander-in-chief, 200—successes of, 205—besieges Bilbao, 206—compelled to raise it, 208—disgraced, 229—retires to France, 231.
- Villareal, advance of the French to, ii. 288.
- Villa Robledo, defeat of Gómez at, v. 202.
- Ville de Paris, trial regarding the, in France, v. 349.
- Villèle, M. de, character of, i. 115—new law of elections proposed by, 142—his new electoral law thrown out, 151—a royalist leader in the Deputies of 1816, 275—arguments of, against the new law of elections, 277—and against the new laws regarding personal freedom and the liberty of the press, 279—on the loan of 1817, 285—arguments of, for a proprietary clergy, 286—against the new law of recruiting, 293—policy advocated by, in 1818, 306—against the change in the financial year, 314—votes for, as president of the Deputies in 1819, ii. 87—arguments of, for the new electoral law, 106—proposed union of, with the Richelieu ministry, 115—becomes a member of the Richelieu ministry, 120—municipal law proposed by, 121—on the consumption, &c., of grain in France, 121—resignation of, 124—formation of new ministry by, *ib.*—reflections on the accession of his ministry, 125—sketch of the career of, 220 note—his character, 220—first difficulties of his ministry regarding the press, 222—views of, at the Congress of Verona, 250—instructions to the representatives at Verona regarding Spain, 261—secret instructions of Meternich to, on the Spanish question, 262—views of, on the results of the congress and the chances of a Spanish war, 264—secret correspondence of, with the ambassador at Madrid, 265—his note to the ambassador at Madrid on the Spanish question, *ib.* note—opposes Montmorency on it, 266—loan contracted by, 1824, 306—dis-
- solves the Chamber, *ib.*—arguments of, for the law of septenniality, 307—dismisses Chateaubriand and Marshal Victor, 310—influence of, with the king, 311—supports the indemnity to the emigrants, iii. 78—measures of, for reducing the debt, 84—efforts of, to secure recognition of the South American republics, 87—measures for indemnity to St Domingo sufferers, *ib.*—opposes the re-establishment of the censorship, 94—unpopularity of, 96—attack by Benjamin Constant on, 98—dissensions between, and the Jesuit leaders, 100—fall of his ministry, 103—causes, &c., of his fall, *ib.*
- Villemain, M. de, new electoral law agreed to by, 1819, ii. 88—opposes the re-establishment of the censorship, and dismissed from office, iii. 94—one of the Doctrinaires, 113—at the meeting at Perier's, 140, 145 notes—course counselled by, 144—the works of, 203—a leader of the liberals in the Peers, v. 344—minister of public instruction under Soult, 1839, 362—his character, 363 speech of, on the Eastern question, 1839, 368—minister of public instruction under Soult, 1840, 391 note—motion by, on the law of copyright, vii. 143—bill regarding education brought in by, and his retirement, 193.
- Villiers, Mr, as the leader in parliament of the anti-corn-law movement, vi. 85—again moves against the corn laws, 139—majority against his corn-law motion, 1845, 355—arguments of, in favour of free trade, viii. 297.
- Villiers, defeat of the Spaniards at, ii. 291.
- Vimereux, landing of Louis Napoleon at, v. 381.
- Vincennes, imprisonment of Prince Polignac at, iii. 110—committal of the ex-ministers of Charles X. to, iv. 107, 122—attack on castle of, 122—removal of the ex-ministers after condemnation to, 126—proposed reform banquet at, vii. 131—attempt of the mob on, 1848, viii. 4.
- Vinegar, reduction of duties on, vi. 327.
- Vine-growers, the French, depressed state of, 1831, iv. 303.
- Vinuesa, murder of, ii. 238.
- Virginia, statistics of banks in, vi. 49 note.
- Visigoths, the, in Spain, i. 317—national character of, 321.
- Vismadello, repulse of the Italians at, viii. 90.
- Vistula, passage of the, by Paskewitch, iv. 209.
- Vitrolles, M. de, section in the Chamber headed by, i. 114—a member of the Camarilla, iii. 72—warns against the coup d'état, 135—mission of, to the king, 148—abortive attempt of, to negotiate, 152.
- Vitry, cholera unknown in, iv. 317 note.
- Vittoria, entrance of the French into, ii. 288—capture of, by the Carlists, v. 162.
- Vivian, Sir H., on the state of Ireland, v. 19—commander-in-chief for Ireland, 1835, 407 note.
- Vivian, Sir Richard, supports Peel against the reform bill, iv. 28—arguments of, against the reform bill, 23—on the proposed dissolution, 32—thrown out for

- Vivian, Sir Richard, *continued*.
Cornwall, 1831, 34—returned for Bristol, 1833, v. 14.
- Vivien, M., minister of justice under Thiers, v. 376 note—a candidate for the vice-presidency, viii. 332
- Vixen, affair of the, vi. 39—proceedings in parliament on it, 40.
- Vizen, Mignelite demonstration in, v. 119—the bishop of, 121.
- Vizille, reception of Lafayette at, iii. 112.
- Vladi-Caucaso, pass of, ii. 345, 349.
- Vladimarko, Theodore, begins the revolt in Wallachia, ii. 362—treachery and death of, 370.
- Voghera, occupation of, by the Austrians, ii. 44.
- Vogt, M., defence of the Frankfort insurgents by, viii. 175.
- Voirhaye, M., and Louis Philippe, iv. 147.
- Voisin de Gartempe, M., iii. 140 note.
- Volhynia, acquisition of, by Russia, iv. 172—originally a province of Poland, 173—statistics of the Poles regarding, 183—statistics of, 190—invasion of, by Dzwernicki, and his defeat, 201—insurrection in, 202—expedition of Chrzastowski into, and its defeat, 203.
- Volkonsky, prince, during the last illness of Alexander, ii. 54.
- Volkonsky, Prince Serge, condemned to Siberia, ii. 69.
- Volkonsky, the princess, accompanies her husband to Siberia, ii. 71.
- Volta, check of the Austrians at, viii. 104.
- Voltaire, prohibition of the works of, in Spain, i. 339—the dramas of, iv. 266.
- Voluntary enlistment, results of, in the British army, vii. 233.
- Voluntary relief, insufficiency of, in Scotland, vi. 350—small amount of, during the famine in Ireland, 250.
- Voluntaryism, inefficiency of, for education, ii. 165.
- Von Hammer, the works of, iv. 284.
- Von Rensselaer, leader of the American sympathisers, vi. 95.
- Von Schoultz, an American sympathiser, execution of, vi. 103.
- Vor-Parliament, meeting, &c., of the, at Frankfort, viii. 155.
- Voters, multiplication of, in Ireland, iii. 260, 335—proposed qualification of, iv. 20—class from which majority taken under the reform bill, 66—number of, in the United States, vi. 51—diminished number of, in Ireland, vii. 320.
- Vourtoi, surrender of, to the Greek senate, ii. 403.
- Vraie République, treasonable language of the, viii. 539.
- Wag, the, defeat of Georgey on, viii. 265.
- Wachter, general, defeat of Turks by, iii. 53.
- Waddington, major, at Emaan Ghur, vii. 55.
- Wade, colonel, passage of the Khyber by forces under, vi. 232—created a knight, 237—his arrival at Cabul, *ib.*
- Wages, reduced value of, by the currency bill of 1819, i. 3—fall of, in 1819, ii. 153 note—rates of, in Paris and London, iii. 176—common rate of, in Ireland, 265—effects of over-population on, in Ireland, 266—lowness of, 1829, 373—effect of the contraction of the currency on, iv. 63—measures of employers for reducing, 72—fall of, in France, after the Revolution, 362—attempt to fix tariff of, at Lyons, 305—low rates of, 1833, v. 23—proposed mode of fixing, in the West Indies, 47—the system of making up, under old poor-law, 73—low rates of, in Great Britain, 1839, vi. 65—fall in rates of, 1839, &c., 69—compared with price of wheat, 1800-42, 70 note—rates of, in the West Indies, 112—low rates of, in Hindostan, 154—low rates of, in England, 1841, 281—rise of, during railway mania, 339—anticipated reduction of, by repeal of the corn laws, 368, 369—necessity for reduction of, and corn-law repeal sought as a means of this, 382—rise of, occasioned by railways in England, vii. 352, 353—alleged influence of the proposed factory bill on, 269—rates of, in rich and poor states, 313—effects of inadequate currency on, in France, 126—growing importance of question of, in France, 131—debate in the Chamber, and speech of Arago on it, 132—effects of the conscription on, in France, 134—attempt to fix tariff of, at Rouen, 1848, viii. 52—rise of, 1849, &c., 293—effects of the gold discoveries on, 328.
- Waizen, fortress of, viii. 241—retreat of Georgey toward, 243—storming of, by the Hungarians, 254—battle of, 268.
- Wakefield prison, prisoners in, compared with price of wheat, 1800-42, vi. 70 note.
- Wakley, Mr., inquest by, on case of death from flogging in the army, vii. 231.
- Waldeck, Herr, viii. 167.
- Waldeck, representation of, in the Diet, iv. 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—accepts the Germanic constitution of 1848, viii. 181.
- Waldemar, prince, at Ferozeshah, vii. 86.
- Wales, prince of, birth, &c., of, vi. 288.
- Wales, the Rebecca riots in, vi. 314 *et seq.*
- Walewski, count, secret negotiations of, with France and England regarding Poland, iv. 184—a member of the National Assembly, viii. 87.
- Walhalla, architecture of the, iv. 298.
- Walker, major, death of, before Rangoon, vi. 187.
- Wall, general, operations of, against the Carlists, v. 149.
- Wallace, colonel, at Ferozeshah, vii. 85.
- Wallace, Mr., the views of, on population, i. 230—motion on free trade by, ii. 164—acts relating to commerce and navigation introduced by, 1822, 207—picture by, of the state of the country, 1815 to 1823, iii. 221—retires from board of trade, 226—his five

- Wallace, Mr, *continued*.
free-trade bills, 228 — and post-office reform, vi. 128.
- Wallachia, the Hospodar of, a rumoured member of the Hetairia, ii. 358—exports of grain from, 327—obstacles presented to an invading army by, 341—affairs of, 350—state of, in 1821, 361—commencement of the insurrection in, 362—suppression of insurrection in, 369 *et seq.*—negotiations regarding, in 1823, 394—demands of Russia regarding, iii. 8—provisions of convention regarding, *ib.*—terms of treaty of Adrianople regarding, 62, 63—proposed cession of, to Russia, vi. 334.
- Wallachians, race of the, ii. 319—settlements of, in Austria, viii. 138—numbers of, *ib.* note—opposed to the Magyars, 223.
- Wallerstein, the prince of, viii. 152.
- Wallingford, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Walmoden, count, invasion of Naples by, in 1820, ii. 40.
- Walpole, captain, defeat of Saldanha's expedition by, iii. 372, v. 223, 124.
- Walpole, Mr, home secretary, 1852, viii. 322 note.
- Walsall, member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Walter, Mr, arguments of, against the new poor-law, v. 75—motion by, on the new poor-law, 1839, vi. 72.
- Want of confidence, vote of, 1841, vi. 146.
- Wantlin, general, made prisoner by the revolutionists at Brussels, iv. 111.
- War, effects of, on revolution, i. 2—position of Great Britain at the close of the, 43—monuments voted by parliament in remembrance of the, 69 *et seq.*—impulse given to literature and science by the, 214—internal, effect of, on the Spanish character, 322—the progress of Russia during, ii. 2—influence of the high prices during the, in securing unity of interest, iii. 366—effects of the, in raising a new class in Great Britain, iv. 61—great efforts of Germany during the, 215—of liberation, characteristics of the, in Germany, 223—influence of, in retarding German literature, 267—price, &c., of sugar during the, v. 51—prosperity of England with a paper currency during the, 403—necessity for corporal punishment during, vii. 233—passion for, in France, 127—importance of Algeria as a school for, 170.
- War malt-tax, remission of the, i. 55.
- Wars, character of, in the West and East, ii. 316—those between them, 317—recent, in Europe, all against Muhammedans, iii. 1—private, stoppage of, under the East India Company, v. 36.
- Warburton, Elliot, the works of, i. 257.
- Ward, Mr, motion by, on the Irish church, v. 64—the movement party resolved to push forward his motion, 66—motion by, on the Irish tithe bill, 1839, vi. 38—resolutions regarding colonisation moved by, 123—during the debate on these, 124—motion by, 1845, on the landed interest, 355.
- Wareham, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Warlike spirit, diminution of the, in Great Britain, i. 14.
- Warner, Mr, submission of, to the Chinese, vii. 10.
- Warren, ensign, defence of Commissariat Fort at Cabul by, vi. 251.
- Warren, S., the novels of, i. 254.
- Warrender, Sir George, vote of, on the address, 1830, iii. 377.
- Warrington, member given to, iv. 21 note—election of 1835 in, v. 409.
- Warsaw, the grand-duchy of, the acquisition of, by Russia, ii. 2—statistics of it, *ib.*—constituted the kingdom of Poland, 3—progress of, under the rule of Russia, 5—population of, 11 note—visit of Alexander to, 1818, 33 *et seq.*—excitement in Paris on the fall of, iv. 169—grand-duchy of, acquisition of, by Russia, 172—outbreak of the insurrection in, 178—its rapid spread, and retreat of Constantine from, *ib.*—formation of provisional government at, 179—the Polish troops sent back by Constantine to, 180—enthusiasm on their arrival, *ib.*—the national guard of, 182—patriotic subscription in, 185—preparations for fortifying, *ib.*—population of, 1831, 189—retreat of the Poles into, 194—intrenchments for defence of, 197—defeat of the Russians before, 198 *et seq.*—depression in, after the battle of Ostrolenka, 206—preparations for final struggle at, 208—excitement against Skrzynecki in, 209—massacres in, *ib.*—assault of, 211—its fall, 212—losses of the Russians before, 213.
- Warsaw conference, the, on affairs of Germany, viii. 189.
- Warwickshire, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Washington, the French ambassador recalled from, v. 289.
- Wassind, railway from Bombay to, vii. 108 note.
- Waste lands, large purchases of, in the United States through the paper currency, vi. 49—sales of, in the United States, 124.
- Water, joint-stock companies for, 1825, iii. 253 note—sufferings from want of, during Afghanistan expedition, vi. 231.
- Waterford, bill abolishing bishopric of, v. 23 note—increase of, since the Union, 62 note—proposed municipal reform of, vi. 20.
- Water Kloof fastnesses, operations in the, viii. 312.
- Waterloo, monument voted for battle of, i. 69—campaign, vote of thanks for the, 70—difficulties of the French government after, 83—Murat on, 136—Bourmont's treason before, iii. 111.
- Waterloo Bridge, London, i. 258.
- Watson, the leader of the Spafford riots, i. 72—trial and acquittal of, 169—Thistlewood implicated in the conspiracy of, ii. 158.
- Waverley Novels, the, i. 218.
- Wealth, undue influence of, in the later stages of society, and effects of it, i. 17—effects of the increase of, in England, in stimulating the desire for reform, iii. 865—influence of its growth during the war, iv. 61—the reform bill an effect of the growth of, 62—effect of growth of, in raising prices, vii. 361.

Weavers, depressed condition of the, 1829, iii. 373—wages of, 1839, vi. 69—low wages of, in England, 1841, vii. 281.

Weber, general, suppression of the revolt in Baden by, viii. 184.

Webster, Mr, views of, on the bank question, vi. 55, 56—on the Oregon territory, 823.

Weekly Journal, appearance of Malagrowther's Letters in the, iii. 297.

Weights and Measures, act for uniformity of, iii. 280.

Weir, lieutenant, murder of, by the Canadian insurgents, vi. 91.

Weiskirchen, battle of, viii. 273.

Welcher, M., viii. 155—speech of, at the Heidelberg meeting, 154.

Weld, E. Esq., first husband of Mrs Fitzherbert, vi. 42.

Welden, general, successes of, in the Tyrol, viii. 85—occupies Rivoli, 87—defeats the Free Corps, *ib.*—operations of, in the Tyrol, 97—reinforcements to Radetsky from, 98—occupies Ferrara, &c., 107—appointed to command in Hungary, 255—evacuates Pesh, 259.

Wellesley, the marquess, becomes lord-lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 192—able and impartial measures of, in Ireland, 1822, 194—lord-steward, 1830, iv. 3 note—one of the commission for giving the royal assent to the reform bill, 56—principles of his administration of India, vi. 172—refuses to expel the Mughls from Arracan, 183—treaty with Persia in 1801, 211—opposes the Afghanistan expedition, 226 note—anticipations of, as to the Afghanistan campaign, 237—his preference of the military authorities in India, vii. 30.

Wellesley, Sir Henry, appointed ambassador at Vienna, iii. 226.

Wellington, the duke of, vote of thanks and grant to, i. 70—efforts of, to arrest the royalist atrocities, 101—views of, in the negotiations, 107, 108—appointed to command the army of occupation, 108—reflections on his connection with Ney's death, 131—efforts of, with regard to the French indemnities, 283, 284, 297—at Aix-la-Chapelle, 298—withdrawal of the army of occupation under, from France, 302—his noble conduct on this occasion, 303—attempt at his assassination, *ib.*—on the Spanish Cortes and constitution of 1812, 328—made master-general of the ordnance and a member of the Cabinet, ii. 147—letter of, on the seditious movements of 1819, 152—urges the calling out of the militia in 1820, 163—measures of, against the disaffection of the military, 176—negotiation with the queen conducted by, 177—at the trial of the queen, *ib.*—at the coronation of George IV., 189—sent as representative to the Congress of Verona, 258—proposal at the congress regarding the slave trade, 260—note from him regarding South American independence, *ib.*—instructions to, on the Spanish question, 262—refuses to concur with the majority on it, *ib.*—his answer to the French questions, 263—and note to the Continental powers, 264 note—his views as conveyed to Louis XVIII., and influence of these, 264—efforts of, to preserve peace

Wellington, the duke of, *continued.*
between France and Spain, 267—views of, on the Spanish war, 285—sent to St Petersburg to arrange protocol regarding Greece, 422—his measures on the 10th April, contrasted with those of the government of Charles X., iii. 163—resigns on Canning's appointment, 313—reception of, on his accession from the Canning ministry, 315—amendment on the corn bill moved by, 320—becomes commander-in-chief, 326—appointed premier, and his cabinet, 327—resignation of Huskisson and his friends, 328—reconstruction of Cabinet, 329—division in ministry on the Catholic question, *ib.*—their difficulties on it, 339—commencement of yielding in it, 340—mission of Mr Dawson, *ib. et seq.*—letters of Wellington and the lord-lieutenant, and recall of the latter, 341—their difficulties with the king, 343—speech of, on the Catholic bill, 352—attack on, by O'Connell, 354—duel between the Earl of Winchelsea and, 368—ministry decline to interfere in Portugal, 371—reply of, on the national distress, 1830, 376—small majority of ministry on the address, 1830, and Tories who voted against them, 377—critical and painful position of, *ib.*—reflections on his speech on the distress of the country, 378—defeat of ministry on the navy estimates, 381—reductions in public expenditure by, 1830, 382—on George IV., 389—precarious position of Ministry on the accession of William IV., 391—their losses by elections of 1830, 393—at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, 395—declaration of, against reform, 1830, 400—effect produced by it, 401—defeat of, on the civil list, and resignation, 404—reflections on fall of his ministry, iv. 1—causes which made the change so decisive, *ib.*—origin of these causes, 2—importance of his declaration against reform, *ib.*—attack on the house of, 33—attack on, by the London mob, 41—applied to to form a ministry, 51—fails in doing so, 53—withdraws from the House till the bill is passed, 54—error of the Conservatives in throwing out, 68—his declaration against reform, *ib.*—wisdom of his withdrawal with the majority of the peers, 76—recognition of Louis Philippe by, 101—attack on, in London, v. 1—protest by, against the modified coercion bill, 71—amendment on new poor-law moved by, 76—M'Ilale's letter to, 79—applied to to form a ministry, 80—reception of Don Miguel by, 116—course pursued by, toward Portugal, 123—foreign secretary, 1835, 407 note—on the appointment of Lord Londonderry, 414—motion by, on Irish corporations bill, 1837, vi. 33—anxiety of, for compromise between the two Houses, 37—on the rebellion in Canada, 98—sent for on the resignation of the Melbourne ministry, 1839, 117—on the household question, 118—at the coronation banquet, 120—motion by, on the allowance to Prince Albert, *ib.*—opposes the Afghanistan expedition, 226 note—anticipations of, as to the Afghanistan expedition, 237—position of, in the Peel ministry, 279—preparations of, against the repeal agitation, 397—on the letter-opening

Wellington, the duke of, *continued*.

question, 354—declaration of, on the vote for repeal of the corn laws, 370—reasons for his inconsistency, 371—on the state of Ireland, 372 note—announces the resignation of the ministry, 378—review of his conduct with regard to corn-law repeal, 384—his declarations on the subject, *ib.* note—remains commander-in-chief under Lord John Russell, vii. 221 note—general order regarding flogging in the army, 232—on the abolition of flogging in the Indian army, and its results, 234 note—his letter on the national defences, 1846, *ib.* note—his measure for enrolling the pensioners, 235—supports the limited-service system, 272 and note—superintends the preparations against the Chartists, 1848, 297—measures of, against the rebellion in Ireland, 301—anecdote of, 156 note—eulogy on Sir Charles Napier by, 64, 79—urges Sir Charles Napier's going to India, 103—commander-in-chief, 1855, 822 note—last speech of, on embodying the militia, 323 and note—his death and funeral, 328 *et seq.*

Wendover, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.

Weobly, disfranchised, *iv.* 20 note.

Werner, the geologist, *i.* 234.

Werner, the dramas of, *iv.* 276.

West, the, wars of revolution in, *ii.* 316—the wars between it and the East, 317—last conquests of the East over it, *ib.*—constant strife between, and the East, *iv.* 170—divisions of, constitute its weakness, 215.

West India interest, the, former strength of, in parliament, *iv.* 70—support the repeal of the corn laws, *vi.* 370.

West India loan, the, interest on the, *vi.* 28.

West India proprietors, meeting of, in London against Orders in Council, *v.* 45—proposed compensation to the, 47—resolution of, regarding the emancipation act, 49—grant of £20,000,000 to them, *ib.*—reasons which made them acquiesce in the change, 50, 51.

West India question, debate on the, 1830, *iii.* 392—state of the, 1833, *v.* 39—sketch of the early settlement of the negroes in West Indies, *ib.*—necessity which caused this translation of the negroes, *ib.*—benefits it will ultimately effect, 40—effect of fixing the negro on particular estates, *ib.*—their generally prosperous condition, 42—what government should have done, *ib.*—early necessity of slavery, *ib.*—progressive emancipation rejected by the planters, 43—the colonies refuse to act on the resolutions of parliament, *ib.*—forced tranquillity and insurrection in 1832, 44—insurrection in Jamaica, 45—resistance of the colonists to the Orders in Council, *ib.*—feeling in England in favour of immediate emancipation, *ib.*—Mr Stanley's argument for it, 46—result of debate, and parties by whom it was opposed, 48—counter resolution of the West India proprietors, 49—grant of £20,000,000 in compensation, *ib.*—reasons which made the proprietors acquiesce in the change, 50, 51—large and unjust taxes on their produce, 50—ultimate effects of emancipation, 51 *et seq.*

West Indies, the, effects of the revolution of 1830 on, *i.* 5—rate of exports per head to, 819, *ii.* 178 notes—act regarding the trade with, *iii.* 238—aspect of affairs in, 1825, 248—members proposed to be given to, *iv.* 37 note—the old protective system to, 60—ruin of, since the reform bill, 72—early settlement of the negroes in, *v.* 39—fixing of the negroes to particular estates in, 40—effects of the abolition of the slave trade, 41—policy which should have been pursued toward, 42—their rejection of progressive emancipation, 43—refuse to act on the resolutions of parliament, *ib.*—slave insurrection of 1831, 44—resistance to the Orders in Council, 45—decline of crops from exhaustion of the soil in, 50—enormous duties on their produce, *ib.*—effects of negro emancipation on, 51—state of, 1835, *vi.* 15—effects of emancipation in, 46—disturbed state of, 1838, and failure of the apprenticeship system, 109—its abolition, 111—reception of this, *ib.*—difficulties consequent on it, *ib.*—refractoriness of the Jamaica legislature, 112—fatal results of emancipation, *ib.*—exports and imports, before and after it, 113 note—debate on the Jamaica bill, 114 division on it, 116—second bill passed, 118—danger of rebellion in, 136—exports per head to, 156—difficulties regarding, 1841, 231—falling off in the production of sugar, 327—estimated supply of sugar from, 1847, *vii.* 220 note—proposed admission of negro labourers into, 223—effects of emancipation on production of sugar, *ib.*—effect of the restrictions on importation of labourers, 224—former value of exports to, *ib.*—effects of the sugar-duties bill on, 227—exports to, 1846-55, 228 note—imports from, *ib.*—proof of their disfranchisement by the reform bill, 230—cry from, for repeal of the navigation laws, *viii.* 288.

Westbury, partially disfranchised, *iv.* 21 note.

Western, Mr. arguments of, on agricultural distress, 1818, *i.* 59—bill for repeal of malt duties brought in by, *ii.* 186—motion by, on the currency, 199.

Western Australia, the settlement of, *vi.* 124—transportation to, *viii.* 306.

Western Europe, effects of the alliance of France and England on, *i.* 4—character of the wars of, *ii.* 816—influence of the passion for freedom in, 317.

Western Isles, the potato disease and famine in the, 1847, *vii.* 251—subscriptions, &c., for their relief, *ib.*

Western powers, remonstrances of the, against the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, *v.* 257.

Westhewell, resistance to the revolution in, *viii.* 152.

Westmeath, outrages in, 1831, *iv.* 48—and 1832, *v.* 10—effects of the coercion act in, 22 note—proclaimed in 1848, *vii.* 301.

Westminster, Radical meeting at, 1810, *ii.* 151—election of 1830 for, *iii.* 394—election of Colonel Evans for, *v.* 32—the election of 1841 in, *vi.* 148.

Westminster Abbey, monuments in, *i.* 70—the coronation of George IV. in, *ii.* 188—interment of Canning in, *iii.* 324—the coronation of Queen Victoria in, *vi.* 120.

Westminster Review, the, *i.* 236.

- Westmoreland, the earl of, in favour of the bills for enfranchising the English Catholics, iii. 279—resigns on Canning's appointment, 313.
- Wetherall, captain, suppression of the Bristol riots by, iv. 48.
- Wetherall, Sir Charles, becomes attorney-general, iii. 827—attack on Peel by, in 1839, 344—reception of, at Bristol, iv. 42.
- Wetherell, colonel, defeat of the Canadian insurgents by, vi. 91.
- Wexford, tithe outrages in, 1831, iv. 48—effects of the coercion act in, v. 22 note—proclaimed in 1848, vii. 801.
- Whalley, Sir S., arguments of, against the new poor-law, v. 76.
- Whampoa, opium smuggling at, vii. 9.
- Wharnccliffe, lord, motion by, against a dissolution, 1831, iv. 32—negotiations with, to support the reform bill, 50—privy seal, v. 407 note—president of the council, 1841, vi. 280 note.
- Wheat, reduced produce of, in Great Britain, i. 6—prices of, 1812-81, 20 note—fall in prices of, after the peace, 46—high prices of, in 1816, *ib.*—importations of, *ib.*—prices of, at various times, 61—rise in price of, 1817, 168—importation of, 1817, 166—prices of, 1817 and 1818, 174—prices of, on the Continent, 1817 and 1819, ii. 141 note—fall in 1818 to 1822, 145 note—fall in price of, 1818 to 1822, 198 note—the fall in price of, 201—produce of, per acre in France, iii. 178 note—price of, in Great Britain in 1822, 217—prices of, as compared with currency in England, 219—rise in price of, in England, 1822-5, 220 note—imports of, into Great Britain, 1838-53, 242 note—prices of, 1824-5, 251 note—comparison of, with the potato, 270—prices of, 1818-32, as compared with currency, &c., 294 note—prices of, on the Continent, 301—prices of, 1817 to 1825, 802 note—import of, 1800-20, *ib.*—proposed new duties on, 1827, 819—average price of, for forty-four years, 1827, 820—price of, compared with currency, 1818 26, *ib.* note—prices of, 1827-9, 373 note—prices of, 1824-32, iv. 63 note—prices of, 1830 to 1833, v. 20 note—low price of, 1834, 56—imports of, 1831-6, *ib.* and note—price of, comparison of poor rates with, 1801-36, 73 note—and 1834-49, 77 note—importations of, into England, 1830-6, 404 note—fall in prices of, 1832 to 1835, 406—the crops of, in Great Britain, 1832 to 1841, 63—rise in price of, in Great Britain, 1839, 66—prices of, 1840, 64—large imports of, *ib.*—fall of price of, 1782-1837, 70 note—prices of, compared with wages, 1800-42, *ib.*—rise in Great Britain, 1841, 281—importations of, 1842, 282—price of, 1842, 288—comparative consumption of, in England and Prussia, 290—proposed sliding scale of duties on, 291—average price of, at Dantzic, 292—fall in price of, 1843, 810—diminished imports, *ib.*—prices and importations of, 1841-6, *ib.* note—small imports of, 1845, 335—1842 to 1845, *ib.* note—fall in imports of, 1845, &c., 342—importation and price of, 1845, 354—fall in, 1841 to 1845, 355 note—comparative productiveness of, and of the potato, 357—rise in price of, 1845, 358—proposed intermediate duties on, 363 and note—decline in price of, beginning of, 1846, 366—effect of the sliding scale on prices of, 368—diminished produce of, in Ireland since free trade, 383—export from Ireland, 1845-9, *ib.* note—repeal of all duties on, during the Irish famine, vii. 243—price of, 1847, 244—prices and imports of, 1845 to 1856, 249 note—importations of, 1843-50, and their effects in bringing on the monetary crisis of 1847, 261 and note—rise in, 1847, 262—large importations and fall in price of, 1847, 276—prices of, 1845 to 1851, 286 note—great fall in price of, 1847, 287—imports of, into France, 315—diminished produce of, since free trade, 316—in Ireland, 1849 to 1853, *ib.* note—prices of, 1845 to 1854, *ib.*—imports of, Great Britain, 1851-6, 326 note—prices of, 1852 to 1857, viii. 328 note.
- Wheaten bread, comparative consumption of, in France and England, iii. 172.
- Wheeler, brigadier, vii. 90—at Aliwal, 91—establishment of Gholab Singh by, 97.
- Wheulton, sheriff, and the privilege of parliament, vi. 181—committal of, *ib.*
- Whigs, the, support the resumption of cash payments, ii. 189—oppose the bill for repressing the Catholic Association, iii. 281—views of, on the currency, and the distress of 1825, 288—support the disfranchisement of East Retford, &c., 322—support the bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, 354—increasing hostility of, to the Wellington ministry, 378—oppose the proposed reduction of the army and navy, 380—measures of, to embarrass the government, 381—generally disinclined to reform, 386—feelings, &c., of, toward George IV., 389—conduct of, on the accession of William IV., 391—their encomiums on him, 392—objects of, in desiring reform, 401—power given to, by the reform bill, v. 2—danger of, from the Radicals and Catholics, 14—split between, and the Radicals on the Irish coercion bill, 21—O'Connell's denunciations of, 79—exasperation of, at Peel's not resigning after being defeated on the address, 412—attack on Peel on the Irish church question, 415—creations of peers by, vi. 15—charges of incompetence brought against, 136—reaction against, 1841, 147—their losses by the elections, *ib.*—reflections on the fall of, 149—their entire change of policy, *ib.*—it owing to the reform bill, 150—Elphinstone, Macnaghten, &c., appointed under, 270—their early abuse of Peel, 272—declaration of O'Connell against, 304—accession of, to Anti-corn-law League, 359—coercion bills for Ireland brought in by the, 373.—See also Liberals.
- Whig aristocracy, the, head the English movement, v. 3.
- Whig houses, influence in society of the, i. 268.
- Whig ministry, moderation of, after the passing of the reform bill, and its effects, v. 4.
- Whig party, its destruction the work of its own leaders, vii. 219—entire breaking up of, 275.

- Whig peers, jealousy of Canning among the, iii. 314.
- Whipping, abolition of, in the case of women, i. 172.
- Whish, general, besieges Mooltan, vii. 99—resumes sieges, 103—storming of it, 104.
- Whitbread, Mr, on the grant to the Duke of Wellington, i. 70.
- Whitechurch, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- White, a private, death of, from flogging, and discussion on it, vii. 231 *et seq.*
- White, brigadier, at Moodkee, vii. 84—at Chillianwallah, 102.
- White Russia, statistics of, iv. 160.
- Whites, relative increase of, and blacks, in America, v. 41 and note.
- Whiteboys, suppression of the, aimed at by the Catholic Association, iii. 278.
- Whitefeet, Dr Doyle on the, v. 18.
- Whitehaven, member given to, iv. 21 note.
- Whiteaide, Mr, defence of Smith O'Brien, &c., by, vi. 902.
- Whitle, captain, vii. 68.
- Whitmore, Mr, motion by, for repeal of the corn laws, iii. 301.
- Wieleza, salt mines of, assigned in 1815 to Austria, ii. 8.
- Wicklow, effects of the coercion act in, v. 22 note.
- Wicklow, lord, motion by, on Irish church, v. 66.
- Widdin, population of, ii. 331 note—the fortress of, 341—the pacha of, operations of, against, Ipsilanti, 370—operations of, in Greece, 408, iii. 22—his operations and successes, 29—his treachery, 49.
- Widel, general, viii. 165.
- Widows, burning of, abolished in India, vi. 203.
- Wieland, the works of, iv. 268—the novels of, 289.
- Wieluzka, capture of, by the Austrians, vii. 203.
- Wiener-Neustadt, railway between, and Neukirchen, iv. 251.
- Wiesbaden, concessions of government of, 1848, viii. 149.
- Wigan, reform riots at, 1831, iv. 33—rates of mortality in, 1841, vi. 288 note.
- Wilkie, the paintings of, i. 261.
- Wilkinson, brigadier, at Jugdulluck, vii. 40—at Sohraon, 92, 93.
- William IV., accession of, and his character, iii. 390—his failings, 391—his personal character and queen, 391—precarious position of ministers after his accession, *ib.*—prorogation of parliament by, 392—speech of, on opening parliament, 399—postponement of his visit to London, 402—effect produced by it, 403—calls Earl Grey to form a ministry, and difficulties regarding Brougham, iv. 3—alarm of, at the reform excitement, 29—settlement on him, 30—efforts of the ministry to win him by his vanity, *ib.*—means by which he was induced to dissolve parliament, *ib.*—his resistance at last overcome, 31—scene at the dissolution, 32—speech of, on opening parliament, 1831, 36—measures of, on the rejection of the bill by the Lords, 40—urges the suppression of the political unions, 45—determination of, against a creation of peers, 49—at last con-
- sents to it, *ib.*—refuses authority to create peers, and resignation of ministers, 51—sends for Wellington, *ib.*—insults of the populace to, 52—grants permission for creation of peers, and return of the Grey ministry, 54—his circular to the opposition peers to leave the House, *ib.*—refuses to give the royal assent in person to the bill, 55—reception of the ambassador from Louis Philippe, 101—attack on, at Ascot races, v. 2—speech of, on proroguing parliament, 1832, 11—opening of the first reformed parliament, 14—closing of session of 1833 by, 55—answer of, to address on repeal of union, 62—declaration of, on the Irish church, 65—speech of, on proroguing parliament, 78—dismisses the Melbourne ministry, and sends for Wellington to form a ministry, 80—answer of, to the address, 1835, 412—creation of peers during reign of, vi. 115 note—and the affair of the Vixen, 39—death of, 41—the character of, 43—complaints against him by the Conservatives, *ib.*
- William, King of Holland, refuses to surrender Antwerp, iv. 348—military preparations of, 345—siege of Antwerp, *ib.* *et seq.*—reasons for desiring peace, 348—treaty with Belgium, *ib.*
- William, Prince of Prussia, iv. 238—declaration of, regarding the French revolution, 116.
- William, Prince of Brunswick, iv. 117.
- Williams, the paintings of, i. 259.
- Williams, Mr, his defence of the queen, ii. 179.
- Williams, one of the leaders of the Newport Chartists, vi. 83—his trial and sentence, 84.
- Williams, J., trial and sentence of, vii. 300.
- Willisen, general, viii. 193—defeated at Idstedt, 194 *et seq.*—further defeats of, 195.
- Willshire, general, capture of Khelat by, vi. 239—appointed to succeed Nott, 246.
- Wilna, population of, ii. 11 note—establishment of university at, 84—advance of the Poles to, iv. 206—battle of, 207.
- Wilson, professor, the writings of, i. 239—at the anti-reform meeting in Edinburgh, iv. 35.
- Wilson, brigadier, at Aliwal, vii. 91.
- Wilson, Sir Robert, aids in the escape of La-valette, i. 133—his trial, 134—his defence, *ib.* note—dismissal of, from the army, ii. 190—his subsequent restoration, *ib.* note—landing of, in Galicia, 293—at Cadiz, 297—dismissed from Portugal, v. 89—governor of Gibraltar, vii. 184.
- Wilton, partially disfranchised, iv. 21 note.
- Wilton, lord, lord-steward, 1835, v. 407 note.
- Wilts, disturbances in, 1830, iii. 399—additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Winchelsea, the earl of, at the meeting on Penenden Heath, iii. 339—duel between Wellington and, 368—declaration of, on reform, 402—again joins Peel against the reform bill, iv. 26.
- Winchelsea, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Winchester, marquess of, groom of the stole, 1830, iv. 4 note—groom of the stole, 1835, v. 407 note.

- Winchester, diocese, statistics of church accommodation in, i. 181 note.
- Windischgratz, prince, the execution of Blum by, viii. 177—outbreak against, at Prague, murder of the princess, 205—suppresses the revolt, *ib. et seq.*—character of, 219—army of reserve under, 222—moves on Vienna, 232—bombardment and capture of the city, *ib. et seq.*—defeats the Hungarians, 235 *et seq.*—surrender of the city, 236—at the abdication of the emperor, 238—forces under, and his plans, 241—movements, 242—advance to Komorn, &c, *ib.*—proclamation by, *ib.*—his inactivity, 243—execution of Count Bathiany, 246—his inactivity at Pesth, 247—advances toward Debreczin, *ib.*—battle of Kopolna, *ib. et seq.*—his inactivity after the battle, 248—retreats, 251—resolves to fight for Pesth, *ib.*—battle of Tapio-Bisacke, 252—and of Isaszeg, *ib. et seq.*—retreat after it, 253—removed from the command, 255.
- Windischgratz, princess, murder of, viii. 205.
- Window duty, motion for repeal of the, v. 32.
- Window tax, reduction of the, 1823, iii. 222—abolition of the, iv. 71.
- Windsor Castle, the recent additions to, i. 258—parliamentary grant for, iii. 224—reception of the Infanta Donna Maria at, 372—Louis Philippe at, vi. 333—visit of Louis Philippe to, 1843, vii. 211.
- Wine, fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—produce of duties on, 1844, 327—reduction of excise on, in France, 1848, viii. 15.
- Wines, French, reduction of British duties on, 1825, iii. 257—Cape, proposed duty on, iv. 15 note.
- Wings of Time, suppression of the, iv. 239.
- Winkelman, the works of, iv. 268.
- Wise, captain, at the battle of Algiers, i. 73.
- Witepsk, state of the emancipated serfs in, ii. 47.
- Witnesses, intimidation of, in Ireland, iii. 272.
- Witt, general de, organisation of military colonies of Russia by, ii. 23—communicates the conspiracy in the army to Alexander, 60.
- Wittgenstein, count, conspiracy in the army under, ii. 59—gives information of it to Alexander, 60—forces under, iii. 14 note—operations of, before Schumla, 24—raises the blockade of it, 25—attack on, before Schumla, and retires to Jenibaza, 26—withdraws across the Danube, 29—disasters during his retreat, 30—removed from the chief command, 51.
- Woher, general, defeated at Pastrengo, viii. 87, 101.
- Wohlgemuth, count, at Custoza, viii. 102—defeated before Komorn, 258.
- Woinoff, general, operations under, at Schumla, iii. 14 note, 22.
- Wola, capture of, by the Russians, iv. 211.
- Wolverhampton, members given to, iv. 21 note.
- Women, religious societies of, law regarding, in France, iii. 84—proposed regulation of factory labour of, vi. 313.
- Wood, alderman, arguments of, against the new poor-law, v. 75.
- Wood, Sir C., on the state of the navy, 1836, vi. 28—chancellor of the exchequer, 1846, vii. 220.
- Wood, general, forces under, against the Ghoorkas, vi. 175.
- Woodburn, captain, defeat of Akhtar Khan by, vi. 246—massacre of detachment under, vii. 31—major, at Hyderabad, 62.
- Woodburn, Mr., on Art-unions, iii. 91 note.
- Woodford, Sir Alexander, at Wellington's funeral, viii. 330 note.
- Woodruff, an American sympathiser, execution of, vi. 103.
- Woodstock disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Wool, new taxes on, 1819, i. 200—fall in, 1818-22, ii. 145 note—the fall in price of, 1818-22, 201—remission of duty on, 1824, iii. 222—reduction of duties on foreign, 243—imports of, 1819-40, *ib.* note—consumption of, 1822-5, 251 note—prices of, 1827-9, 373 note—imports of, *ib.*—fall in price of, 1782-1837, vi. 70 note—imports of, 1830-44, 811 note—reduction of duties on, 327.
- Woollens, increased manufacture of, in Great Britain, i. 216—exports of, 1819-40, iii. 243 note—foreign, reduction of duties on, 1825, 260—increased exports of, from England, 1822, 222—proposed reduction of duties on, vi. 362, 363.
- Woosung river, forcing of the, vii. 18.
- Wootton Bassett, disfranchised, iv. 20 note.
- Worcester, bishop of, votes for the reform bill, iv. 51.
- Worcester, reform riot at, iv. 45.
- Worcestershire, additional members for, iv. 21 note.
- Wordsworth, W., character of the writings of, i. 224.
- Workhouses, paupers in, under new poor-law, v. 77—number of inmates in, Ireland, 1840-6, vii. 239 note—their state during the famine, 240.
- Workhouse system, the proposed new, v. 75.
- Workhouse test, the, under the new poor-law, vi. 71—its repeal, 72.
- Working classes, the, their representation, not provided for in France, ii. 126—decline in the material comforts of, in France, iii. 171—causes of their depressed condition, 172—competition among, and their misery in France, 176—entirely unrepresented there, *ib.*—distress among, 1826, 287—delusions among, regarding the reform bill, iv. 35—taxation of, under the old system, 60—want of representation of, under the reform bill, 72—annual expenditure on drink by, 78—failure of the revolution with regard to, in France, 81—the interests of the bourgeoisie opposed to theirs, 82—their animosity against the government of Louis Philippe, *ib.*—distress of, in Paris after the revolution, 127—spread of St Simonianism among, in Paris, 140—state of, in France, after the revolution, 303 *et seq.*—suffering and discontent of, in Paris, 329—state of, in Lyons, 1834, 374—strike among, *ib.*—insurrection, 375—depressed condition of, under Louis Philippe, 382—causes of the suffering of, after the revolution of 1830, 383—distress among, in England, 1833, v. 28—the French, distress of, 1837, 328—feeling of, against the Lords, vi.

Working classes, *the, continued.*

13—distress of, in Great Britain, 1839, 65—attachment of, to strikes, 78—distress of, in England, 1841, 281—arguments used by the anti-corn-law agitators to, 287—effects of the railway mania on, 339—indirect benefit of railways to, 840—anticipated result of repeal of the corn laws to, 368, 369—relief given to, by railways in England, vii, 252, 253—benefits to, from the railway expenditure, 289—the insurrections of, against Louis Philippe, 117—increasing discontent of, 119, 120—objects, &c., of, in France, 121—they wholly unrepresented, 123—spread of socialism among them, 123, 126—combinations among, in Paris, 1840, 133—trials of, 134—state, &c., of, under Louis Philippe, 166—state of, in France, 1847, 362—distress of, from the monetary crisis of 1847, 365—de Tocqueville on the state of, 378—power transferred to, by the revolution of 1848, viii, 1—Socialist demands of, in France, 1848, 11—commission on, in France, 36—provisions of constitution of 1848 regarding, 60—distress of, in Berlin, 1848, 173.

Workmen, right of combining among, iii, 245—decree of the Germanic Diet regarding, iv, 244—contest between the, and the masters at Lyons, 302—number of, in the Ateliers Nationaux, viii, 7—commencement of war between, and masters, 285.

Woronije, population of, ii, 11 note.

Woronzoff, count, at Aix-la-Chapelle, i, 298—governor of the Crimea, ii, 53—takes the command against Varna, iii, 25.

Wortley, Mr Stuart, moves amendment on the address, 1841, vi, 149—becomes Lord Wharcliffe, 301.

Wrangel, general von, invades Schleswig-Holstein, viii, 158—victories of, 159—appointed to command in Berlin, 166—his address, *ib.*—dissolves the Assembly by force, 169, 170.

Wratislaw, count, forces under, in Italy, viii, 71.

Wrba, general, viii, 248.

Wrede, general, defeat and death of, before Schumla, iii, 24.

Wright, captain, viii, 326 note.

Württemberg, the crown-prince of, a rumoured member of the Hetairia, ii, 358—the princess of, daughter of Louis Philippe, her death and character, v, 372—position of the forces of, in France, i, 98—representative institutions in, iv, 115—votes of, in the Germanic Diet, v, 217 note—population and military contingent, 219 note—establishment of Representative Assembly in, 224—dissolution of the Chamber in, 240—a member of the Zollverein, 242—army of, 365 note—statistics of, viii, 140 note—concessions of king of, 1848, 149—affairs of, 1850, 188—treaty with Russia, 189.

Wurth, M., resignation of, viii, 176.

Wurzburg, society for liberty of the press at, iv, 363.

Wycombe, partially disfranchised, iv, 21 note.

Wyld, brigadier, attempt of, to force the Khyber Pass, vii, 24.

Wylde, colonel, and the Elliot convention, v, 176.

Wylie, Sir James, physician to the Emperor Alexander, ii, 53—during the Emperor's last illness, 54.

Wymer, colonel, defeat of insurgent Affghans by, at Khelat-i-Ghilzye, vi, 246—relief of Khelat-i-Ghilzye by, vii, 35.

Wynn, Mr C. W. W., war secretary, 1830, iv, 3 note.

Wynne, Mr H., appointed envoy to Switzerland, ii, 191.

Wynne, Mr, becomes president of the board of control, ii, 191—vote of, on the civil list, 1830, iii, 403—motion by, on the details of the reform bill, iv, 37—chancellor of duchy of Lancaster, 1835, v, 407 note.

X

Xaviers, minister under Don Pedro, v, 132.

Xions, storming of, viii, 164.

Y

Yamaska, dispersion of the Canadian insurgents on the, vi, 91.

Yan mountains, *the*, vii, 3.

Yang-tze-Kiang River, *the*, vii, 8—importance of, 18—forcing of its entrance, *ib.*

Yar Mahommed, defence of Herat by, vi, 222—treachery of, 241—joins the Persians, 246.

Yarmouth (Isle of Wight), disfranchised, iv, 20 note.

Yarus, abolition of duty on, vi, 344.

Yates, brigadier, at Mangore, vii, 70.

Ye, cession of, to the British, vi, 192.

Yehenes, defeat of the Carlists at, v, 224.

Yellow fever, the outbreak of, at Cadiz in 1819, i, 345—at Barcelona, ii, 237.

Yeomany force, increase of the, in 1820, ii, 163—reduction of the, iii, 326.

Yermoloff, general, repeated defeats of the Persians by, iii, 2—removed from the command against the Persians, 10.

York, the duke of, ii, 156—chief mourner at the burial of George III., *ib.*—declaration of, against Catholic emancipation, 1821, 183—his declaration against Catholic emancipation, iii, 285 *et seq.*—effect produced by it, 286—attack by Brougham on him, *ib.*—heads the anti-Catholic party in 1826, 306—his death, 310—his character, 311 *et seq.*—ultimate effect of his death, 314.

York, archbishop of, votes for the reform bill, iv, 51.

York, intended rising at, 1817, i, 166—diocese, statistics of church accommodation in, 181 note—Radical meeting at, 1819, ii, 151—election of 1835 in, v, 408—pressure,

York, *continued*.

See, of tolls in, *iv*. 316 note—and North Midland Railway, fall in, 1846-52, *vii*. 239 note.
 Yorkshire, state of, in 1816, *i*. 46 note—meeting of gentry of, in connection with the Peterloo meeting, *ii*. 152—continuance of military training in, 160—transference of the members for Grampound to, 168—the elections of 1826 for, *iii*. 306—riots in, 1829, 374—election of 1830 for, 393—additional members for, *iv*. 21—the elections for 1831 in, 34—preparations of the reformers in, 1831, *ib.*—defeat of Lord Morpeth in, 1841, *vi*. 148—return of Lord Morpeth for West Riding, 1845, 361.

Youghal, speech of O'Connell on repeal of the union at, *iii*. 374.

Young, J., a lord of the Treasury, 1841, *vi*. 280 note.

Young, the tragedian, *i*. 265.

Young, colonel, defeat of the American sympathisers by, *vi*. 102.

Young Europe, the association called, *v*. 314.

Young Ireland, opposition of, to O'Connell, *vi*. 310.

Ypres, terms of treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding, *i*. 301.

Yukien, governor of Chinghae, death of, *vii*. 16.

Z

Zalewski, general, operations under, at Wilna, and his retreat, *iv*. 207.

Zamosc, surrender of, to the Poles, *iv*. 182—fortress of, 191.

Zanchio, capture of, by Ibrahim Pacha, *ii*. 412.

Zarco del Valle, defeat of the royalists at, *ii*. 251.

Zarategui, general, inroad into central Spain by, *v*. 217—joins Don Carlos, 220—disgraced, 229.

Zavala, a Carlist chief, atrocity of the Christians toward, *v*. 150—efforts to check the mutual atrocities, 153—defeat of Epartero by, 164—junction of, with Don Carlos, 161.

Zayas, general, left in charge of Madrid, *ii*. 289—forces under, at Malaga, 295.

Zayonchek, general, left as viceroy in Poland, *ii*. 31.

Zea, Bermudez, M., ministry of, *v*. 94, 95—dismissed, 97—again premier, 107—measures advocated by, 108.

Zeisberg, general, *viii*. 249.

Zemaun Shah, threatened invasion of India by, *vi*. 210—dethroned and blinded by his brother, 211—flees to the English, *ib.*

Zemaun Shah, during the retreat from Cabul, *vi*. 204.

Zemindar system, results of the, in India, *vi*. 160.

Zevinn, pass of, *iii*. 41—occupied by the Russians, 42.

Zgorakha, massacre at, *vii*. 201.

Zichy, general, capitulation of, at Venice, *viii*. 71—Count Khayene, execution of, 224.

Ziminski, general, at Praga, *iv*. 193—wounded there, 195.

Zindel, M., heads the revolution of 1830 at Lyons, *iv*. 100.

Zobel, baron, operations of, in the Tyrol, *viii*. 88—left to defend Rivoli, 95—abandons it, 96.

Zollverein, the, *iii*. 235—formation of, *iv*. 241 *et seq.*—negotiations of, with Brunswick and Hanover, 249—extension of, to Brunswick, &c., 250—commerce of, *viii*. 110 note.—objects, &c., of, 144—its effects, 115.

Zombor, combat at, *viii*. 269.

Zouaves, origin and character of the, in Algeria, *iv*. 806, *vii*. 176.

Zucchi, general, forces under, *viii*. 89.

Zucchini, M., *viii*. 110.

Zug, protest by, against the suppression of the convents, *vii*. 353—a member of the Sunderbund, 354.

Zunialacaregui, Tomas, his first appearance and character, *v*. 143 *et seq.*—his mode of warfare, 145—system of reprisals forced on him, 147, 153—the scene of war, 148—joins the insurgents, 151—first operations, *ib.*—efforts to obtain arms, &c., 152—captures Vittoria, *ib.*—further successes, 154, 155—joined by Don Carlos, 157—his letter to the latter, 158 note—confirmed in the command, 159—movements against Rodil, *ib.* *et seq.*—seizure of his infant by Rodil, 160—offensive movement, 161—capture of convoy, 162—reprisals by, 163—victory at Viana, 165—fresh combinations against him, and his successes, 166 *et seq.*—honours conferred on him, 168—proclamation by, against Mina, 168—successes against Mina, 170, 172—captures Los Arcos, 172—repulsed at Larraga, 173—combat at Lazaro, *ib.*—further successes, 174—his forces, 175—successes against Valdez, 177—further successes, 179—besieges Bilbao, and wounded there, 180—his death and character, 181—anticipations as to the effects of his death on the war, 183.

Zurich, changes in constitution of, 1830, *iv*. 117—growth of Radicalism in, *vii*. 3, 2.

Zurnwesen, the, in Germany, *iv*. 230.

Zygos, hills of, Missolonghi, *ii*. 415.

THE END.

